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## "Contra haereticos accingantur": The Union of Crusading and Anti-heresy Propaganda

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“CONTRA HAERETICOS ACCINGANTUR”:  
THE UNION OF CRUSADING AND ANTI-HERESY PROPAGANDA

by

Bryan Edward Peterson

A thesis submitted to the Department of History  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in History

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Cursus Completus series Latina</i>
RHC	<i>Recueil des historiens des croisades: historiens occidentaux</i>

## ABSTRACT

This study assesses the intersection of crusading and heresy repression in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The event that encapsulates this intersection was the Albigensian Crusade, a two-decades long conflict that befell the south of France, or Occitania. The papacy, aligned with northern lords and other willing Christians, took up arms to defend the Church from the Cathar heresy's corrupting influence. This conflict marked a new development in Christian acts of violence. While the Church had crusaded against many different enemies—even branding some as heretics—before 1209, the Church had never called a crusade for the explicit purpose of stamping out a heretical group. This study aims to answer two questions: how did the scope of crusade broaden to incorporate heretical groups and how did methods for countering heresy shift to include crusading? To answer these questions, this study analyzes two strands of ecclesiastical propaganda. Propaganda consisted of written works that functioned as tools to educate, inform, persuade, and inspire in others certain beliefs and actions. These were texts that defined, promoted, and celebrated the practice of crusading; and texts that defined, maligned, and condemned heresies and those adhering to them.

These two strands of propaganda began to intertwine in the late twelfth century, resulting in a modified anti-heresy discourse in which crusading against heretics became a theologically justifiable idea. This study argues that the call for crusade against the Occitan heretics was the end result of theological developments that began in the 1170s. What's more, the

institutionalization and codification of these strands of propaganda created the theological precedent for framing the Albigensian Crusade as a holy war, allowing the idea of crusading against heretics to take root in anti-heresy discourse in the years preceding Innocent III's papacy and his call for crusade in southern France.

## INTRODUCTION

### *I. Holy War Against Heretics*

The Albigensian Crusade was a major theological and institutional development for the medieval Roman Church. At the behest of the papacy, many Christians from northern France and the papal states became soldiers of Christ. Between 1209 and 1229, these pilgrims of the sword took up arms to defend the Lord's Church from the vile corruption of heresy. For mitigating the existential threat these Albigensian usurpers of orthodoxy and orthopraxy posed to Christendom at large, the Church's holy warriors received indulgences, lessening the burden of purgatory and expediting their salvation.

Waging a holy war, however, was not the Catholic Church's initial response to the perceived threat of heretical deviance. A phenomenon of Christianity's earliest centuries, Christian heresy reemerged as a major concern of the Roman Church in the eleventh century. The peril heresy posed to Christendom was rooted in a heretic's obstinate refusal to submit to correction, an act which endangered the Church's spiritual and institutional efficacy and undermined its authority.<sup>1</sup> From the perspective of many churchmen, heresy was a non-Christian evil.<sup>2</sup> When the medieval Church first recognized the dangers posed by heresy, many churchmen

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<sup>1</sup> Karen Sullivan, *Truth and the Heretic: Crises of Knowledge in Medieval French Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2007), 3-4.

relied on preaching to counter the spread of heretical ideas.<sup>3</sup> Continuing well into the twelfth century, preaching entailed missions into territories considered rife with heretics as well as the production and diffusion of anti-heretical polemic. Church officials preached to crowds of onlookers from pulpits and on street corners, debated heretics on matters of doctrine and belief, and composed polemical treatises detailing how and why heresy impeded salvation and weakened the Church's spiritual legitimacy.<sup>4</sup> The objective of this form of preaching was to persuade the heretic to return to the orthodox fold.

As scholar R.I. Moore observes, the Church transitioned away from relying on preaching alone during the central Middle Ages, between the tenth through thirteenth centuries. While never ceasing altogether, preaching against the spiritual and moral ills of heretical deviance gave way to a more persecutory mentality and methodology. Moore rejects the notion that persecution and the violence associated with it were endemic to medieval society, arguing that religious and secular institutions guided society to affirm and engage in the persecution of groups like heretics.<sup>5</sup> Medieval Europe became a persecuting society with the advent of a sufficiently centralized Church directing its authority to recognize and oppose heretics, Jews, and other medieval minority groups.<sup>6</sup> These groups faced increasing levels of persecution by the Church and secular authorities, culminating in the rise and institutionalization of inquisition in the late

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<sup>3</sup> Jennifer Kolpakoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 48-50.

<sup>4</sup> For an example of public preaching, see Malcolm Lambert's discussion of Bernard of Clairvaux's 1145 mission to Verfeil. Lambert notes that while Bernard "healed the son of a heretic and was heard by the people in the church, his words were drowned by the deliberate clashing of armour on the part of the knights when he tried to continue his discourse outside." This incident illustrates the difficulties of preaching publicly against heresy in southern France. See Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 40.

<sup>5</sup> R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2007), 2-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

twelfth and early thirteenth centuries as the predominant method for rooting out and eradicating heresy.<sup>7</sup>

While Moore's persecuting society proved influential for many scholars, the research of some complicated his thesis. Brett Whalen, in a study on Joachim of Fiore, shows how the notion of a persecuting society was not a universal mentality, as Joachim's support of the "harmonious conversion" of the Jews during the Apocalypse represented a "countervailing sentiment that ran contrary to the persecuting society of the High Middle Ages" promoted by Moore.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, medievalist Christine Caldwell Ames questions Moore's conclusions in her study of Dominican efforts to persecute heretics. She challenges whether sociopolitical factors were as critical as Moore suggests, leading her to emphasize the importance of religious belief. She states that:

Persecution's ironic normalization as a historiographical frame means that religious belief might return more explicitly, adding another dimension to the evolution Moore observed. For we see in the high Middle Ages clerics' choice not simply to persecute heretics, but also to evoke and to interpret particular Christian texts and traditions as mandating that persecution as sincere piety, demonstrating the evolution of medieval Christianity itself.<sup>9</sup>

To Ames, the idea of persecuting heretics did not negate "complex social and political motives and circumstances, but rather fix[ed] them within a dynamic spiritual geography that incorporated and blended the putatively 'worldly' and 'otherworldly.'"<sup>10</sup> The persecution of heretics, therefore, became a manifestation of Christian piety in an evolving Christendom.

Framing the whole of Western medieval society as one which persecutes implies that the ideas and instruments of persecution were ubiquitous, that every person in every corner of

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 24-5.

<sup>8</sup> Brett Whalen, "Joachim of Fiore, "Apocalyptic Conversion, and the 'Persecuting Society,'" *History Compass* 8/7 (2010): 682-91.

<sup>9</sup> Christine Caldwell Ames, *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 12.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 13.

Western Europe subscribed to the same ways of thinking about and reacting to heretics, Jews, and other out-groups. The developments Moore detected were less the formation of a persecuting society than the formation of persecuting centralized institutions. As Ames indicates, the language and methods of persecution possessed a distinctly religious dimension as well. While Moore's notion of a persecuting society was not universally applicable and downplayed the role of religious belief, his study demonstrates how the medieval Church and secular authorities developed novel mechanisms and rhetoric for persecuting non-Christians and other out-groups during the central Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup> Amidst these novel mechanisms and religious developments stands the Albigensian Crusade, a conflict marking the first instance of countering a heretical group by means of crusade.

Over a century before the Albigensian Crusade broke out, the phenomenon of holy war evolved into a practice known as crusading. A notion rooted in the exegesis of the Church Fathers, holy war was "a form of warfare authorized directly or indirectly by God (or Christ) and fought to further what were believed to be his intentions."<sup>12</sup> A crusade was a particular type of holy war. Crusades specialist Jonathan Riley-Smith argues that a crusade was a distinctly penitential form of holy war mirroring the Christian pilgrimage.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Riley-Smith considers crusades to be geographically unbound conflicts that "were proclaimed not only against Muslims, but also against Pagan Wends, Balts and Lithuanians, Shamanist Mongols, Orthodox Russians and Greeks, Cathar and Hussite heretics, and those Catholics whom the Church deemed to be its enemies."<sup>14</sup> Crusaders often took vows, agreeing to fight in exchange

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<sup>11</sup> Moore, *Persecuting Society*, 150-2.

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 18.

<sup>13</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2009), 7-8.

<sup>14</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 13-4.

for temporal and spiritual privileges such as the indulgence. A cross sewn onto the shoulder was the insignia of the crusader, marking their pledge to fight on behalf of the Church.<sup>15</sup>

The developing notions of holy war that eventually coalesced into the crusading movement often centered on the medieval Church's Christian enemies, many of which were portrayed as pagans, heretics, and apostates.<sup>16</sup> While the papacy's Christian enemies never stopped being a concern, Urban II's proclamation at Clermont in 1095 oriented crusading toward the idea of reclaiming the Holy Land.<sup>17</sup> Motivated by notions of protecting Christendom and expanding its boundaries, recovering the Holy Land required the defeat and expulsion of its Muslim occupants. From the eleventh century to the beginning of the thirteenth, the papacy organized crusades for an assortment of reasons against a wide number of peoples. The Albigensian Crusade, however, marked an addition to the range of potential targets of crusading excursions. Heretical groups joined Muslims, Christians, and other papal enemies as adversaries warranting crusade to nullify the threat they posed to Christendom.

A confluence of factors shaped the Albigensian Crusade. The conflict was simultaneously religious, political, sociocultural, local, and transnational. The Albigensian Crusade functions as a historical and historiographical bridge, linking two of the Catholic Church's greatest concerns in the central Middle Ages: crusading and the repression of heresy. The Albigensian war was a novel development in these areas. Effectively gauging the impact and nature of the Albigensian conflict requires assessing its dual status as a crusade and as an anti-heretical methodology.

Therefore, the goal of this study is to evaluate how these two phenomena became intertwined, to

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<sup>15</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), 63-4.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Norman Housley describes how in 1053, Pope Leo IX led a failed excursion against the Normans, an ostensibly Christian people. See Norman Housley, "Crusades Against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216," in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 72.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 71-7.

determine how the scope of crusading broadened to incorporate heretical groups and methods for countering heresy shifted to include crusading.

Prior to the Albigensian Crusade, no pontiff called a crusade for the explicit purpose of stamping out a heresy. Likewise, the idea of crusading against heretics was not a feature of anti-heresy discourse for much of the twelfth century. Assessing how that idea became a reality requires contextualizing the Catholic Church's means for transmitting it. The production and dissemination of texts—that is, written documents of diverse purpose and genre—played an essential role in the Church's ability to transmit its doctrine and practices. For the medieval Church, texts functioned as tools to educate, inform, persuade, and inspire in others certain beliefs and actions. In other words, the Church utilized written propaganda to promote its views and maintain its spiritual and institutional hegemony.<sup>18</sup> The Catholic Church's use of propaganda applied to both crusading and the repression of heresy. The production of many sermons, treatises, letters, histories, bulls, laws, and other written works hinged on these dual concerns. The rise and evolution of crusading as a practice paralleled the diffusion of propaganda promoting the Church's efforts to eradicate its enemies.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, medieval heresy possessed its corresponding propaganda, aimed at undermining heretical groups and celebrating orthodoxy's rectitude and supremacy.

The propaganda of crusading and heresy repression strove to counteract the influence of phenomena the Church deemed existential threats. The practice of crusading, in most cases, focused on overcoming the external threat of Islam. Efforts to repress heresy, on the other hand,

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<sup>18</sup> See Oxford English Dictionary, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. "Propaganda," <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/152605?rskey=ZrCrd6&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> (accessed January 13<sup>th</sup>, 2017).

<sup>19</sup> Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3-6.

looked inward; groups refusing to submit to correction, claiming doctrinal or spiritual superiority to the Church, required elimination. The textual portrayal and eventual manifestation of the Occitan war as a fundamentally religious conflict required the bridging of these two phenomena and their respective strands of discourse.<sup>20</sup> During the late twelfth through early thirteenth centuries, the ubiquitous propaganda of crusading and heresy repression became bound together. Crusading became a justifiable method for quashing heretical depravity (*pravitas*) and heretics joined the established range of crusading enemies, resulting in a modified anti-heresy discourse in which crusading against heretics became a theologically justifiable idea. The institutionalization and codification of these strands of propaganda created the theological precedent for framing the war in Occitania as a holy war, allowing the idea of crusading against heretics to take root in anti-heresy discourse in the years preceding Innocent III's papacy and his call for a crusade in Occitania.<sup>21</sup> While Innocent III was instrumental in the crusade's inception and the general course the conflict took, the idea for such a conflict was not Innocent's invention. The call for crusade against the Occitan heretics was the end result of theological developments that began in the 1170s.

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<sup>20</sup> For the purposes of this study, "discourse" is defined as written communications or texts dedicated to a particular subject. The bodies of discourse pertaining to crusade advocacy and heresy repression produced by the medieval Church served propagandistic functions. Generally, not all forms of discourse are propagandistic in nature. However, in the case of Church-produced texts that promoted crusade and condemned heretical groups, such discourse was explicitly propagandistic. For this reason, in the context of this study and the sources discussed below, references to discourse denote Church-produced propaganda. Uses of the phrase "Christian discourse" speak to the body of Christian writing in broader terms.

<sup>21</sup> The region of southern France, often called the Languedoc, will be referred to as Occitania in this study. Joseph Strayer and Laurence Marvin argue that Occitania is a preferable term to the Languedoc because the latter term does not encompass the entirety of southern France nor does it accurately indicate the region's political fragmentation, sociocultural inimitability, and independence from the north. See Joseph Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusade* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 1-11; Laurence Marvin, *The Occitan War: A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209-1218* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 4.

## *II. The Albigensian Crusade as a Historiographical Dilemma*

The complexities of the Albigensian Crusade make it a historiographical challenge. As Laurence Marvin demonstrates, twentieth-century historians have typically examined the Albigensian Crusade in one of three ways—as an aspect of medieval heresy, as a species of crusading, and as a singular event.<sup>22</sup> In the early twentieth century, scholars tended to focus on Catharism, a heresy that proliferated in southern France. Herbert Grundmann’s treatment of the Albigensian Crusade is indicative of this approach. Published in 1935, his *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* frames this conflict in terms of Innocent III’s efforts to stymie the growth of the Cathar heresy and punish transgressors.<sup>23</sup> Grundmann’s brief account of the crusade frames it as a manifestation of Innocent’s papal policies on heresy, characterizing the pontiff as unyielding in his determination to ensure that orthodoxy was upheld in southern France. Grundmann’s terminology is also reflective of the crusade’s connections to the Cathar heresy, as the terms Albigensian and Cathar are used interchangeably throughout the monograph. For Grundmann, the Albigensian Crusade was a constituent part within the broader history of medieval heresy.

This understanding of the war in Occitania carries over into the research of Steven Runciman. First published in 1945, his monograph *The Medieval Manichee* argues that the Albigensian Crusade’s origins were solidly religious in nature, emerging due to the diffusion of Catharism throughout Occitania. To Runciman, the Cathars were not descendants of the ancient Manichaeian heresy; the dualism attributed to them had origins in the Gnosticism of the second century.<sup>24</sup> However, Runciman explains that the religious motivations for the conflict became

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<sup>22</sup> The following historiographical assessment will closely parallel Laurence W. Marvin’s comprehensive “The Albigensian Crusade in Anglo-American Historiography, 1888-2013,” *History Compass* 11, no. 12 (2013):1126-1138.

<sup>23</sup> Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 58-9.

<sup>24</sup> Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 137-150.

bound up with issues of territorial control in the region.<sup>25</sup> The war in Occitania was a religious war colored by the social and political goals of its major players.

Likewise, Walter Wakefield's research reaches similar conclusions. Initially issued in 1974, Wakefield's depiction of the Albigensian Crusade portrays the conflict as an example of the Church's increasingly rigorous efforts to quash Occitania's Cathars. "The struggle against heresy," argues Wakefield, "approached a climax in Languedoc. The business of the faith had not been conducted there in isolation from similar affairs elsewhere."<sup>26</sup> Much like Grundmann, Wakefield interpreted the war in Occitania within the context of papal responses to the spread of Catharism in not only southern France, but northern Italy and the Rhineland as well. Writing in the early 1970s, Malcolm Lambert also stresses the Albigensian Crusade's religious origins and the resulting political consolidation which allowed the Catholic Church to more effectively employ inquisition to eradicate Catharism.<sup>27</sup>

Bernard Hamilton expands on the importance of political allegiances in his research on the inquisition. Hamilton makes the argument that the Albigensian Crusade's primary purpose was the acquisition of territory held by heretics and their sympathizers, allowing the Church to eradicate Catharism more effectively.<sup>28</sup> Hamilton interprets the conflict as a tool for implementing inquisition more than a direct effort to repress Occitania's Cathars. The Albigensian Crusade does not feature significantly in R.I. Moore's *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*. Yet Moore does acknowledge that this conflict exemplified "local reluctance to pursue heresy with the vigour which the Church required," and the prospect of

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>26</sup> Walter Wakefield, *Heresy, Crusade, and Inquisition in Southern France 1100-1250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 93-4.

<sup>27</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 105-6.

<sup>28</sup> Bernard Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981), 30-1.

receiving indulgences for its participants.<sup>29</sup> Malcolm Barber provides a more nuanced portrayal of the war in his monograph on Catharism. Framing the conflict within the context of the rise and persecution of Catharism and its supporters, Barber provides insight into the military efforts of alleged Cathar supporters like Count Raymond VI of Toulouse and Count Raymond Roger of Foix, whose deeds met the ire of contemporary chroniclers like Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay.<sup>30</sup>

Beverley Kienzle's research continues the trend of looking at the Albigensian Crusade within the developmental history of medieval heresy and Catharism. Her concentration deals with the influence of Cistercian preachers during the conflict, focusing specifically on the efforts of figures like Arnaud Amaury in encouraging Christians to take up the sword to expunge Catharism and reform the region morally and socially.<sup>31</sup> John Arnold's investigation of medieval inquisition is brief in its assessment of the Albigensian Crusade. He describes the conflict as an "undoubtedly religious venture" that "degenerated into a confused mixture of religious persecution and territorial ambition."<sup>32</sup> Much like Runciman, Lambert, and Hamilton, Arnold recognizes the centrality of repressing heretical deviance as well as orthodox control of Occitan land in shaping the Albigensian Crusade.

*The Corruption of Angels*, Mark Gregory Pegg's debut monograph, upended the heresy-centric branch of Albigensian Crusade historiography in 2001. Coloring Pegg's understanding of the war is his novel approach to Catharism. Pegg concludes that extant sources do not prove the existence of an organized and hierarchical Cathar Church, as claimed by many Catholic writers. Instead, Pegg stresses that the persecution of Cathars was rooted in the sociocultural

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<sup>29</sup> Moore, *Persecuting Society*, 9.

<sup>30</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 2000), 123-4.

<sup>31</sup> Beverley Mayne Kienzle, "Innocent III's Papacy and the Crusade Years, 1198-1229: Arnaud Amaury, Gui of Vaux-de-Cernay, Foulque of Toulouse," *Heresis: Revue d'herésiologie médiévale* 29 (1998):79-80.

<sup>32</sup> John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 32.

idiosyncrasies that characterized Occitan spirituality.<sup>33</sup> Evaluating the Cathars in this way shaded Pegg’s conception of the war in Occitania. He argues that the term *Albigensis* was not a moniker of self-identity—*amici Dei* or *amicx de Dieu*, meaning friends of God, were more accurate terms—but shorthand that northern French crusaders applied to all southern French heretics during the war.<sup>34</sup> Christine Ames’s assessment of the Albigensian Crusade is less provocative than Pegg’s, but it does acknowledge this war as an innovation. She notes that the crusade was a novel response to the threat of heresy against Christendom as well as the practice of crusading. “Never before,” explains Ames, “had Latin Christians turned their crusading ideology, in development since the eleventh century, overtly against heresy.”<sup>35</sup> To Ames, the heresy factor made the war in Occitania an inventive divergence from typical crusading excursions.

Ames’s concern with the innovative characteristics of the Albigensian Crusade speaks to the preoccupations of a parallel historiographical approach. This alternative school of thought analyzed the Albigensian Crusade within the context of the greater crusading movement of the central Middle Ages. Crusades scholars of the mid-twentieth century gave the conflict little attention. Originally published in 1954, Steven Runciman’s multi-volume history of the crusades is a noteworthy example. While he does not deny its status as a crusade—as described in his monograph on Catharism, he notes belligerents received indulgences in exchange for fighting heretics—Runciman dismisses the Albigensian Crusade as a mere distraction of Innocent’s. He acknowledges that the war was an important issue requiring the Church’s attention, but it interfered with the more important endeavor of taking back the Holy Land and protecting

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<sup>33</sup> Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 130.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-9.

<sup>35</sup> Christine Caldwell Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 208.

Christendom from external encroachment.<sup>36</sup> Austin Evans's account of the Albigensian Crusade features in the third volume of Kenneth Setton's anthology *A History of the Crusades*, marking a notable shift in scholarly conceptions of this war as a crusade.<sup>37</sup> While this account is fairly consistent with arguments from the heresy-centric school of thought, its inclusion in this volume is indicative of a greater acceptance in the scholarly community of the idea that the war in Occitania was a legitimate crusade.

While crusade scholars became more accepting of the Albigensian Crusade within crusading historiography, its place continued to be limited. Illustrative of this point are works by crusade historians like Thomas Madden and Jonathan Riley-Smith, who devote less than a chapter to the conflict in their respective crusade histories.<sup>38</sup> Yet scholars like Christopher Tyerman place greater emphasis on the war, dedicating an entire chapter to the Albigensian Crusade in his exhaustive crusade narrative *God's War*. He outlines the tenets of Catharism, its predominance in Occitania, and the major events that shaped the conflict between 1209 and 1229. Moreover, Tyerman observes the conflict as a permutation of established crusading practices. "The novelty of the Albigensian crusades," Tyerman argues, "lay in the church's recruitment of an international force rather than rely on local secular Christian rulers to combat heresy, and the application to the campaigns of the privileges of Holy Land penitential warfare."<sup>39</sup> To Tyerman, the Albigensian conflict was a unique affair because of its atypical approach to the struggle against heresy as well as its incorporation of the penitential component

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<sup>36</sup> Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades – Volume III: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 139.

<sup>37</sup> Austin P. Evans, "The Albigensian Crusade," in *A History of the Crusades – Volume II: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, Robert Lee Wolff, and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 278-9.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999); Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

<sup>39</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), 567.

of crusading. While his account of the conflict is relatively brief, Tyerman regards the war in Occitania as a noteworthy innovation upon previous crusading excursions.

A third historiographical strand examines the Albigensian Crusade as a stand-alone event. Published in 1971, Joseph Strayer's work, *The Albigensian Crusade*, deemphasizes the religious characteristics of the war, framing the conflict as a political crusade that resulted in the conquest of southern France by the monarchy of the north.<sup>40</sup> The victory of the French monarchy and northern forces, according to Strayer, ensured France became a formidable international power. Several years after the publication of Strayer's monograph, Jonathan Sumption's similarly titled response pushed back against the political focus of Strayer's work. He stresses the military logistics of the conflict and, much like Strayer, sees the war as pivotal to the political consolidation of France under a centralized monarchy. Sumption breaks with Strayer on the religious significance of the crusade, dedicating its first chapters to an analysis of the dualism attributed to Cathars as well as the structures of a Cathar Church.<sup>41</sup> While the outcomes of the Occitan war were sociopolitical, Sumption argues that the religious factors shaping it were equally important and warranted greater emphasis.

Approaching the Albigensian Crusade as a stand-alone event has met with some push back from historians of medieval heresy. Michael Costen's 1997 work analyzing the Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade is a noteworthy example. Costen's assessment of the Cathars focuses more on the religious beliefs and practices attributed to the group than it does the conflict itself.<sup>42</sup> The war in Occitania was an important event worthy of close study, but Costen, like many

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<sup>40</sup> Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades*, x-xi.

<sup>41</sup> Jonathan Sumption, *The Albigensian Crusade* (London: Faber & Faber, 1999), 32-62.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Costen, *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 120.

scholars of medieval heresy, see the conflict as a subordinate constituent part of the history of Catharism and medieval heresy.

Twenty-first century scholars are more critical in their assessment of the Albigensian Crusade. A notable instance is Mark Gregory Pegg's *A Most Holy War*, a narrative history of the conflict. Much like his earlier *The Corruption of Angels*, his account of the Albigensian Crusade downplays the religious beliefs attributed to the Cathars. Instead, Pegg focuses on the violence of crusading, controversially connecting the Albigensian Crusade to the advent of "genocide in the West by linking divine salvation to mass murder, by making slaughter as loving an act as His sacrifice on the cross."<sup>43</sup> Most importantly, Pegg's narrative emphasizes the human and social costs of waging a war against the peoples of Occitania, whom he deems socioculturally idiosyncratic rather than outright heretical.<sup>44</sup> Alternatively, Laurence Marvin's treatment of the Albigensian Crusade is less controversial than Pegg's. In *The Occitan War*, Marvin details the course of the conflict from a military perspective. Much like Pegg, Marvin is not concerned with the religious beliefs ascribed to Occitan Cathars. Rather, Marvin focuses on Simon de Montfort as a military commander, arguing that he was the backbone of the crusade and instrumental in its successes up to Simon's death in 1218.<sup>45</sup> The religious factors of the conflict continue to compel scholars though. Karl Borchardt's study, for example, addresses papal motivations for waging holy war against heretics in Occitania. Borchardt advances the argument that the Albigensian Crusade's cause was not the danger Catharism posed alone. He contends that Innocent III deemed a crusade against heretics necessary because the growth of Occitan heresy hindered the

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<sup>43</sup> Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 183.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>45</sup> Marvin, *The Occitan War*, 310.

Church's progress in recapturing and maintaining control of the Holy Land.<sup>46</sup> Heresy posed a risk to Christendom that warranted crusade, yet the source of that risk was as an impediment to the recovery of Jerusalem.

The three distinct historiographical approaches to the Albigensian Crusade explored above illustrate its unique position within medieval history. Whether scholars emphasize the war's ties to medieval heresy, gauge the conflict within the milieu of crusading, or analyze it as a stand-alone event, it is clear the Albigensian Crusade is not a straightforward or simply explained phenomenon. All three of these approaches possess value. The Albigensian Crusade is a critical component of medieval heresy's development and the Church's response to it. Likewise, the conflict has clear parallels with other crusading excursions. Yet neither of these approaches negate the advantages of a focused study of the Albigensian Crusade as a singular event either. These approaches illustrate that the war in Occitania was, much like medieval heresy itself, a markedly complex conflict. A nuanced understanding of the ideas informing this war requires a careful assessment of its placement in each of these paradigms. Therefore, this study will illustrate the intersection of these three approaches by evaluating how the idea of crusading against heretics became a part of anti-heresy discourse.

Furthermore, this study is less about the Albigensian Crusade itself or heretics than it is an analysis of ideas. While the study of ideas has its detractors in figures like Mark Pegg, whose research assesses the lived realities of medieval peoples, ideas are more than disembodied, ethereal abstractions that do not affect people's lives in concrete ways.<sup>47</sup> Studying ideas provides

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<sup>46</sup> Karl Borchardt, "Casting Out the Demons by Beelzebul: Did the Papal Preaching against the Albigensians Ruin the Crusades?" *The Papacy and the Crusades: Proceedings of VII<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 79.

<sup>47</sup> Mark Gregory Pegg, "A Cautionary Note," in *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2013), 250-5; *The Corruption of Angels*, 15-6.

insight into how medieval peoples perceived and portrayed their lived realities. The crux of this study is an examination of the ideas of medieval churchmen on crusading, heresy repression, and how those ideas intertwined and manifested. The ideas of these churchmen were not bound to the page, they shaped and were shaped by the acts of crusading and heresy repression. In this way, the present study follows in the tradition of crusades scholar Carl Erdmann, who approached crusading as an idea that developed over time. To Erdmann, the idea of crusade was not solely linked to Urban II's call to arms in 1095, but to developing notions of knighthood and the evolution of the Church's relationship with just and holy forms of warfare.<sup>48</sup> The present study approaches the idea of crusading similarly, exploring how the ideas informing the Albigensian Crusade arose from evolving ecclesiastical conceptions of war and violence, much like the First Crusade. Moreover, this study builds off L.J. Sackville's monograph *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century*. Sackville's aim is not to assess "what the sources can say about heresy so much as what they can tell us about Catholic ideas of heresy that lie behind them: how and from what parts the picture of heresy is put together, whether as part of a rhetorical programme or at a more structural level."<sup>49</sup> As in Sackville's monograph, heresy and heretics are not the concern of the present study. Catholic ideas about heresy and suppressing heretics are. Assessing the propaganda of crusading, heresy, and the union of both is an effort to understand the ideas informing the actions of the Church leaders that ignited the Occitan conflict in 1208 and made that conflict a crusade.

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<sup>48</sup> Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. by Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), xxxiii-iv.

<sup>49</sup> L.J. Sackville, *Heresy and Heretics in the Thirteenth Century* (Suffolk, UK: York Medieval Press, 2011), 9.

### *III. The Making of a Crusade*

The extensive attention the Church gave to crusading and the repression of heresy reflects the institution's major concerns in the central Middle Ages. Both practices sought to preserve and broaden the Church's spiritual and institutional authority. Building off the ideas of philosopher Michel Foucault, John Arnold describes how the medieval Church's authority, or power, did not always mean the use of military or persecutory force. Arnold explains that "power can also be thought of as something that, in order to get people to go along with it, also induces pleasures, needs, desires."<sup>50</sup> For the Catholic Church, then, power "is the subtle shaping of attitudes and mindset," the various means and methods employed to shape medieval society.<sup>51</sup> Trepidation over the potential loss of power shaded many of the Church's actions between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, galvanizing many Christian writers to compose propagandistic texts defending Catholicism and celebrating Christendom.<sup>52</sup> These texts expounded how crusading and the repression of heresy were not only worthwhile, but indispensable endeavors.

The writers of crusading and anti-heresy propaganda did not create their texts in a vacuum. Authors focused in one area did not live and write in an environment impervious to the influence of authors writing in others. In some cases, Christian writers composed both forms of propaganda. While their areas of focus were different, their ends were the same: the preservation of orthodoxy and the expansion of Christendom. As the practice of crusading and the threat of heresy grew over the twelfth century, the propaganda of each subject suffused the other. Between the final decades of the twelfth century and the first several years of the thirteenth, propaganda

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<sup>50</sup> John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 14.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>52</sup> Bryan E. Peterson, "'Ubi apostolica forma et vita quam iactatis?': Evaluating Textual Representations of Cathar Asceticism, c. 1100-1300," in *FCH Annals: Journal of the Florida Conference of Historians* 24 (June 2018): 34-5; Moore, *Persecuting Society*, 102.

previously exclusive to crusading—propounding the spiritual rewards available to those waging holy war on behalf of the Lord’s Church—pervaded anti-heresy propaganda texts. Propaganda condemning heretical groups evolved significantly during the twelfth century as well. Persuasion through preaching, the initial method for countering heretical groups, gave way to crusading as a legitimate method for ensuring the eradication of heresy.

Many of these texts told the stories of major events and encounters that inspired the Church’s actions, impelling the Church to justify crusades and impugn heretics. Exposition, however, was not the sole purpose of these texts. The authors of both strands of propaganda played an active role in defining crusade and heresy, shaping contemporary perceptions of these phenomena, and influencing the Church’s responses to them. The union of these discourses did not make the Albigensian Crusade inevitable, nor was it the only factor driving this conflict. Nevertheless, the union of these strands in the late 1100s fostered the theological, intellectual, and institutional conditions for countering Occitan heresy with crusade in the early 1200s.

To illustrate how the idea of crusading against heretics evolved and became the practice of the medieval Church, this study employs a thematic approach. The first chapter assesses the propaganda of crusading from its inception in the eleventh century and examines its evolution throughout most of the twelfth century. Beginning with an analysis of Saint Augustine’s conception of moral and just warfare, the study then explores the key characteristics that defined crusading propaganda. The core of this assessment is the propaganda that engendered the First Crusade. This is followed by an evaluation of several twelfth century crusading accounts, showing how aspects of crusading propaganda persisted in some ways and evolved in others. This chapter is not meant to be an exhaustive account of crusading propaganda during the

crusading era. Rather, the aim of this chapter is to provide an illustrative account of the most essential features of crusading propaganda from several major propagandists.

The second chapter centers on the Catholic Church's response to the rise of, and threat posed by, medieval heresies. First, the chapter briefly assesses some early medieval anti-heresy propaganda before tracing its developments from the eleventh century to the mid-twelfth. This chapter gauges these author's stances on efficacy of violence against heretics as well. To varying degrees, both secular and ecclesiastical authorities saw violence as an acceptable way to deal with intractable heretics. Violent measures against heretics and anti-heresy propaganda often worked in concert, so this chapter considers the threat of violence and violent imagery in anti-heresy propaganda. The heresy linked to the Albigensian Crusade is Catharism, though it is not this chapter's sole focus. Instead, this chapter engages in a broader assessment of anti-heresy propaganda. Simply holding unorthodox beliefs did not automatically turn a Christian into a heretic. Obstinate holding to those beliefs in defiance of the Church's correction did however. Therefore, this chapter investigates other heresies apart from Catharism, as the Church's opposition to heresy lay in the recalcitrance of heretics, not solely their unorthodox beliefs and practices.

The study's concluding chapter concentrates on the final decades of the twelfth century and the first of the thirteenth. During this span of time, the propaganda of crusading and repressing heresy became bound together. The chapter assesses how anti-heresy texts of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries became increasingly receptive to the notion of crusading against heretical groups. Propaganda once exclusive to the defense and celebration of crusading coalesced with that of anti-heresy discourse. Writers of anti-heresy texts in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries incorporated the propaganda of crusading into their works, resulting in

holy war becoming a valid tool for extirpating the threat of heresy in the years preceding Innocent's pontificate.

#### *IV. Sources and Translations*

Extant sources on crusading and repressing heresy come in many forms. Medieval authors wrote sermons—both promulgated and model sermons—treatises, histories, chronicles, letters, bulls, and law codes on these topics. As crusading and anti-heresy propaganda were not unique features of any one of these source types, this study draws on evidence from several of them. While the content of these sources covered comparable topics, these sources are not the same. Their purpose and audience differ in notable ways. This study takes these differences into consideration while focusing on the propagandistic elements that made them similar.

The authorship and audiences of these texts warrant consideration. With perhaps one exception, the authors of these sources were ecclesiastical figures.<sup>53</sup> These men were ordained members of the Roman Church and often leaders of religious communities. While the medieval Church was not a monolithic entity and orthodox thought did not endure rigid uniformity, churchmen made efforts to “assert the unity and coherence of ‘the Church’ in the medieval period, often in an explicit attempt to limit diversity.”<sup>54</sup> As churchmen, these authors fit into that spiritual and institutional milieu. Though the weight and reach of each figure's words varied, their works reflect the major concerns and values of many churchmen regarding crusade and heresy repression. As only a subset of clerics enjoyed the ability to read and write, the audiences

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<sup>53</sup> The author of the *Gesta Francorum* (c. 1100) is anonymous and their identity is debated. See discussion on pp. 36-9.

<sup>54</sup> Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 12-3. On the issue of the uniformity of orthodox thought, also see discussion of R.I. Moore and his critics, pp. 2-4.

for these texts were relatively small and primarily ecclesiastical.<sup>55</sup> In most cases, the authors of these sources wrote for their peers and superiors in the Church. Letters, treatises, and even some histories were effectively intra-institutional dialogues between their authors and fellow ecclesiastics. Secular leaders and other literate laymen counted amongst the readership of certain other sources. These authors often induced secular authorities to disseminate and enforce the precepts of canon laws and papal bulls on the matters of crusading and heresy repression. The preaching of clerics diffused these ideas widely as well.

The primary sources chosen for each chapter serve various functions. The goal of the first two chapters is to elucidate the most fundamental aspects of each strand of propaganda. These chapters are not independent analyses meant to explore every facet of crusading and anti-heresy discourse—entire studies can be devoted to analyzing these topics. The selected sources in these chapters aim to contextualize the contents of the concluding chapter, which is the heart of this analysis. Therefore, the sources procured for the first two chapters function as a survey of the most essential elements of crusading and anti-heresy propaganda. While this study accounts for many variations in how medieval authors thought and wrote about crusading and heresy—as well as how contemporary historians interpret those medieval authors—these two chapters present a careful reading of sources comporting with the definitions of crusade and heresy discussed above.<sup>56</sup> Though some nuance is lost, tracing the intricacies of these strands of discourse in greater depth goes beyond the scope of this study. Consequently, this study refrains from an encyclopedic analysis of each discourse for the sake of crafting a focused analysis and sensible narrative.

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<sup>55</sup> Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 13.

<sup>56</sup> See pp. 1-4.

These sources come from an array of English and Latin source collections, the names of which are found in the bibliography. Regarding the matter of translations, this study relies on a mixture of original translations and translated scholarly sources. All quoted primary sources are original translations unless noted otherwise. Inconsistencies in primary source transcriptions—namely, nonstandard orthography and lettering, omitted capital letters, and punctuation discrepancies—are amended. Translated scholarly sources are from the most recent published editions obtainable, though several are from older translations. Discrepancies with the translators of these sources are indicated with italicized text. Such alterations to these translated sources are made only in the rare instance where an alternate definition for a particular word or phrase fits the context of the included quotation better than the provided one.

#### *V. Conclusion*

The primary goal of this study is to illustrate the key role that texts—in this case, propagandistic texts—played in shaping the ideas and actions of the medieval Church. To examine how crusading became a way to tackle the threat of heresy requires acknowledging the role texts played in the transmission of ideas throughout the Middle Ages. Texts are the most fundamental resource with which historians endeavor to reconstruct the past. Understanding the history of an event, individual, or group requires historians to assess not only what a source says about the past, but acknowledge that source as an artifact of the past. Moreover, as artifacts of the past, it is necessary to evaluate the capacity of texts to shape and be shaped by the intellectual, religious, and sociopolitical climates in which they were created. These texts were not static. They played an active role in shaping the Church's understanding of the medieval world and how it chose to act in it. The medieval Church's use of propaganda to defend its

actions, doctrine, and authority illustrates the dynamicity of these texts. Crusading and anti-heresy propaganda did not only recount what already occurred, but shaped how readers understood both phenomena, wrote about them, and acted on them.

In a broad sense, this study evaluates the medieval Catholic Church's role in shaping ideas about Christianity, Christendom, and threats posed by those it deemed enemies. The Church's institutional and spiritual influence pervaded medieval life and society thoroughly. The propaganda produced by medieval authors was the means by which the Church disseminated that influence and communicated its ideas on institutional preservation and expansion. Ultimately, approaching the Albigensian Crusade as the convergence of different strands of propaganda provides insight into these ideas of preservation and expansion. Crusading and anti-heresy propaganda were conduits through which the Church disseminated its conception of a Christian world. Therefore, analyzing crusade and anti-heresy propaganda is essential to developing an understanding of the Church's efforts to forge a world in its image, safeguard its authority, and expand the bounds of Christendom.

## CHAPTER 1: CRUSADING PROPAGANDA, c. 1050-1150

### *I. The Composition of Crusading Propaganda*

Traditionally, the year 1095 marked the formal beginning of the Crusades, an enterprise that dominated much of Catholic thought for the remaining centuries of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Crusading became a major preoccupation of the medieval Church, as the papacy promised the remission of sins to all who took up arms to defend the Holy Land. The practice of crusading drew on existing conceptions of just war and violence. The Christian notion that violent actions, under the right conditions and circumstances, were moral, developed during the late Roman period. The early Catholic Church and the patristic authors who shaped its theology provided their medieval successors with the ideas that formed the crusading propaganda of the Middle Ages.

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<sup>1</sup> Though many historians consider the First the formal beginning of the medieval “crusading era,” other scholars trace the enterprise back further. As described above (p. 5, no. 16), Norman Housley noted several efforts against the Church’s Christian enemies in the mid-eleventh century, like Pope Leo IX, who led troops against the Normans in southern Italy. Although not a fully-fledged crusade, Housley characterized this action as a defense of the Church and Christendom. Housley also notes how in 1080, Pope Gregory VII issued indulgences to the German forces opposing the excommunicated Henry IV. Paul Chevedden rejects the notion that the crusades were a movement created by Urban II in 1095, arguing that the Sicilian Crusade (1060-1091), led by Duke Robert of Guiscard against the Muslims of Sicily, was the first major military excursion to possess many key crusading features. It was a religious war aimed at resisting the spread of Islam and restoring the Sicilian Church. Pope Alexander II sponsored the war, issuing indulgences to those waging it. Chevedden briefly mentions the Barbastro Crusade (1063-1065) in Iberia as well, a conflict that featured the issuance of crusading indulgences. See Norman Housley, “Crusades Against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216,” in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 71-5; Paul E. Chevedden, “‘A Crusade from the First’: The Norman Conquest of Islamic Sicily, 1060-1091,” *Al-Masāq: Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 22, no. 2 (August 2010): 192-4, 223-5.

Arising in the mid-eleventh century and consolidating into a coherent movement by the century's end, proponents of crusading promoted and defended the practice through writing. Whether in the form of canon law, letters, treatises, or histories, writing was key to disseminating the defining characteristics of crusading in ecclesiastical and lay circles. The primary goal of this chapter is to outline those characteristics, focusing on the qualities that made a war a crusade as well as those that influenced people to support and participate in them. To assess the union of crusading and anti-heresy propaganda, it is essential to investigate the composition of each strand of discourse. As the Occitan war is characterized as a crusade, evaluating the composition of crusading propaganda is critical to understanding its status as a crusade.

## *II. Augustine of Hippo and the Foundations of Just and Holy War*

Understanding the crusades of the medieval era requires a nuanced look into their intellectual and theological roots. The medieval Roman Church inherited its conception of legitimate and illegitimate forms of violence and warfare, as well as some of the core elements of medieval crusading propaganda, from early Christian patristic authors. Augustine of Hippo, writing in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, shaped medieval conceptions of just and holy warfare.<sup>2</sup> Christopher Tyerman notes that Augustine made no explicit distinction between a just war and a holy one in any of his extant writings, yet

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<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 16-7. Other early Christian authors shaped medieval conceptions of warfare as well, though not as critically as Augustine. Jerome agrees with Augustine, contending that "it is not cruelty, but love for God" that spurs the need to defend orthodoxy. Martin of Tours offers an alternative view, inverting the idea of *miles Christi*: "I am a soldier of Christ; it is not lawful for me to fight." While the former perspective dominates the Church's understanding of just and holy war, both perspectives persist into the medieval crusading era. See Jerome, *Epistulae: Ad riparium presbyterum*, 109.3; CSEL, Vol. 55, 354. "Non est crudelitas pro Deo pietas;" Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini*, 2.4; CSEL, Vol. 1, 114. "Christi ego miles sum... pugnare mihi non licet."

a consequence of Augustine's contributions to Christian discourse on warfare was a shift in "the justification of violence from lawbooks to liturgies, from the secular to the religious."<sup>3</sup> Though Augustine did not advocate for holy war, or any war, outright, he proffered justifications for waging war that contextualized the practice within the language of Christianity. In this sense, Augustine's religious values shaded his understanding of just forms of warfare.

While a prolific author, Augustine did not pen any volume dedicated to the topic of warfare alone. Yet his concern with warfare and violence manifested as an important feature in works much broader in scope and nature. Two of these works, the *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* and the *De civitate Dei*, address justifications for violence and waging war in a Christian world. Central to Augustine's conception of just warfare is the notion that possessing virtue, or a morally sound disposition, legitimized violent actions. Moreover, Augustine frames appropriate forms of violence and warfare as a means to implement God's will in the world. Augustine's understanding of war and violence left its mark on Christian society, influencing many medieval authors' conceptions of holy war and coloring the propaganda they created to promote and defend the practice of crusading.

The first of these works is a treatise Augustine wrote in reply to Faustus, a critic of Christian orthodoxy and a proponent and follower of the dualist Christian heresy known as Manichaeism. Augustine dissects the errors he considered intrinsic to Faustus's arguments against Christian orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Written around the turn of the fifth century, the *Contra Faustum* disparages both Faustus and Manichaeism while

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<sup>3</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), 34.

reinforcing the superiority of Christian orthodoxy and the Catholic Church. In the twenty-second book of the *Contra Faustum*, Augustine challenges Faustus's belief in the moral inconsistency of the Old Testament. Augustine refutes Faustus by turning to the Book of Exodus and the story of Moses and the Egyptian. He briefly recounts how Moses, after witnessing an Egyptian beat a fellow Hebrew, killed that Egyptian and buried the man's body in the desert.<sup>4</sup> Augustine contends that Moses' killing of the Egyptian was a theologically justifiable deed. He explains that even though Moses lacked the proper authority to take the Egyptian man's life, his possession of virtue mitigated his transgression. Augustine argues that the "spirit of mind which led Moses to take the law into his own hands... did not impede his virtue."<sup>5</sup> Moses' possession of virtue is clear to Augustine. While Moses' violent actions lacked the explicit approval of both temporal and divine authority, killing the Egyptian did not negate nor prevent Moses from possessing or developing his virtue. For Augustine, the potential for salvation depended on the fact that violent acts must be judged according to the spirit in which they were committed—a notion not lost on many medieval propagandists.

Augustine reinforces this argument by comparing Moses to Peter the Apostle. Peter came to Jesus' defense when beset by the servants of Caiaphas, who wanted Jesus arrested. Peter sprang into action, taking his sword and cutting off the ear of the servant Malchus, an act for which Jesus rebuked Peter.<sup>6</sup> Even though both Moses and Peter were guilty of unsanctioned violence, Augustine explains that neither figure was irredeemable, as evinced by their leadership roles in the Jewish and Christian communities. "For both

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<sup>4</sup> Exod. 2:11-12.

<sup>5</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, 22.70; CSEL, Vol. 25, 667. "Sic ille animi motus, quo Moyses... non observato ordine, potestatis... non virtutum fructibus inutilis erat."

<sup>6</sup> Matt. 26:51; John 18:10.

men,” contends Augustine, “transgressed not in detestable barbarity, but in a spirit of righteousness, capable of correction.”<sup>7</sup> Augustine determines that malice did not motivate their actions, which were instead motivated by a righteous love and loyalty for those they defended. Jonathan Riley-Smith reinforces this conclusion, arguing that “those who authorized and took part in violence... had to be motivated by love and this should mean that only such force as was necessary would be employed.”<sup>8</sup> Augustine illustrates how Moses and Peter’s violent actions manifested from their love for those they defended, meaning their actions were virtuous rather than sinful.

Expanding on the notion of moral violence, Augustine evaluates whether warfare was a just or moral endeavor. He also elaborates on the idea of interiority—that is, the inner subjective experience of Christianity—and its relation to warfare. Robert Holmes, a scholar of philosophy, argues that it was Augustine’s inward looking conception of Christianity that allowed him to “remain committed to the pacifistic testimony of the New Testament and at the same time, at another level, to reorient Christianity to the path of militarism.”<sup>9</sup> Much like his conception of moral violence, Augustine highlights the importance of internal disposition when it comes to moral warfare, as evidenced by his assessment of Jesus’ Sermon on the Mount. When confronted by conflict, Jesus encouraged his listeners to “not resist an evildoer. But if anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other also.”<sup>10</sup> Augustine interprets this as a reference to one’s internal

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<sup>7</sup> Augustine, *Contra*, 22.70; CSEL, Vol. 25, 668. “Uterque enim non detestabili inmanitate, sed emendabili animositate iustitiae regulam excessit.” The term *emendabili* (capable of correction) may suggest that Moses and Peter did not possess virtue, but were simply not wicked. However, due to the Fall of Man, all human beings possessed sin. Therefore, even the most virtuous are capable of correction.

<sup>8</sup> Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, 16.

<sup>9</sup> Robert L. Holmes, “St. Augustine and the Just War Theory,” in *The Augustinian Tradition*, ed. Gareth B. Matthews (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 325.

<sup>10</sup> Matt. 5:39.

disposition rather than a reflection of just one's outward actions. He asserts that "this preparation is not in the body, but in the heart; for there is the holy seat of virtue."<sup>11</sup>

Waging war did not go against Jesus' teachings so long as one's internal disposition was righteous and so long as one's heart was contrite.<sup>12</sup> To Augustine, warfare required this moral foundation, otherwise the enterprise became a sinful act.

Much like the *Contra Faustum*, Augustine of Hippo's *De civitate Dei* reinforces these notions of moral warfare. Written between 413 and 427, *De civitate Dei* is a philosophical treatise, geared toward illustrating the demarcation "between the earthly and heavenly cities, prefigured in the Biblical Babylon and Jerusalem or in Cain and Abel."<sup>13</sup> Augustine considers the catalysts and rationalizations for war in the work's seventh chapter. "For it is the iniquity of the opposing side," explains Augustine, "that imposes upon the wise man the duty of waging wars; and every man certainly ought to deplore this iniquity since, even if no necessity for war should arise from it, it is still the iniquity of men."<sup>14</sup> He develops this notion further in his fifteenth chapter, arguing that "even when a just war is waged, it is in defense of his sin that he against whom it is waged is fighting; and every victory, even when it goes to the wicked, is a humiliation inflicted upon the conquered by divine judgment, either to correct their sins or to punish them."<sup>15</sup> Augustine reasons that a moral and just war required a worthy enemy. The

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<sup>11</sup> Augustine, *Contra*, 22.76; CSEL, Vol. 25, 674. "Intellegant hanc praeparationem non esse in corpore, sed in corde; ibi est enim sanctum cubile virtutis."

<sup>12</sup> William R. Stevenson, *Christian Love and Just War* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), 107.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Chadwick, *Augustine of Hippo: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 129.

<sup>14</sup> Augustine, *The City of God against the Pagans*, trans. by R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 19.7; CSEL, Vol. 40.2, 384. "Iniquitas enim partis adversae iusta bella ingerit gerenda sapienti; quae iniquitas utique homini est dolenda, quia hominum est, etsi nulla ex ea bellandi necessitas nasceretur."

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.15; CSEL, Vol. 40.2, 400. "Nam et cum iustum geritur bellum, pro peccato e contrario dimicatur; et omnis Victoria, cum etiam malis provenit, divino iudicio victos humiliat vel emendans peccata vel puniens."

iniquity of an enemy compelled the righteous to take up the sword to dispose them, reinforcing the idea that warfare required a moral foundation.

Stressing the necessity of a sound moral foundation, Augustine provides his ecclesiastical successors with a conceptual framework for crusading propaganda. Augustine merges his justifications for waging war with his religious sensibilities, Christianizing the notion of a just war and legitimizing violence under the right circumstances. By adopting and adapting Augustine's conception of war and violence, the medieval Church was able to repurpose it into propaganda promoting the crusade as a meritorious enterprise. As a Church Father, the influence of Augustine's ideas was substantial, shaping Christianity and the Catholic Church in many ways. As will be shown, the extent of that influence left a vibrant mark on the medieval Church and the propaganda created to promote and defend crusading.

### *III. Warfare Post-Augustine and Medieval Canon Law*

As noted above, moralizing warfare persisted in the centuries after Augustine. The fall of Rome in the West preceded the rise of several Germanic kingdoms and the spread of Christianity. Germanic values concerning warfare pervaded Christianity as the religion came to dominate much of Western Europe by the eighth century. Carl Erdmann explains that "war was the life-style of the Germanic peoples who increasingly formed the most important element in the church's constituency," and that warfare was a "form of moral action, a higher type of life than peace."<sup>16</sup> Christopher Tyerman expands on this point, describing how "war provided a *raison d'être* for political power and social status

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<sup>16</sup> Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. by Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 19.

because, with the collapse of Roman civil institutions, war and its associated fiscal and human structures of plunder, tribute and the *comitatus* or warband of dependent warriors, provided the basis for economic and social cohesion.”<sup>17</sup> Despite missionary efforts to mitigate their martial qualities, converting Germanic peoples and their rulers required recognizing their attitudes toward war and violence, resulting in the fusion of Germanic and Christian values in the form of the “Christian warrior,” a prominent feature of Christian discourse between the eighth and tenth centuries.<sup>18</sup>

Beginning in the late tenth century, however, the Church expanded its influence over matters of violence. The Peace and Truce of God movements “intended to set moral as well as physical limits to violence,” by striving to protect clergy, peasants, and their properties from the injudicious violence of knights and barons.<sup>19</sup> While these efforts proved ineffective, Tyerman submits that these movements were instrumental in shaping the First Crusade. “It was no coincidence,” Tyerman argues:

that Urban II’s speech launching the First Crusade echoed in setting, style and possibly even content the exhortations of the Peace and Truce movements; his audience’s vocal responses – ‘Deus lo volt!’ – paralleled the cries of ‘Pax, pax, pax!’ at earlier councils... Given the revival of the Peace and Truce movement in the 1080s in the Rhineland, a centre of reforming ideas with close contacts with the papacy, the link with holy war, although not geographically universal, was evident.<sup>20</sup>

Tyerman illustrates the medieval Church’s willingness to legitimize and regulate violence, linking the institution’s assimilation of Germanic values to its efforts to direct violence in moral directions. Apart from its ties to the writings of Augustine, the idea of

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<sup>17</sup> Tyerman, *God’s War*, 35.

<sup>18</sup> Tyerman, *God’s War*, 35-42.

<sup>19</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, “From the Peace of God to the First Crusade,” in *The Crusades and Latin Monasticism* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999), 51-2.

<sup>20</sup> Tyerman, *God’s War*, 44.

crusade, and even the First Crusade itself, emerged from these uniquely medieval developments as well.

Medieval canon law warrants some consideration as well. Eleventh and twelfth century canonists played a role in shaping and codifying ecclesiastical conceptions of crusade. Medieval writers of canon law constructed the legal framework upon which contemporary and later Catholic authors analyzed scripture and other theological works, defined the parameters of ecclesiastical authority, and justified the Roman Church's actions. An important canonist who explicitly addressed questions of violence and warfare was Ivo of Chartres, a Benedictine abbot and saint. Writing in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Ivo based his conception of just and holy warfare on the writings of patristic figures like Augustine of Hippo. David S. Bachrach, a scholar of medieval warfare in the West, addresses how Ivo assessed violence in his *Decretum*. On the matter of whether soldiers should do penance after returning from war, Bachrach notes Ivo's consideration of Burchard of Worms's stance: that penance for returning soldiers was necessary, even during just wars. Apart from this sole reference, Bachrach shows how Ivo cited more than thirty patristic and other ecclesiastical works that supported just forms of violence outright.<sup>21</sup> "For example," Bachrach offers, "Ivo quoted Augustine's view that it was possible for a soldier or judge to kill an enemy or a criminal without committing a sin. In another case, Ivo quoted Augustine's sermon on Matthew 19 in which he argued that it was not sinful to serve as a soldier so long as one did not fight for booty."<sup>22</sup> Ivo of Chartres's codification of Catholic approaches to war and violence

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<sup>21</sup> David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300-1215* (Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 2003), 105.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, 10.88-130; PL, Vol. 161, 720-30.

relied on Augustine's conception of moral violence and just warfare, legitimizing the actions of Catholic leaders in their endeavors against the Church's enemies.

A generation later, the influential canonist Gratian completed his own *Decretum*, also known as the *Concordia discordantium canonicum* (Harmony of Discordant Canons). Much like Ivo of Chartres, Gratian looks to Augustine of Hippo to support his efforts at harmonizing canon law on war and violence. After citing texts from Augustine as well as Ambrose, Jerome, the Fifth Council of Carthage, and Pseudo-Isidore, Gratian adjudges that “it is sometimes right to take up arms to oppose the wicked and [to resist] injuries to our associates, so as to deprive evil people of the chance to do wrong, and to give the virtuous a free opportunity to seek the assistance of the church. He who does not do this consents [to iniquity].”<sup>23</sup> Gratian's assessment of the morality of violence leads James Brundage, a historian of medieval canon law, to conclude that “Gratian clearly believed that the church was entitled to use violence when necessary to achieve its goals.”<sup>24</sup> The canon law that Ivo of Chartres and Gratian collated in their *Decreta* linked the ideas of patristic thinkers and other church leaders to the medieval Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In evaluating whether violence was moral and warfare just, Ivo and Gratian created the legal foundation upon which pontiffs, theologians, preachers, and other medieval churchmen could frame and justify the act of crusading, giving weight to the propaganda they created during these centuries. Canon law,

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<sup>23</sup> Translation by James A. Brundage, “The Hierarchy of Violence in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Canonists,” *The International History Review* 17, no. 4 (Nov. 1995): 675-6; Gratian, *Decretum*, C. 23.3.10; PL, Vol. 187, 1172. “Gratian: Ecce, quod nonnunquam est obviandum perversis, et injuria sociorum armis est propulsanda, ut et malis adempta facultas delinquendi prosit, et bonis optate facultas libere consulendi Ecclesiae ministretur. Hoc qui non facit, consentit.”

<sup>24</sup> Brundage, “Hierarchy of Violence,” 676.

therefore, functioned as an important bridge between the ancient and medieval Church and a means for legitimizing the arguments proffered by many crusade propagandists.

#### *IV. Urban II and the Clermont Chroniclers*

The First Crusade began in November 1095. At the Council of Clermont, Pope Urban II issued a call to arms in response to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus's request for aid against encroaching Turks in Byzantine territory.<sup>25</sup> Beginning in the 1070s and escalating in the 1090s, popes and other Catholic leaders received "increasingly anxious calls for assistance emanating from Constantinople," pertaining to the apparent abuses suffered by many eastern Christians at the hands of Turkish forces.<sup>26</sup> In March of 1095, Alexius's emissaries attended Urban's council at Piacenza, where they elucidated the severity of the threat.<sup>27</sup> This Byzantine propaganda colored Catholic perceptions of conditions in the Holy Land and shaded Urban's call to arms at Clermont eight months later. While not the first Catholic effort at influencing medieval warfare, the First Crusade marked a major expansion of the Church's political and military power. Though Urban was not the first pope to call for military action against the Church's enemies, the crusade he began in 1095 oriented the practice's largest excursions toward the Holy Land almost exclusively.<sup>28</sup> Urban's speech at Clermont inspired many to take up the sword,

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<sup>25</sup> Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2012), 19-20, 22; Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, 21-4.

<sup>26</sup> Frankopan notes that "Ekkehard of Aura recorded that embassies and letters 'seen even by ourselves' were sent out by Alexios to recruit help in the face of serious trouble in 'Cappadocia and throughout Romania and Syria.' According to another well-informed chronicler: '[Alexius] was trembling at the constant incursions of the heathens and at the diminishment of his kingdom in great part, and he sent envoys to France with letters to stir up the princes so that they would come to the aid of... imperiled Greece.'" See Frankopan, *First Crusade*, 88.

<sup>27</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 61-2.

<sup>28</sup> There are several notable examples of crusades being declared or waged outside the Holy Land between the First Crusade and the Albigensian Crusade. Canon 13 of the First Lateran Council (1123) decreed the

become *miles Christi*, and defend Christendom. Amplified by years of stories about atrocities committed against eastern Christians, Urban's speech functioned as a catalyst for the crystallization of crusading propaganda, a form of ecclesiastical exposition geared toward framing the Church's enemies as existential threats and crusade as an effective way to counter those threats.

Urban's speech survives in five versions, written by chroniclers over the first three decades of the twelfth century. Each chronicler's account of Urban's speech differs in content and emphasis, warranting close examination. The authors of this speech wrote within a religious, intellectual, and cultural milieu partially shaped by the ideas of the patristic authors of earlier centuries. Augustine of Hippo's ideas contributed to that milieu, as his understanding of just warfare and moral forms of violence were critical in the development of medieval Christian notions of just and holy war, and therefore the practice of crusading.<sup>29</sup> Much like Urban for his audience at Clermont, the authors of these texts strove to persuade their clerical and literate lay audiences to support crusading

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indulgence admissible to those vowing to fight Muslims in the Holy Land or Spain. Likewise, Innocent II offered the indulgence to those willing to fight in Spain at the Council of Clermont (1130). Alfonso I of Portugal, inspired by Pope Eugenius II's *Quantum praedecessores* and spurred on by a letter from Bernard of Clairvaux, besieged the city of Lisbon in 1147 alongside crusaders from England and the Low Countries. The same year, the Wendish Crusade took place after Saxons convinced Bernard and Eugenius that a crusade was warranted against the pagan Wends. In 1199, Pope Innocent III offered the crusading indulgence to those willing to oppose Markward of Anweiler. Though Innocent characterized Markward as a Muslim ally, even comparing him to Saladin, this call to crusade was more politically motivated than others, ultimately not amounting to much as Markward died in 1203. While the Second (1147-1149) and Third Crusade (1189-1192) to the Holy Land were larger excursions, these minor ones illustrate that the crusade remained a popular practice for the Church. See Elizabeth Kennan, "Innocent III and the First Political Crusade," *Traditio* 27 (1971), 231-2; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 38, 41-4; Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 147-8, 188.

<sup>29</sup> Christopher Tyerman notes that because Augustine never provided clear definitions for the terms just war and holy war, this "produced a convenient conceptual plasticity that characterized subsequent Christian attitudes to war. The language of *bellum justum* often came closer to *bellum sacrum*. This fusion of ideas might conveniently be called religious war, waged for and by the church, sharing features of holy and just war, allowing war to become valid as an expression of Christian vocation second only to monasticism itself." See Tyerman, *God's War*, 34-5.

as a practice and encourage further crusading, framing it as a righteous endeavor waged by the virtuous against Christendom's enemies.

The oldest extant account of the ideas Urban expressed at Clermont is the *Gesta Francorum*. This chronicle of the “deeds of the Franks” is an anonymous work dated to the turn of the twelfth century. While the identity of the author is unknown, he was likely an Italian knight fighting under Bohemond of Taranto and later under Count Raymond of Toulouse.<sup>30</sup> The *Gesta Francorum*, therefore, offers insight into the experiences of a crusader. Furthermore, the anonymous author makes no explicit mention of the council at Clermont, so his interpretation of Urban's words may reflect a general understanding of the ideas Urban articulated throughout his preaching tour of France. While the author may not have witnessed or known about what Urban preached at Clermont specifically, he touches on several key ideas featured in other versions and provides insight into how a crusader understood the idea of crusading and internalized the propaganda used to defend and diffuse the practice.

An account of the ideas Urban conveyed during his preaching tour marks the beginning of the *Gesta*. The author briefly recounts the journey of Urban and his ecclesiastical entourage from the Italian peninsula to Frankish lands. Urban begins by arguing that “if anyone wishes to save his soul, he should not hesitate to humbly undertake the way of the Lord.”<sup>31</sup> The author stresses that Urban's pilgrimage offers salvation to its participants. By undertaking the *via Domini*—leaving their homes, dedicating themselves to Christ, and journeying to the Holy Land to fight and restore it in

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<sup>30</sup> Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 9-10.

<sup>31</sup> Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 1.1; RHC, Vol. 3, 121. “Ut si quis animam suam salvam facere vellet, non dubitaret humiliter viam incipere Domini.”

the name of Christ and his Church—Urban promises these pilgrims the opportunity to save themselves from damnation. Urban’s *via Domini* became a *via Domino*; the way of the Lord became a way to the Lord, as it opened a new path to achieving salvation and joining God in Heaven, a path centered on fighting on the Lord’s behalf against his enemies.

Urban continues, explaining that this endeavor requires an unparalleled resolve and devotion to Christ. Urban notes that despite the difficulties such an excursion posed, neither shame nor fear should impede those committed to it. “Brothers,” said Urban to the crowd gathered before him:

we ought to suffer many things for the name of Christ. One may see misery, poverty, nakedness, persecution, need, sickness, hunger, thirst, and other such things. Just as the Lord says to his disciples: ‘You ought to suffer many things for my name,’ and ‘refuse to be ashamed to speak in the presence of men; truly, I will give you voice and eloquence, and thereafter, you shall obtain a great reward.’<sup>32</sup>

The author stresses Urban’s focus on the idea of suffering and the eternal benefits available to crusaders willing to fight and die for the Church. The author’s Urban explains how crusaders must be willing to endure great adversity on behalf of Christ, that suffering for Christ yielded rewards for those so willing.<sup>33</sup> The *larga retributio*, or great reward, Urban II offers crusaders is salvation for defending Christ, his land, and suffering on his behalf.

As noted crusade historian Penny Cole argues, the anonymous author of the *Gesta* lacked awareness of Urban’s exact words or even the extent of their significance,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid. “Fratres, nos oportet multa pati pro nomine Christi, videlicet miserias, paupertates, nuditates, persecutiones, egestates, infirmitates, fames, sites et alia hujusmodi, sicut Dominus ait suis discipulis: ‘Oportet vos pati multa pro nomine meo,’ et ‘Nolite erubescere loqui ante facies hominum; ego vero dabo vobis os et eloquium,’ ac deinceps ‘Persequetur vos larga retributio.’”

<sup>33</sup> Acts 9:16; 2 Tim 1:8; Luke 21:15; Col. 3:24.

“probably basing his account upon rumors that had reached southern Italy or that he had heard from French crusaders in the east.”<sup>34</sup> The *Gesta*, therefore, may be an example of an individual’s experiences as a crusader and a personal interpretation of crusading as an idea. Alternatively, the medievalist Colin Morris suggests that the *Gesta*’s unadorned Latin and formulaic style indicates it was a *chanson de geste* written by a clerk for an Italian audience.<sup>35</sup> If the *Gesta* was a *chanson* geared toward a wide audience, its language and structure were conducive to circulating knowledge of key crusading events and evangelizing the merits of crusading to the lay masses. Either way, the *Gesta*’s anonymous author provides a truncated, approximate account of Urban’s ideas that, at the very least, reveals how a contemporary interpreted and disseminated crusading propaganda. The *Gesta Francorum*’s language of pain and reward is central to the author’s conception of crusading as a practice. By suffering, even dying, as Christ did, crusaders were able to reach salvation, a notion clarified in the other, more developed accounts of Urban’s crusade preaching.

Approximately five years after the publication of the *Gesta Francorum*, Fulcher of Chartres began work on his own history of the First Crusade. Fulcher’s *Historia Hierosolymitana* expands on the ideas explored in the *Gesta*, namely Urban’s speech at Clermont. Much like the *Gesta*’s author, Fulcher purports to be a witness to the events he describes, as “he observed with his own eyes on his journey” to the Holy Land.<sup>36</sup> Georg Strack, scholar of medieval rhetoric and Church history, interprets this remark as

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<sup>34</sup> Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 9.

<sup>35</sup> Colin Morris, “The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History,” *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (Jan. 1993): 61-7.

<sup>36</sup> Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winters, 1913), 116. “Prout valui et oculis meis in ipso itinere perspexi, diligenter digessi.”

tentative proof that Fulcher attended the council and participated in the crusade itself; if true, Strack considers Fulcher's *Historia Hierosolymitana* a more reliable approximation of Urban's actual words.<sup>37</sup> Whether he attended the council or not, Fulcher's account elaborates on many fundamentals of crusading propaganda to a greater degree than the author of the *Gesta Francorum*. Moreover, Fulcher's account of the speech incorporates many of Augustine of Hippo's ideas concerning moral warfare as well.

Fulcher of Chartres's version of Urban's speech is a colorful monologue that touches on a key element of much crusading propaganda: the internal disposition of the Church hierarchy. Urban acknowledges his duty as supreme pontiff, declaring that "if there is anything deformed or twisted in you opposed to the law of God, I will diligently dispatch it," meaning that Urban considers his responsibility as the defender of orthodoxy and the Church as an institution paramount.<sup>38</sup> "For you are called shepherds," affirms Urban to the assembly of churchmen, "see that you do not act like mercenaries. Now be true shepherds, always with staff in hand. Do not sleep; protect the flock entrusted to you from all sides."<sup>39</sup> Fulcher's Urban admonishes his audience, reminding them of their duties as priests and bishops. Urban's fierce support of the Gregorian reforms shades this admonition, as questions regarding the righteousness of clerics diminished the Church's authority and lay support.<sup>40</sup> Much like Augustine, Fulcher's Urban emphasizes the importance of the clergy's internal disposition regarding the defense of the Church and its

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<sup>37</sup> Georg Strack, "The Sermon of Urban II in Clermont and the Tradition of Papal Oratory," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 56 (2012): 31.

<sup>38</sup> Fulcher, 124. "Quod si aliquid gibbosum vel tortuosum... contra legem Dei obsistat, praesente subfragamine divino, diligenter expedire satagam."

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 124-5. "Pastores etiam nuncupamini; videte autem ne mercenarii more fungamini. Veri ergo pastores et baculos semper in manibus habentes estote; nec dormitantes gregem vobis commissum undique conservate."

<sup>40</sup> Strack, "Urban II," 32; Marcus G. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1993), 66.

flock. Both the papacy and the clergy needed to maintain their virtue, otherwise the Church could not be adequately defended.

Fulcher's Urban reveals his reason for calling this council: the Seljuk Turks occupying the Levant were committing atrocities against eastern Christians. Urban explains how the Turks "occupied more and more Christian lands and defeated them in seven battles. The Turks killed and took many captive, they destroyed churches and lay waste to the kingdom of God. Indeed, if you allow them to continue with impunity unmolested, then the faithful of God will be crushed by them."<sup>41</sup> The propaganda Fulcher employs here builds his case for waging a holy war against the Seljuk Turks, developing on the notion established by Augustine that moral warfare required a worthy enemy. Fulcher's Urban stresses the magnitude of the atrocities committed by the Turks. Christians dying at the hands of non-Christians, lands captured and property destroyed, and all in the sacred land of Jerusalem. Fulcher's Urban crafts an enemy worthy of opposition, an enemy that warranted hostility.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Fulcher, 133-4. "Fines terras Christianorum magis magisque occupando, lite bellica iam septuplicata victos superaverunt, multos occidendo vel captivando, ecclesias subvertendo, regnum Dei vastando. Quos quidem si sic aliquandiu in quiete permiseritis, multo latius fideles Dei supergredientur."

<sup>42</sup> Whether portrayals of Turkish atrocities were simply Western literary constructions has been the focus of some scholarship. In Andrew Jotischky's analysis of the origins of the First Crusade, he explores how the propaganda describing the plight of eastern Christians was not just Catholic authors "employing stock descriptions of barbaric behavior," but reflected eastern Christian reports going back several centuries. Jotischky notes the work of Yahya ibn Said, a Christian author of Antioch writing in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Yahya describes how in 1008, the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim "forbade the traditional [Palm Sunday] procession from Bethany to the Anastasis and the use of palms or olive branches throughout his lands. Donations to churches and monasteries were confiscated, and the civil service in Cairo was purged of Christians. In 1009, al-Hakim demanded the destruction of the church of the Blessed Virgin in Damascus (over which he had no control), and himself destroyed and looted the churches of St. Mary in Quntarah and St. James in Cairo. The tombs in the church's cemetery were looted and the bones of the dead flung about." Conflict with the Muslim world was not an invention of Catholic crusade propagandists, but a prominent and established part of eastern Christian discourse. See Andrew Jotischky's "The Christians of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre and the Origins of the First Crusade," *Crusades* 7 (2008): 35-57.

The violence endured by eastern Christians required the assembled churchmen's immediate response. According to Fulcher, Urban went on to proclaim that "not I, but the Lord, exhort you, heralds of Christ, to publish this everywhere and persuade all of whatever rank, to knights and infantrymen, to the wealthy and the poor, aid those Christians and banish that depraved race from our Christian lands."<sup>43</sup> Here Urban framed his proposed endeavor as a duty to his audience. Such references to duty and social hierarchy speak to the influence of feudalistic relations in medieval society; while not a monolithic sociopolitical system, the social bonds that connected people, communities, and regions impacted their daily lives in significant ways.<sup>44</sup> That Fulcher brings attention to these social bonds is notable, as they encourage the audience to act upon his plea. Fulcher underscores these bonds in order to persuade readers of the enormity of the dilemma in Jerusalem. He expounds the idea that this city must be returned to the bosom of Christendom, and all Christians, regardless of social standing, must fight to win it back.

Fulcher then turns to the most novel characteristic of crusading as a practice and discourse. Fulcher's Urban explains that "all who are going there, whether by land or passing over the sea, or if they die fighting against the pagans, will have their sins forgiven."<sup>45</sup> Whether they died on the journey to the Holy Land or fighting on behalf of the Church, Fulcher's Urban promises to remit sins for all participating pilgrims. The idea of granting indulgences for the remission of sins was not an invention of Urban II

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<sup>43</sup> Fulcher, 134-5. "Non ego, sed Dominus, ut cunctis cuiuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus, edicto frequenti vos, Christi praecones, suadeatis, ut ad id genus nequam de regionibus nostrorum exterminandum tempestive Christicolis opitulari satagant."

<sup>44</sup> Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1-3, 34-5.

<sup>45</sup> Fulcher, 135. "Cunctis autem illuc euntibus, si aut gradiendo aut transfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam morte praepeditam finierint, remissio peccatorum praesens aderit."

though. His predecessors Leo IX and Gregory VII offered the remission of sins to those willing to fight on the Church's behalf against its Christian enemies in several small scale conflicts during their pontificates.<sup>46</sup> Yet Urban's call for holy war and the remission of sins was a "a bold, radical reformulation of Gregorian ideas and expedients concerning penance, war and moral regeneration."<sup>47</sup> Urban united the popular appeal of church reform with the promise of the remission of sins to his audience, increasing the allure of his military excursion. In this way, Fulcher's Urban frames crusading as an endeavor to restore the Church internally and externally, providing his readership of prospective crusaders with the hope that the violence they commit against these deserving enemies absolves them of their sins.<sup>48</sup>

Almost contemporaneously, Guibert of Nogent, the abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Nogent-sous-Coucy, began writing his history of the First Crusade around 1108. He was motivated to write his history because of the syntactical inadequacies of the *Gesta Francorum*, a text he claims suffered from "many simple words" and "transgressed the rules of grammar."<sup>49</sup> His reason for rewriting the *Gesta* was not limited to syntactic concerns; the spiritual magnitude of the First Crusade was inadequately addressed by the *Gesta*'s anonymous author. Guibert titles his work *Gesta Dei per Francos*, a title venturing to supersede the anonymous "Deeds of the Franks" with the more reverent "Deeds of God through the Franks." Not only did accounts of the First Crusade require

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<sup>46</sup> Housley, "Crusades Against Christians," 72-5.

<sup>47</sup> Tyerman, *God's War*, 64.

<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 33.

<sup>49</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1.1; PL, Vol. 156, 681. "verbis contexta plus aequo simplicibus... grammaticae naturas excederet."

eloquent diction, Guibert saw it as a thoroughly religious conflict that mandated characterization as such.

Much like Fulcher's account, Guibert's version of Urban's speech possesses greater detail than the anonymous *Gesta*. Guibert stresses the importance of taking back the Holy Land by framing it in terms of the land's sacrality and ties to Christ. Urban proclaims that "it is true that the Lord of Hosts gave his seed to us, lest we become like Sodom and Gomorrah. Christ is our seed, in whom exists the salvation and blessing of all men, and the land and city in which he dwelt and suffered is called sacred by the testimony of Scripture."<sup>50</sup> Guibert emphasizes the sanctity of Jerusalem and its environs, tying it to Christ and the tenets of Christianity. He frames the acquisition of the city as requisite to preserving Christianity and the Church. By the late eleventh century, the Church considered Jerusalem—a city they regarded as the figurative and literal center of the world—its sacred inheritance, unworthy of both Jewish and Muslim occupation.<sup>51</sup> Guibert portrays the recovery of Jerusalem as a moral necessity, an act aimed at safeguarding the survival of Christendom. Guibert's addition to crusading propaganda is the notion that Christian lands must be defended at all costs, otherwise the existence of Christendom was in jeopardy.

Guibert's Urban goes on to castigate the actions of those gathered at Clermont. "Until now," Urban contends, "you have waged multiple unjust wars, you have hurled savage weapons at each other, caused by your greed and arrogance, from which you have earned everlasting death and certain damnation. Now we propose battles for you which

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 2.2; PL, 699. "Dominum Sabaoth semen nobis reliquisse constat, ne sicut Sodoma simus et Gomorrhae similes fiamus, et semen nostrum Christus est, in quo salus et omnium gentium benedictio est: ipsa terra et civitas in qua habitavit et passus est, Scripturarum testimonio sancta vocatur."

<sup>51</sup> David Chidester, *Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 2000), 176-7.

possess the glorious gift of martyrdom, for which you shall enjoy present and eternal praise.”<sup>52</sup> Guibert’s warning against unjust wars parallels Augustine’s understanding of immoral warfare. He emphasizes the sinfulness of unjust wars, framing them as depraved and those waging them as subject to damnation. Frederick Russell, a scholar of the crusades and medieval warfare, argues that “the real evils in war were not war itself but the love of violence and cruelty, greed and the *libido dominandi* or lust for rule that so often accompanied it.”<sup>53</sup> In this way, Guibert notes another defining characteristic of crusading propaganda, maintaining that all instances of warfare must be morally sound endeavors.

Baldric, a bishop of Dol and a near contemporary of Fulcher and Guibert, wrote his own account of the First Crusade. Much like Guibert, Baldric strove to amend the deficiencies he saw in the *Gesta Francorum*. The speech Baldric attributes to Urban highlights the suffering of eastern Christians at the hands of Jerusalem’s Muslim occupants. Appealing to the emotions of those assembled at Clermont, Baldric’s Urban implores his “most beloved brothers,” to stand with their fellow Christians, whom he notes “are flogged, oppressed, and injured in Jerusalem, Antioch, and the other eastern cities. Your own brothers, your companions from the womb—for you are sons of the same Christ and the same Church—are either sold to foreign masters in their own homes, or are driven out of them; either they beg amongst us, or they are beaten and exiled, which is much more severe.”<sup>54</sup> As the schism of 1054 did not preclude affinity between

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<sup>52</sup> Guibert, *Gesta Dei*, 2.2; PL, 700. “Indebita hactenus bella gessistis, in mutuas caedes, vesana aliquoties tela solius cupiditatis aut superbiae causa torsistis; ex quo perpetuos interitus, et certa damnationis exitia meruistis. Nunc vobis proponimus quae in se habent gloriosum martyrii munus, quibus restat praesentis et aeternae laudis titulus.”

<sup>53</sup> Frederick Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 16

<sup>54</sup> Baldric of Dol, *Historia de peregrinatione Jerosolimitana*, 1.4; RHC, Vol. 4, 12-3. “Fratres dilectissimi... flagellantur, opprimuntur, injuriantur. Germani fratres vestri, contubernales vestri, couterini

the Roman and Orthodox churches by the early twelfth century, Baldric recognizes the Byzantines as fellow Christians deserving the same protections as those under Catholic authority.<sup>55</sup> Much like Fulcher of Chartres, Baldric's crusading propaganda emphasizes the righteous need to defend all Christians against the threat posed by Jerusalem's Muslim occupants.

The bishop expands further on the defense of eastern Christians, focusing on the alleged physical suffering they endured. Baldric's Urban calls the assembled churchmen out on their reluctance to protect eastern Christians, a dilemma that threatened the boundaries and stability of Christendom in its entirety. Baldric's depiction of the eleventh century Levant centers on the purported misery and death its Christian inhabitants suffered:

Christian blood, redeemed by the blood of Christ, is shed, and Christian flesh, comparable to the flesh of Christ, is surrendered to senseless criminality and impious servitude. With difficulty, I say that everywhere in those cities is grief, everywhere misery, everywhere groaning; the Churches in which divine mysteries had once been celebrated: alas! Behold they are prepared [like] stables for the animals of these people! Men did not seize the holy cities beforehand: spurious and foul Turks are dominating our brothers. The blessed Peter governed as first bishop of Antioch; behold, the pagans have established their superstitions in his own Church. And the Christian religion, which the Turks should worship, they have eliminated from the temple dedicated to God. The estates devoted to tributes of the saints are subject to the tyranny of pagans.<sup>56</sup>

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vestri (nam ejusdem Christi et ejusdem Ecclesiae filii estis) in ipsis suis domibus haereditariis, vel alienis dominis mancipantur, vel ex ipsis exploduntur, aut inter nos mendicant; aut quod gravius est, in ipsis suis patrimoniis venales exulant vapulant.”

<sup>55</sup> Brett Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 30-1, 62.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. “Effunditur sanguis Christianus, Christi sanguine redemptus; et caro Christiana, carni Christi consanguinea, nefandis ineptiis et servitutibus nefariis mancipatur. Illis in urbibus ubique luctus, ubique miseria, ubique gemitus (suspirosus dico); ecclesiae in quibus olim divina celebrata sunt mysteria, proh dolor! Ecce animalibus eorum stabula praeparantur! Nequam homines sanctas praeoccupavere civitates: Turci spuria et immundi nostris fratribus dominantur. Antiochiae beatus Petrus primus praesedit episcopus: ecce in ipsa ecclesia gentiles suas collocavere superstitions; et religionem Christianam, quam potissimum coluisse debuerant, ab aula Deo dicata turpiter eliminaverunt.”

To Baldric, the threat Muslims posed was not isolated to either Christian church. Muslim occupation of the Holy Land put all of Christendom in danger, necessitating cooperation between all Christians. Riley-Smith argues that the act of “crusading expressed love for one’s neighbor as well as love for God,” which manifested as “bringing fraternal aid to Christians in the East, oppressed by or in danger from the Muslims.”<sup>57</sup> Love for fellow Christians, even schismatic ones, is a fundamental aspect of Baldric’s crusade propaganda. Baldric of Dol’s account reiterates a key component of crusading propaganda that is present in Fulcher’s writings and even Augustine’s: the necessity of protecting Christians and Christendom from immoral violence by engaging in moral violence. Crusading, therefore, was as much a defensive endeavor as it was an offensive one.

Lastly, Robert of Rheims’s crusade history *Historia Iherosolimitana* features an account of Urban’s speech as well.<sup>58</sup> Robert begins his history claiming that he was an attendee of the council at Clermont, hearing Urban speak in person. As a result, scholars like Penny Cole consider his account more reliable than some of the others.<sup>59</sup> A unique characteristic of Robert’s version of Urban’s speech is his focus on the importance of duty to God. After discussing the atrocities levied against Jerusalem’s Christians and the need to liberate the city, Robert’s Urban turns to the matter of duty. “If your affections,” argues Robert’s Urban, “for beloved children, parents, and wives holds you back, contemplate what the Lord says in the Gospel: ‘He who loves his father or mother over me is not worthy of me.’ ‘All who abandon their homes, or father, or mother, or wife, or

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<sup>57</sup> Riley-Smith, “Crusading as an Act of Love,” 38.

<sup>58</sup> Strack, “Urban II,” 34.

<sup>59</sup> Cole, *Preaching of the Crusades*, 13-5.

sons, or fields, for my name, will receive a hundredfold and will possess everlasting life.”<sup>60</sup> Building his case from the Gospel of Mathew, Robert contends that one’s duty to God superseded any and all personal ties and obligations.<sup>61</sup> Robert’s contribution to crusading propaganda is the notion that crusading as an act sits atop the hierarchy of Christian duties. Robert uses his *Historia Iherosolimitana* to emphasize how crusading entailed a complete devotion to God to the exclusion of all other social obligations, making the act of crusading the pinnacle of moral action and Christian identity.

The speech Pope Urban II gave at Clermont in November of 1095 marked the beginning of a military and spiritual phenomenon that dominated the concerns of the Catholic Church for much of the twelfth century and beyond. Urban’s words, as imagined and reimagined by these authors, played a critical role in defining key elements of crusading propaganda. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* underscores the role of suffering in crusaders’ efforts to attain salvation. Fulcher of Chartres highlights the remission of sins, the Muslims’ status as a legitimate enemy, and the responsibility of Western Christians to stop them. Guibert of Nogent concentrates on the sacrality of the land itself and its centrality to Christian cosmology and geography as well as characteristics of moral and immoral warfare. Baldric of Dol emphasizes the importance of Christian brotherhood, love, and the need to protect all Christians from the threat of Islam. Robert of Rheims fixates on the earthly ties that weakened one’s resolve for crusading and duty to God. To the extent that Urban’s words launched the First Crusade,

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<sup>60</sup> Robert of Rheims, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 1.1; RHC, Vol. 3, 721. “Quod si liberorum et parentum et conjugum detinet affectus, recolite quid in Evangelio dicat Dominus: Qui amat patrem aut matrem super me, non est me dignus. Omnis qui reliquerit domum, aut patrem, aut matrem, aut uxorem, aut filios, aut agros, propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet et vitam aeternam possidebit.”

<sup>61</sup> Matt. 10.37, 19.29.

extant accounts of his Clermont speech contributed to shaping propaganda that propounded fighting to defend Christians, the Holy Land, and Christendom itself in exchange for the forgiveness of sins.

#### *V. Beyond the First Crusade: Propaganda in the Mid-Twelfth Century*

While crusaders endured many tactical setbacks, the First Crusade succeeded in establishing Western control over much of the Levant and returning major portions of Anatolia to the Byzantines, leaving many contemporaries describing the endeavor as a victory.<sup>62</sup> The ideas present in the propaganda crafted by Fulcher, Guibert, Baldric, Robert, and their anonymous contemporary persisted well into the twelfth century. While the effectiveness of successive crusading excursions varied, the ideas espoused by the discussed propagandists endured and evolved.<sup>63</sup> Crusading propaganda was pervasive. The propaganda that emerged in the mid-twelfth century possessed many similarities with earlier manifestations; authors of crusading propaganda continued to support the idea of crusading. As the practice progressed, propagandists responded to the struggles that crusades and their advocates endured, shifting to accommodate the many obstacles impeding Catholic efforts in the Holy Land.

Crusader states encountered a major hurdle with the fall of Edessa in 1144. In response to this turn of events, Pope Eugenius III issued a bull known as *Quantum praedecessores* in December of 1145, an epistle directed to King Louis VII of France. While crusading was not fully institutionalized by the 1140s—nor did it become so until

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<sup>62</sup> Christopher MacEvitt, *The Crusades and the Christian World of the East: Rough Tolerance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 5; Tyerman, *God's War*, 161-2.

<sup>63</sup> See Chapter 1, Section IV.

the thirteenth century—Eugenius’s language exhibits many parallels with the crusading propaganda of the First Crusade.<sup>64</sup> Eugenius discusses his understanding of the purpose and outcome of the First Crusade, describing how crusaders were “fired by the love of God, they assembled a great army, and not without shedding their own blood and with divine assistance, they freed that city from the filthiness of the pagans, where our Savior wished to suffer for us, where he left his glorious sepulcher to us, a memorial of his passion, and where many others suffered we omit to avoid wordiness.”<sup>65</sup> Eugenius’s conception of crusading developed from his understanding of the First Crusade. He recognized the First Crusade as a moral endeavor distinguished by the righteousness of crusaders, the personal sacrifice they made by fighting and dying for God, and the depravity of the enemy possessing Jerusalem.

Eugenius applies his understanding of the First Crusade to the circumstances of his own time. He explains that the fall of Edessa required a response from the Western Church. Mirroring Urban II’s call to arms, Eugenius proclaims “in God, we warn, ask, instruct, and enjoin you, for the remission of sins, that whoever are of God, especially the mighty nobles, let them be girded with manly vigor against the mob of infidels.”<sup>66</sup> Much like the First Crusade, Eugenius offers those willing to fight the opportunity to have their sins forgiven. Eugenius renews the promise of remitted sins, essential to the appeal of

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<sup>64</sup> Christopher Tyerman, “Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?” In *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 101-2.

<sup>65</sup> Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores*; PL, Vol. 180, 1064. “charitatis ardore succensi convenerunt, ut maximo congregato exercitu, non sine magna proprii sanguinis effusione, divino eos auxilio comitante, civitatem illam, in qua Salvator noster pro nobis pati voluit, et gloriosum ipsius sepulcrum passionis suae nobis memoriale dimisit, et quamplures alias, quas prolixitatem vitantes memorare supersedemus, a paganorum spurcicia liberarent.”

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1064-5. “Universitatem itaque vestram in Domino commonemus rogamus atque praecipimus, et in peccatorum remissionem injungimus, ut qui Dei sunt, maxime potentiores et nobiles, viriliter accingantur infidelium multitudini.”

crusading as a practice. Granting the indulgence to crusaders was an established papal power by the time of Eugenius's pontificate, grounded in the authority granted to the papacy by God, the precedent established by eleventh-century pontiffs like Leo IX and Gregory VIII, and bolstered by Urban II.<sup>67</sup> Eugenius's *Quantum praedecessores* illustrates how the prospect of remitted sins continued to resonate with both prospective crusaders and the papacy.

Despite Eugenius's zeal and the efforts of crusaders to liberate the city of Edessa, the Second Crusade failed to achieve its primary goals.<sup>68</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, a friend of the former abbot and a fellow Cistercian, wrote a letter to Eugenius concerning the outcome of the Second Crusade. Penning his *De consideratione* following the crusade's conclusion, Bernard offers his friend consolation and advice on moving forward. He finds similarities between their predicament and the dilemma Moses faced in the desert. Bernard explains to Eugenius that "when Moses led his people from the land of Egypt, he promised a better land to them," a reference to the redemptive properties of crusading and the benefits it proffered its participants, local Christians, and the land itself.<sup>69</sup> Bernard's comparison of the Second Crusade to Moses' time in the desert illustrates the persistence of other aspects of crusading propaganda: the promise of salvation, the defense of fellow Christians, the sacrality of the land, and the assurance of restoration.

Bernard continues his comparison between the Hebrews in Exodus and the failures of the Second Crusade, focusing on the failings of the crusaders. "If the Hebrews

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<sup>67</sup> Jonathan Philips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 56; Housley, "Crusades Against Christians," 71-5.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 269-70.

<sup>69</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione*, 2.3; PL, Vol. 182, 743. "Moyses educturus populum de terra Aegypti meliorem illis pollicitus est terram."

were toppled and ‘destroyed because of their sins,’ should we be surprised that those who do likewise suffered the same?”<sup>70</sup> Bernard correlates the sinfulness of the Jews, as described in the Book of Psalms, with the sinfulness of the crusaders.<sup>71</sup> Bernard’s propaganda reinforces the importance of another defining characteristic of crusading propaganda: a morally sound fighting force, duty-bound to God and willing to cede their lives to restore Jerusalem. To Bernard, the failure of Second Crusade rested on the heads of an immoral army, unwilling to be righteous and protect the Holy Land. As introduced in Augustine’s *Contra Faustum* and expanded on by the Clermont chroniclers, it was the righteousness and moral character of the crusaders that made a war moral, as a lack of holy warriors made for an unholy war.

While the crusading efforts of the mid-twelfth century did not enjoy the same success as the First Crusade, the writings of Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux illustrate how certain aspects of crusading propaganda remained fundamental well after the First Crusade’s conclusion. The idea of crusading continued to resonate, and the propaganda used to defend and circulate it did so as well. That kings and emperors answered Eugenius’s call to arms demonstrates how resonant this idea remained.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 743-4. “Quod si illi ceciderunt et perierunt propter iniquitatem suam, miramur istos eadem facientes, eadem passos?”

<sup>71</sup> Ps. 73:19 (DV). “How are they brought to desolation? They have suddenly ceased to be: they have perished by reason of their iniquity.” “Quomodo facti sunt in desolationem? Subito defecerunt: perierunt propter iniquitatem suam.”

<sup>72</sup> Tyerman shows how the idea of crusading motivated King Louis VII. While Tyerman calls Louis a pious and devout king, he notes how Louis burned a church at Vitry during an 1143 conflict with Count Theobald of Champagne and received ecclesiastical censure for refusing the archbishop of Bourges his diocesan seat. Tyerman suggests Louis may have found “the idea of a penitential pilgrimage” appealing in the wake of these events. Moreover, Tyerman describes how “the news of Edessa could have focused Louis’s intentions, and it is probable that Eugenius was aware of this when he issued *Quantum praedecessores*. Before he could have received the papal bull, Louis summoned the bishops and magnates ‘in greater number than usual’ to his Christmas crown-wearing at Bourges, where he broached the subject of the eastern enterprise.” For Louis VII, the idea of crusading was not far from his mind. Eugenius’s bull, in the very least, spurred a king already predisposed toward such a pilgrimage. See Tyerman, *God’s War*, 275-6.

Moreover, Bernard's response to the failures of the Second Crusade demonstrates the adaptiveness of crusading propaganda, or at least the appearance of such. Failure is met with aplomb. So long as the crusaders possess virtue and dutifully execute God's will, a crusade will be successful. Crusading propaganda adapts to mitigate its failures, illustrating its resilience and continued efficacy.

### *VI. Conclusion*

Crusading propaganda was a body of Christian discourse that propounded the benefits of waging holy war against those the Church deemed a threat to Christians, the Church, and Christendom as a whole. Augustine of Hippo's concern for moral warfare and violence provided a foundation upon which much of crusading propaganda was built, focusing on the internal disposition of righteous warriors and the need to eliminate legitimate enemies. Canon lawyers like Ivo of Chartres and Gratian linked the ancient and medieval Church by codifying many of the ideas medieval preachers and propagandists used to Christianize warfare. The Clermont chroniclers appropriated Augustine's conception of moral warfare, modifying it to a medieval context. The suffering of crusaders, the promise of salvation, the kinship and suffering of other Christians, the sacrality of the Holy Land, the wickedness of the Muslim enemy, and the duty to fight on the Lord's behalf: the coalescence of these factors defined crusading propaganda as imagined by these author in early twelfth century.

Eugenius III's proclamation and Bernard of Clairvaux's letter in reply illustrate the persistence of the crusading movement's appeal as well as crusading propaganda's continued resonance with both crusaders and crusade authors. Crusade propaganda

exhibited a resilience and ability to adapt when met with obstacles. From its slow emergence in the mid-eleventh century, to its rise and crystallization in the early twelfth century, to its resilient maturation in the mid-twelfth century, crusading propaganda shaped notions of crusading as a movement. The propaganda advocating and defending the act of crusading defined its purpose, goals, and limitations. Yet crusading propaganda was not the only Christian discourse responsible for shaping notions of medieval Christianity. The concurrent discourse of anti-heresy propaganda left its mark on the Christian West, shaping the medieval world in new ways as well.

## CHAPTER 2: PERSUASION AND VIOLENCE: HERESY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

### *I. The Return of Heresy: Evolving Responses to Heretical Dissent*

While the eleventh century ended with the advent of crusading, it began with the reemergence of a theological dilemma that first plagued the Church in its early centuries of existence. The medieval Church recognized the return of Christian heresy, a phenomenon characterized by individuals and groups challenging the spiritual and institutional legitimacy of the Church, often manifesting as beliefs and practices the Church deemed neither orthodox nor orthopractic. Heresy received limited attention from the medieval Church initially. Yet concern for the matter expanded substantially as the eleventh century came to an end. The Church's methodology for counteracting the spread of heresy evolved with time, responding to the perceived danger specific heresies and heretics posed to a locality, region, or to Christendom as a whole. From an ecclesiastical perspective, heresy grew to become a considerable threat to the spiritual and institutional authority of the Church during this period, a threat demanding vigorous opposition.

The evolution of ecclesiastical responses to heresy manifested in the propaganda of anti-heresy authors. Parallel to the rise of crusading propaganda emerged an anti-heresy propaganda, proliferated by polemicists working to explicate the evils of the

phenomenon. Extinguishing the threat of heresy—whether it was a genuine threat or a perceived one—required both a material and a textual response. The material response consisted of punitive actions—ranging from the seizure of property to the execution of recalcitrant heretics—taken by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>1</sup> The textual response, however, materialized as propaganda geared toward shaping ecclesiastical notions of heresy and influencing material responses to heresy. Anti-heresy propaganda aimed to communicate the nature of heresy and the severity of the threat it posed to Christendom. Yet it also functioned as a mechanism for expounding appropriate responses to heresy and acceptable methods for its elimination.

Between the late eleventh century and late twelfth century, anti-heresy propaganda evolved significantly. During this period, anti-heresy propaganda focused on persuasion as the ideal method for suppressing heretical deviance.<sup>2</sup> Polemicists labored to ensure heretics returned to the fold of orthodoxy. Correcting heretics meant convincing them of the truth of Catholic theology, the institutional legitimacy of the Catholic Church, and the deviance and danger of heresy.<sup>3</sup> Simultaneously, Catholic propagandists grappled with the role of violence against heretics, gauging the forms and conditions under which violence was appropriate and moral.<sup>4</sup> Efforts to persuade heretics to rejoin the Church never ceased. Encouraging heretics to return to the fold remained a core ideal

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Adémar of Chabannes chronicled how heretics at Orléans “had been sentenced to the flames” by Robert II of France in 1022, illustrating how secular authorities executed heretics in the early eleventh century. Moreover, law codes like the Assize of Clarendon of 1166, promulgated by Henry II, illustrate the willingness of authorities to confiscate the property of those willing to harbor heretics. See Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. A. Picard (Paris, 1897), 185: “qui autem flammis judicati sunt.”; Ernest F. Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See discussion of Alcuin of York below.

<sup>4</sup> Violence is here defined as any deliberate use of physical force to harm or kill an individual or group.

of many polemicists. Opinions on the efficacy of violent measures varied among polemicists as well. Yet as medieval institutions became increasingly persecutory, subjecting the recalcitrant to violence colored many textual efforts to delegitimize heresy and sway heretics back to orthodoxy.<sup>5</sup>

While medieval authors categorized heresies in their efforts to delegitimize them, the peril of heresy was less its deviance than the obstinate refusal of heretics to admit their deviance, accept correction, and submit to the authority of the Church. Malcolm Lambert explains that all heretics, regardless of their beliefs, possessed several key attributes. The heretic was defined by “his pride... for he has set himself up against the teaching of the Church; his superficial appearance of piety, which must be intended to deceive, and cannot be real, since he is in fact the enemy of the faith; and his secrecy, which is contrasted to the openness of Catholic preaching.”<sup>6</sup> These attributes led some medieval authors to treat Christian heresies interchangeably; Adémar of Chabannes and Guibert of Nogent, for example, portrayed Catharism as resurgent Manichaeism.<sup>7</sup> Despite any differences in beliefs or practices, heresy endangered the Church because of the intransigence of many heretics. For this reason, this chapter will look at anti-heresy propaganda broadly, rather than limiting the scope of analysis to solely Cathar related propaganda.

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<sup>5</sup> R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2007), 2-5, 21-4.

<sup>6</sup> Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 4.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, “‘Manichaeans’ in Aquitaine,” and “Heresy at Orléans,” in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 73-6. For a discussion of Guibert of Nogent’s assessment of the “Manichaean” heretics he encountered at Soissons in 1114, see below, pp. 52-8.

## *II. Early Medieval Anti-Heresy Propaganda*

Increasing anxiety about heresy prompted many learned figures to expound the errors of heretical deviation from orthodoxy. Such figures strove to illustrate the corrupting influence of heresy, to demonstrate how those veering into heretical *pravitas* stood in contradistinction to devout followers of the Church. Recognizing the propaganda inherited by the Church from early medieval polemicists provides insight into how and why authors of later centuries approached heresy as they did. Defining heresy and thwarting its dissemination preoccupied patristic age authors like Augustine of Hippo, whose work left its mark on his medieval successors.<sup>8</sup> Heresy concerned the Church in the early Middle Ages as well, but it did not recognize heresy as severe a threat as many later Church leaders did.<sup>9</sup> Early medieval accounts denouncing various heretical movements aimed to convince readers of the folly of heresy and the supremacy of orthodoxy. Early medieval anti-heresy polemicists, often writing for their ecclesiastical peers, established a precedent that carried on well into the central Middle Ages. Subduing heresy required convincing the heretic that their beliefs were wrong, and that salvation was attainable only through the one true universal Church.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Notably, Augustine of Hippo's several works on Christian heresies played a key role on shaping medieval reactions to its reemergence. Christine Caldwell Ames notes that "Augustine's imagery, and his theological defense of persecuting heretics, would inform later medieval thinking on heresy and on its repression through inquisition. His images and themes – wheat and tares, sheep and wolves, poison, infection, pollution, Christ as persecutor, killing the soul versus killing the body – would be common in later-medieval writing against heresy." See Christine Caldwell Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 53.

<sup>9</sup> The quantity of extant sources on heresy from the early medieval period is lower than sources from the eleventh century and later. This is likely due to a combination of factors: fewer source from that time period survived to the present day, and larger numbers of pagans had yet to convert to Christianity, indicating that the Church had not yet acquired sufficient power to institute a uniformity of Christian belief and practice. See R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 4-8; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 30-1.

<sup>10</sup> John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), 13; Ames, *Medieval Heresies*, 8.

A notable example of early medieval anti-heresy propaganda comes from the eighth-century cleric and scholar Alcuin of York, author of the anti-heretical treatise *Adversus Felicis haeresin*. Alcuin writes this polemic against Felix—a Christian bishop of Urgel, in what is modern-day Spain—due to his adherence to a heresy called adoptionism, a belief that Jesus was the adopted son of God.<sup>11</sup> Historian Edward Peters notes that while “adoptionism has been called an affair of prelates, having no popular following, it is noteworthy because of its impact on the highest circles of Carolingian government.”<sup>12</sup> To delegitimize Felix and adoptionism Alcuin parallels the dissemination of heresy with the spread of disease. In the same way that medicine counters the transmission and deleterious effects of disease, Alcuin contends that orthodoxy remedied the evils of heresy:

We read among the stories of secular letters that certain men skilled in the medical arts, when they heard that some cities were infected with the calamity of pestilence, because of love of their citizens, devised some kind of medicine in a preventive solicitude by which they might protect their citizens from the infestation of the approaching disease, lest the attacking danger unexpectedly destroy part of the kindred multitude. It seems to us that this same thing must be undertaken in devotion against the pestilence of heretical perverseness, whose doctrine creeps in like a cancer, spreads like a virus, kills like the venom injected by the teeth of a serpent into whom he wounds. Nor should concern for the integrity of souls in the truth of the Catholic faith be of less account to us than the concern for bodily health is shown to have been for the ancients.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Felix’s adoptionism possessed many parallels with the ancient Christian heresy of Nestorianism, a heresy which argued for the distinct hypostases of Christ as human and Christ as divine. See Edward Peters, *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 52-3.

<sup>12</sup> Peters, *Heresy and Authority*, 53.

<sup>13</sup> Alcuin of York, “Alcuin: Against the Adoptionist Heresy of Felix,” in *Heresy and Authority*, ed. Edward Peters, 53-4; *Adversus Felicis haeresin*, 1.1; PL Vol. 101, 87-8. “Legimus in saecularis literaturae historiis, quosdam viros medicinalis artis peritos, dum aliquas civitates pestilentiae lue infestas audierunt, amore civium suorum, aliquod medicamenti genus provida sollicitudine excogitasse, quo cives suos a grassantis morbi infestatione praemunirent, ne ingruens periculum ex insperato partem cognatae subverteret multitudinis. Hoc idem nostrae videtur agendum esse devotioni contra haereticae pravitate pestilentiam, quorum doctrina ut cancer serpit, ut virus infunditur, ut venenum serpentino dente ingestum, quos laceret, occidit. Nec posterior nobis in catholicae fidei veritate animarum sollicitudo integritatis esse debet, quam antiquis in Scientia sua corporalis cura salutis fuisse probatur.”

Here, Alcuin compares efforts to eradicate heresy with the work of doctors and the dangers of disease. Alcuin's metaphor was not a new development. Patristic authors like Saint Jerome frequently linked heresy with disease using violent metaphors. Heresy was to the Church what a cancer was to the body; saving the whole required cutting the malignancy out.<sup>14</sup> R.I. Moore explains that characterizing heresy as a disease remained a popular metaphor throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>15</sup> Heresy was a contagion. Curing the disease of heresy required the healing effects of orthodox devotion. To Alcuin, the most effective cure for the *pestilentia* of adoptionism was the Catholic Church and its theology.

Maligning Felix and his beliefs further, Alcuin impugns adoptionism as both theologically inaccurate and lacking in logical consistency. Alcuin rationalizes the intellectual untenability of this heresy, arguing that “if the Lord Christ was the adopted Son according to the flesh, just as some with a weak faith chatter, in no way is there one Son, since in no way can his own Son and the adopted Son be one Son, since one is recognized as the true Son, the other as the untrue.”<sup>16</sup> Alcuin rails against adoptionism, framing the notion that Christ was anything other than the actual son of God as an absurdity. By lambasting Felix's beliefs in this way, Alcuin's propaganda subverts adoptionism and promotes the preeminence and logic of Catholicism. Safeguarding

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<sup>14</sup> In his *Contra Pelagianos*, a polemic on the Pelagian heresy, Jerome states that “sin is to the soul what a disease or a wound is to the body.” See Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, trans. by J.G. Cunningham (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887); Jerome, *Dialogus Adversus Pelagianos*, 3.11; PL, Vol. 23, 607.

<sup>15</sup> R.I. Moore, “Heresy as Disease,” in *The Concept of Heresy in the Middle Ages*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (Leuven, BE: Leuven University Press, 1976), 1-12.

<sup>16</sup> Alcuin, *Heresy and Authority*, 54; *Adversus*, 1.13; PL, Vol. 101, 92. “Si igitur Dominus Christus secundum carnem, sicut quidam improba fide garriunt, adoptivus est Filius, nequaquam unus est Filius, quia nullatenus proprius Filius et adoptivus Filius, unus esse potest Filius, quia unus verus, et alter non verus esse dignoscitur.”

orthodoxy entailed an offensive propaganda strategy, an approach that later anti-heresy polemicists sustained.

Alcuin goes on to frame Felix as arrogant, charging him and other heretics with lacking the grace and intellect to question God's power and the authority of the Holy Scripture. "Why," asks Alcuin, "do we employ our depraved rashness to constrain the omnipotence of God? He is not bound by the law of our mortality: 'For whatever he wishes, God does in heaven and earth.'"<sup>17</sup> Appealing to the Book of Psalms, Alcuin emphasizes the supreme authority of God in all spiritual and temporal matters.<sup>18</sup> Alcuin declares that Felix's assertions challenge that supremacy. The beliefs Felix espouses, according to Alcuin, floundered because Felix lacked God's power and authority, and worse, because Felix presumed an understanding of God's omnipotence. Felix's support of adoptionism, therefore, undermined God's authority and preeminence, making it an indisputable heresy. Alcuin's propaganda endorses the orthodox notion of an omniscient and omnipotent God, a notion confirming the mendacity of Felix and adoptionism.<sup>19</sup> Alcuin's efforts to mitigate the threat of heresy comprised appeals to orthodoxy, framing heretical dissent as theologically inaccurate and intellectually absurd.

Alcuin roots his polemical propaganda in the notion that delegitimizing and eradicating heresy required persuasion. His language does not overtly promote punishing heretics as much as it encourages readers to interpret the adoptionist heresy as

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. "Quid Dei omnipotentiam sub nostrum necessitate prava temeritate constringere nitimur? Non est nostrae mortalitatis lege ligatus; 'omnia enim, quaecunque vult, Dominus facit in caelo et in terra.'"

<sup>18</sup> Ps. 134:6

<sup>19</sup> Augustine's *Confessions* provides an orthodox understanding of God's nature and power. Augustine describes God as "most high, utterly good, utterly powerful, most omnipotent, most merciful and most just, deeply hidden yet most intimately present, perfection of both beauty and strength, stable and incomprehensible, immutable and yet changing all things." See Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4-5.

undesirable, dangerous, and worth avoiding altogether. Persuasion, as illustrated in Alcuin's treatise, meant maligning heresy as an idea and framing it as an affront to God. His propaganda equates heresy with infectious disease; heresy was an illness afflicting Christians and resisting the malady required unraveling the flaws and assumptions it propounded. Curing or cutting out that infection ensured a healthy Christendom and a strong Church to guide it. Moreover, Alcuin aims to convince his readers that adoptionism was both illogical and an insult to God's divinity and omnipotence. By appealing to established beliefs and practices about Christ and God, Alcuin induces his readers to abstain from heresy and encourages heretics to abandon their erroneous doctrines. While not the progenitor of this approach, the propaganda of Alcuin's *Adversus Felicis haeresin* provides insight into how many ecclesiastical writers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries approached the creation of anti-heresy propaganda. As ecclesiastical authority became more centralized over the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and countering heresy became a more pressing responsibility of the Church, the propaganda of medieval polemicists evolved to reflect these developments.<sup>20</sup>

### *III. Heresy Propaganda in the Early Twelfth Century*

Corruption became a major concern of the Catholic Church in the eleventh century. The moral character of clerics, monks, and the laity were important, as many medieval Christians believed that matters like simony, lay investiture, clerical marriage, and celibacy diminished the spiritual efficacy of the Church. Addressing these concerns culminated in the reforms of Pope Gregory VII in the 1070s and 1080s.<sup>21</sup> Gregory's

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<sup>20</sup> Moore, *Persecuting Society*, 23; Ames, *Righteous Persecution*, 10-6.

<sup>21</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 43-5.

*Dictatus papae* (1075) grappled with many of the aforesaid issues, while also codifying the range of the papacy's power.<sup>22</sup> Gregory's efforts were met with calls by some for further reform, as "the revolutionary programme of the Gregorians set before the Church ideals which could never be wholly realized."<sup>23</sup> Advocates of the *vita apostolica* (apostolic life) called for Christians to model their lives on those of Christ's apostles, even promoting the spiritual benefits of an eremitical life.<sup>24</sup> While some proponents of the *vita apostolica* operated within the bounds of orthodoxy, others transgressed those boundaries. These transgressors were labelled heretics. Over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Church employed its new authority to denounce the divergent beliefs and practices of those deemed heretics, producing a multitude of texts elucidating the evils of heresy.<sup>25</sup>

By the turn of the twelfth century, the Church started to recognize heresy as a substantial risk to its status as the preeminent authority on all spiritual matters. Reports of heresy from the early twelfth century often possessed less detail than later accounts, which often featured more systematic descriptions of heretics and their various transgressions. Yet these early accounts provide insight into how members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy understood heresy and posited ways of redressing it. A prominent example from the early twelfth century comes from the autobiography of Guibert of Nogent. Writing sometime around 1114 or 1115, Guibert's autobiography is often titled the *Monodiae*. Guibert's "Solitary Songs" detailed much of his early life, his unusual

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<sup>22</sup> Henderson, *Historical Documents*, 366-7.

<sup>23</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 45.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 45-49.

<sup>25</sup> Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller, "Introduction," in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy* (Suffolk, UK: York Medieval Press, 2003), 5; Moore, *Persecuting Society*, 63-4.

relationship with his mother, and his life and work as the leader of a cloistered community.

Near the end of his autobiography, Guibert details an encounter he had with heretics in Soissons sometime around 1114. He describes the heretics in question—Clement and his brother Evrard, both of Bucy in northern France—as *rustici*.<sup>26</sup> While the standard definition of *rusticus* stresses the rustic qualities of peasants living and farming in the countryside, Herbert Grundmann’s research uncovered an additional connotation for the term. Grundmann argues that that *rusticus* also meant one who was illiterate in Latin, the primary language of Christian discourse throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>27</sup> Guibert’s framing of Clement and Evrard as *rustici* reveals the multiple propagandistic uses of the term. The various connotations of *rusticus* are not mutually exclusive. Guibert’s use of the term can imply that they are both unrefined peasants and unknowledgeable of the Latin language. Furthermore, Guibert’s comments on Clement and Evrard’s lack of Latin skills appears later in the account, where he notes how the brothers believed that the phrase *beati eritis* meant “blessed are the heretics” rather than “you will be blessed.”<sup>28</sup> Whether Guibert intended to characterize Clement and Evrard as *rustici* in one or both senses of the word, framing them in this way delegitimized their heretical beliefs, showing how they were unfit to speak about any theological matter. Guibert’s propaganda undermines these accused heretics by maligning their status as

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<sup>26</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *Histoire de sa vie (1053-1124)*, ed. Georges Bourgin (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907), 212.

<sup>27</sup> Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1995), 14.

<sup>28</sup> Guibert, 212-3.

legitimate purveyors of Christian knowledge, portraying them as lacking the intellectual and spiritual qualifications needed to disseminate that knowledge.

Guibert further highlights the cryptic nature of Clement and Evrard's heresy. He explains how their heresy was "not one that openly defends its doctrine, but, condemned to everlasting whispers, creeps along in secret."<sup>29</sup> He accentuates the secretive nature of the brothers' heresy, a quality he implies divorced it from the transparency he believed Catholicism possessed. Karen Sullivan, a scholar of medieval literature, speaks to the issue of secrecy in Guibert's account. She discusses Guibert's familiarity with Augustine as well as his probable familiarity with Paul de Saint-Père de Chartres, author of an account of heretics at Orléans. As heretics were often portrayed as enigmatic figures, Sullivan concludes that Guibert's condemnation of Clement and Evrard was rooted in their apparent secretiveness, a quality she determines made them heretics in Guibert's mind.<sup>30</sup> By portraying Clement and Evrard as secretive about their beliefs, Guibert molds them into heretics, as he considers only those secretive of their beliefs guilty of heresy. For Guibert, the eradication of heresy required portraying it as the opposite of Catholic Christianity, as an esoteric phenomenon working out of sight of the community and God. Guibert saw the medieval Church, on the other hand, as operating in an open and transparent way. Thus, Guibert asserts that these heretics were intentionally deceptive, a notion aimed at preventing their heresy's dissemination and its eventual elimination.

Guibert then describes the supposed beliefs and practices of these brothers, characterizing them as both transgressive and dangerous. Guibert's description of their

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 212. "Haeresis autem ea est, non quae palam dogma defendat, sed quae perpetuis damnata susurris clandestina serpat."

<sup>30</sup> Karen Sullivan, *Truth and the Heretic: Crises of Knowledge in Medieval French Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 48-63.

beliefs and practices provides insight into his persuasion-oriented methodology for quelling heretical dissent. Many of the heretical customs and ideas Guibert attributes to them were frequently associated with the heresy of Catharism, which Guibert believes is a resurgent Manichaeism, an ancient religious movement originating in Persia. Guibert describes how the brothers rejected baptism, condemned marriage, and spurned consuming all food that was the product of sexual reproduction—all practices typically associated with Catharism or Manichaeism, all of which infringed on the dominant norms and values of most medieval societies.<sup>31</sup> Yet Guibert’s portrayal of the brothers’ transgressive practices and beliefs did not end there. Striving to frame them and their followers as cruel and barbaric non-Christians, Guibert describes one of the secret rituals heretics like Clement and Evrard supposedly engaged in:

But if a woman becomes pregnant there, when the child is finally born, it is returned to that same place. A great fire is kindled, and the child is tossed from hand to hand through the flames by those surrounding the fire until it is killed. Then it is reduced to ashes; from the ashes bread is made, of which a portion is granted like the Eucharist. Whoever receives these provisions never recovers his senses from that heresy.<sup>32</sup>

Guibert’s language here depicts the brothers of Bucy as sadistic murders and cannibals of innocent children, attributes indicating their status as the antithesis of all that was moral and Christian. The accusations Guibert levels against these brothers were not unique; sexual depravity, child murder, and cannibalism were standard rhetorical tropes, often directed against other heretical groups, early Christian and Dionysian cults, medieval

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<sup>31</sup> Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 4, 21-3, 158-63; John Arnold, *Inquisition and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 19.

<sup>32</sup> Guibert, 213. “Quod si inibi femina gravidetur, partu demum fuso in idipsum reditur; ignis multus accenditur, a circumsedentibus puer de manu in manum per flammas jacitur, donec extinguitur; deinde in cineres redigitur; ex cinere panis conficitur; cuique pars pro eucharistia tribuitur, qua assumpta numquam pene ab haeresi ipsa resipiscitur.”

Jews, and even Islamic heresies.<sup>33</sup> By characterizing Clement and Evrard in this way, Guibert seeks to counter whatever appeal their beliefs had amongst the people of Soissons. Guibert strives to persuade readers of his *Monodiae* that this heresy was not a means to living the *vita apostolica*, nor did it offer any valid alternative to the Catholic Church. Guibert's portrayal of these heretics functions as a textual assault on a perceived enemy that jeopardized the spiritual and institutional authority of the medieval Church.

Guibert's efforts to impugn Clement and Evrard's Manichaeism was not limited to delegitimizing their beliefs and practices alone. The abbot's account concludes with their trial and its aftermath, indicating that even in the early twelfth century methods for dealing with heresy were not just textual, but manifested in more tangible ways. Guibert describes how Clement and Evrard "were compelled to undergo an examination by a most illustrious man, the bishop Lisiard."<sup>34</sup> After subjecting the brothers to extensive questioning and being uncertain of their guilt, Guibert suggests that the brothers undergo the ordeal. An early medieval judicial practice with Frankish origins, trial by ordeal entailed the accused being subjected to a life-threatening test.<sup>35</sup> Whether the accused were submerged in water or exposed to flame, the ordeal determined the accused's guilt or innocence of a crime, often serving as a barometer of their standing in the community as well.<sup>36</sup> Failing the ordeal often meant the death of the accused. Guibert describes how, after being thrown in a vat of water, Clement's guilt manifested in his floating in the water rather than sinking in it. Still, Guibert and Lisiard were hesitant to execute the

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<sup>33</sup> Ames, *Medieval Heresies*, 148-9; Rubin, Miri, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1-6.

<sup>34</sup> Guibert, 213. "A domino ergo Suessorum pontifice, viro clarissimo, Lisiardo praefati duo ad examen urgentur."

<sup>35</sup> Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 4-9.

<sup>36</sup> R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012), 94-5.

brothers immediately. Agreeing to imprison them, Guibert notes how he and Lisiard decided to consult the bishops present at the nearby Council of Beauvais before reaching a final verdict. However, Guibert explains that their hesitance was met with the ire of the “faithful people” of Soissons, who decided to take matters into their own hands. The abbot explains how “the faithful people, fearing clerical weakness, ran to the prison, seized it, placed a fire under the men, and burned them together outside the city. The people of God were justified in their zeal toward them, in order that such a cancer not be spread.”<sup>37</sup> For the people of Soissons, Clement and Evrard’s guilt was made manifest in their failure to adequately pass the ordeal, mandating their swift execution.

Guibert’s description of the demise of these brothers is important for several reasons. Firstly, it illustrates how the idea that violence, at least in the minds of some, was a reasonable method for countering the threat of heresy. The hesitancy of Guibert and Lisiard to execute the brothers, however, indicates that violence was not a standard or assumed response that all monastic or clerical figures considered appropriate. Jay Rubenstein, the only scholar thus far to produce a monograph about the Benedictine abbot, argues that Guibert’s description of their beliefs and practices was a later amendment to the account of the trial, made by Guibert to reassure himself of the legitimacy of the trial’s violent outcome.<sup>38</sup> Guibert’s initial uncertainty about their guilt, coupled with his trepidation regarding their execution, illustrates how violence as a means for managing and eliminating heresy was a contentious issue in the early decades of the twelfth century.

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<sup>37</sup> Guibert, 215. “Sed fidelis interim populus clericalem verens mollitiem concurrat ad ergastulum, rapit, et subjecto eis extra urbem igne partier concremavit. Quorum ne propagaretur carcinus, justum erga eos zelum habuit Dei populus.”

<sup>38</sup> Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 114-5.

Secondly, despite Guibert's unwillingness to seek death as recourse for the heresy of Clement and Evrard, he does not denounce the violence committed by the "faithful people" of Soissons outright. That Guibert describes the killers of these heretics as "justified in their zeal toward them" reveals a parallel with Augustine's assessment of Moses and the Egyptian in his *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*. The parallel between Guibert and Augustine demonstrates the persistence of the idea that the righteous possessed the duty to punish the wicked, even when they lacked the explicit authority to do so. Despite Lisiard and Guibert's apprehension for crossing the boundary of violence, the faithful people's fervor indicates that under certain circumstances, violence against heretics was in the very least tolerable. While Guibert's propaganda does not advocate for violence nor opposes it outright, violence is still portrayed as a legitimate method for countering the spread of heresy.

#### *IV. Propaganda in the Mid-Twelfth Century*

The abbot of Nogent, exposed to an ascendant threat that neither he nor his fellow churchmen fully grasped, acted to suppress heretical dissent by means of his polemical account of the brothers of Bucy. He recognized the transgressive nature of their heresy but vacillated on how to address it. While moral violence against heretics was not prohibited, its viability as a component of anti-heresy propaganda and as a method for quelling the spread of heresy was variable. By the mid-twelfth century, the number of interactions the Catholic Church had with various heresies increased. Building off the Gregorian reforms of the eleventh century and the *vita apostolica* movement, orthodox and heretical wandering preachers became a major force for continuing efforts to reform

the Church in the twelfth century. These preachers popularized ascetical practices like personal poverty and railed against simony and clerical marriage.<sup>39</sup> “A preacher of skill,” argues scholar Malcolm Lambert, “who came out of an ascetic background and denounced abuses, was sure of a hearing, and this remained true whether his views were essentially within the bounds of orthodox reform or not.”<sup>40</sup> With exposure and familiarity came a greater understanding of the nature of heresies, the efforts of wandering preachers to disseminate their heretical beliefs, the severity of the threat they posed to the Church, and an expansion of ideas concerning the negation of that threat.

Peter the Venerable, a Benedictine abbot much like Guibert, was a prolific author of the early and mid-twelfth century. While his written works frequently dealt with the threat of Islam and the status of Jews in Christian society, Peter considered Christian heresy a major dilemma for the Church as well, dedicating multiple letters and treatises to the subject. One such letter discusses a heretical preacher named Peter of Bruys, who spearheaded a heretical movement that lasted for approximately two decades. Peter and his Petrobrusian heresy met their end shortly before Peter the Venerable wrote his account of the former’s heretical errors.

Composed sometime between 1131 and 1133, the letter was not made public until after Peter of Bruys’s death, which occurred no later than 1134.<sup>41</sup> The recipients of Peter’s letter were the archbishops and bishops of dioceses throughout the Occitan region. Lamenting his inability to write sooner, Peter describes how the heresy plaguing

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<sup>39</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 19, 48-50.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>41</sup> Walter Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, “The Teachings of Peter of Bruys,” in *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 118.

their dioceses as a “mighty pestilence that killed many and corrupted more.”<sup>42</sup> Much like Guibert, Peter the Venerable characterizes the Petrobrusian heresy in terms of its infectiousness, claiming it was responsible for the deaths of many people. Death, for Peter, can be interpreted in multiple ways. Physical death is one explanation. If Peter’s focus on death refers to those executed for their transgressions, he places the blame for a heretic’s demise squarely in their own hands. Alternatively, Peter may be referring to a spiritual death. Falling into heresy was a form of spiritual death in the sense that it prevented one from being a member of the Christian community and attaining salvation, effectively cutting one off from God and killing their spirit.<sup>43</sup> Whether Peter’s refers to physical, spiritual, or both forms of death, it is clear that Peter seeks to frame the Petrobrusian heresy as one steeped in violence.

After describing how Petrobrusianism spread throughout many dioceses, Peter discusses what he believed was the most effective way to counter the heresy. Peter enjoins his clerical readers to fulfill their obligations to their parishes and congregations:

It is therefore up to you, to whom especially by reason of office and of exceptional knowledge pertains the care of the Church of God and on whom the Church rests on sturdy pillars; it is your affair, I say, to root out the heresy by preaching and even, if it shall prove necessary, by force of arms of the laity from those places in which the heresy rejoices at having found its hiding places. But since it is right that Christian charity should put the greater effort on converting heretics than on *destroying* them, let authority be cited to them, let reason also be added, so that they may be compelled to yield—to authority if they choose to remain Christians, to reason if they choose to remain men.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Petri Venerabilis, *Epistola sive tractatus adversus petrobrusianos haereticos*; PL, Vol. 189, 721. “stulta illa et impia haeresis more pestis validate mutos interfecit, plures infecit.”

<sup>43</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 5.

<sup>44</sup> Walter Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 119; Petri Venerabilis, *Epistola sive tractatus adversus petrobrusianos haereticos*; PL, Vol. 189, 721. “Vestrum est igitur ad quos praecipue tam ex officio, quam ex singulari Scientia in partibus illis cura Ecclesiae Dei spectat, et quibus ipsa velut fortibus columnis maxime innititur, vestrum est, inquam, et a locis illis, in quibus se latibula invenisse gaudet, et praedicatione, et etiam, si necesse fuerit, vi armata per laicos exturbare. Sed, quia majorem operam eos convertendi quam exterminandi,

While Petrobrusianism dissipated before the publication of Peter's letter, the advice it imparts applies to other heresies as well. So long as heresy remained a threat to the Church and its flock, Peter's injunction to his audience of bishops and archbishops remained pertinent. He stresses the primacy of preaching, conversion, and following ecclesiastical precedent while acknowledging the validity of violence as well. For Peter, "destroying" heretics required the "arms of the laity," indicating a greater acceptance of violence as a feature of anti-heresy propaganda and affirming the role of the secular arm in carrying out acts of violence.

While conversion superseded the outright slaughtering of heretics, Peter's language demonstrates how the threat of Petrobrusianism, and the threat of heresy in a broader sense, increased to the extent that abbots like Peter saw violence as another important weapon in their anti-heresy arsenal, just one worth using only in the most dire of circumstances. When constructing this work, the whole of which is often called the *Contra Petrobrusianos*, Peter's primary goal was to craft a polemic geared toward "portraying the revelations of Christianity as universal truths."<sup>45</sup> Moreover, Peter employs the rhetorical technique of *disputatio*—a technique entailing the construction of a detailed case against an opponent and systematically delegitimizing their views point by point—to defend Catholic orthodoxy.<sup>46</sup> Peter the Venerable's *Contra Petrobrusianos* aims to promote the authority of the Church and the supremacy of its theology, relying on techniques that methodically invalidate Peter of Bruys's beliefs and practices. Peter's

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adhibere Christianam charitatem decet, proferatur eis auctoritas, adhibeatur et ratio, ut si Christiani permanere volunt, auctoritati; si homines, rationi cedere compellantur.

<sup>45</sup> Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000-1150)*, trans. by Graham Robert Edwards (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 145.

<sup>46</sup> Moore, *War on Heresy*, 148.

acceptance of the legitimacy of violent measures is clearer than Guibert's. While the abbot of Nogent approved of violence against heretics only when it was thrust upon him and justified it after the fact, Peter the Venerable endorsed it outright, but only under certain underdefined conditions.

Approximately a decade after Peter the Venerable composed his polemic against Peter of Bruys, another renowned medieval abbot added his voice to the corpus of anti-heresy texts. Bernard of Clairvaux, a member of the Cistercian monastic order, tackled the threat of heresy in his unfinished series of sermons known as the *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*. Bernard wrote his sixty-fifth *sermo* on the Song of Songs in reply to a letter he received from Eberwin of Steinfeld. In 1143, Eberwin wrote to Bernard seeking his guidance on the presence of a heretical group near Cologne. Bernard replied to Eberwin with his sixty-fifth *sermo*, in which he ventures to assuage Eberwin's consternation.<sup>47</sup> Without ascribing a name to the heresy he discusses, Bernard's polemical sermon describes beliefs and practices many contemporary historians characterize as those of the Cathar heresy.<sup>48</sup> Describing how to prevent the spread of heresy, Bernard poses a question to readers. "What will we do to defeat those most wicked foxes?"<sup>49</sup> The abbot answers his rhetorical question, describing the heresy's beliefs and explaining why they transgressed Catholic orthodoxy and ecclesiastical authority. Heretics, Bernard remarks, claimed that they were practitioners of the apostolic ideal of the *vita apostolica* outlined in the Gospels. Bernard ridicules that notion,

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<sup>47</sup> Wakefield and Evans, *Heresies in the High Middle Ages*, 126-7.

<sup>48</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 2000), 24, 31-2; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 62; Lambert, *The Cathars*, 39.

<sup>49</sup> Saint Bernard, "Sermo LXV," in *Sermones super Cantica canticorum*, Vol. 5, ed. H. Hurter (Innsbruck, Aus.: Libreria Academica Wagneriana, 1888), 538. "Quid faciemus his malignissimis vulpibus... vincere?"

challenging the heretics: “where is the apostolic appearance and life of which you boast? They cry out in public, you mutter in the corner. What do you exhibit in yourselves like them?”<sup>50</sup> Bernard denies the piety these heretics ascribed to themselves. The apostolic ideal required more than words; actions revealed true adherence and dedication to the *vita apostolica*, and Bernard contends that these heretics failed this task.

Bernard then unravels how followers of this heresy failed to live up to the *vita apostolica*. He describes how unmarried heretics of both sexes lived and worked together, an affront to the asceticism of the *vita apostolica*.<sup>51</sup> Bernard castigates the heretics for their impudence to the *vita apostolica* by living in such close quarters: “every day you are side by side with a young girl at your table, your bed is near hers in the bedroom, your eyes lock with hers in conversation, your hands meet hers in work; and you wish to be thought temperate?”<sup>52</sup> Mocking their supposed celibacy, Bernard attacks their living and working habits as antithetical to the ideals of the *vita apostolica*. He characterizes them as socially and sexually transgressive, and an insult to the religious life they purported to uphold.

Many of the ideas Bernard introduces in his sixty-fifth *sermo* carry over into his sixty-sixth. The bulk of *Sermo* 66 elaborates on the deceitful and immoral character of heretics and how they endangered the Church. Developing on his “little foxes” metaphor, Bernard describes how “in demeanor they are sheep, in cunning they are foxes, and in

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 540. “Ubi apostolica forma et vita quam jactatis? Illi clamant, vos susurrates; illi in publico, vos in angulo... Quid simile illis in vobis ostenditis?”

<sup>51</sup> Bryan E. Peterson, “‘Ubi apostolica forma et vita quam iactatis?’: Evaluating Textual Representations of Cathar Asceticism, c. 1100-1300,” in *FCH Annals: Journal of the Florida Conference of Historians* 24 (June 2018): 39-40.

<sup>52</sup> Bernard, 541. “Quotidie latus tuum ad latus juvenculae est in mensa; lectus tuus ad lectum ejus in camera; oculi tui ad illius oculos in colloquio; manus tuae ad manus ipsius in opera; et continens vis putari?”

their cruelty, they are wolves.”<sup>53</sup> As in the sixth-fifth *sermo*, Bernard questions the heretics’ celibacy, diet, and arguments against the sacraments. Where *Sermo* 66 diverges from the previous sermon is the matter of violence. Bernard discusses the willingness of Christians to oppose heretics violently and how many heretics, framing themselves as Christian martyrs of centuries past, welcomed that violence. He notes how many heretics “choose death rather than convert. The goal of these men is an untimely death, fire awaits them in the end.”<sup>54</sup> Bernard appraises the benefits of giving heretics the death they desired. The violence of the ordeal and the threat of burning increased the heretics’ resolve, inciting Christians to attack them:

When questioned about their suspected belief, by habit they denied everything entirely. When examined by the trial of water, they were found deceitful. However, when detected and unable to deny their beliefs because the water did not receive them, they took the bridle in their teeth, as is said, and they did not confess their impiety freely and desperately, but declared it openly as piety, and they were prepared to endure death for it. Those who stood by were quite ready to set fire to them. Consequently, the Christian people attacked them, which made new martyrs for these treacherous heretics. We commend their zeal, but do not recommend their actions, because faith must be persuaded, not imposed. Although it is no doubt better that heretics be punished by the sword of him who does not bear the sword in vain, than be permitted to lead people astray. For he is God’s minister, a defender who brings wrath on he who does evil.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Saint Bernard, “Sermo LXVI,” 1.1; PL, Vol. 183, 1094. “Hi oves sunt habitu, astu vulpes, actu et crudelitate lupi.”

<sup>54</sup> Bernard, “Sermo LXVI,” 1.12; PL, 1100. “... mori magis eligunt, quam converti. Horum finis interitus, horum novissima incendium manet.”

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 1100-1. “Quaesiti fidem, eam de quibus suspecti videbantur, omnia prorsus suo more negarent; examinati iudicio aquae, mendaces inventi sunt. Cumque jam negare non possent, quippe deprehensi, aqua eos non recipiente; arrepto, ut dicitur, freno dentibus, tam misere quam libere impietatem non confessi, sed professi sunt, palam pietatem astruentes, et pro ea mortem subire parati. Nec minus parati inferre qui astabant. Itaque irruens in eos populus, novos haereticis suae ipsorum perfidiae martyres dedit. Approbamus zelum, sed factum non suademus; quia fides suadenda est, non imponenda. Quamquam melius procul dubio gladio coercentur, illius videlicet qui non sine causa gladium portat, quam in suum errorem multos trajicere permittantur. Dei enim minister ille est, vindex in iram ei qui male agit [Rom. xiii, 4].”

Bernard recognizes the zeal of Christians ready to dispatch heretics, characterizing them as servants of God. To Bernard, subjecting heretics to violent deaths was laudable, a moral act in harmony with orthodoxy. However, Bernard concedes several disadvantages to engaging in such violence. He acknowledges that zealous Christians could create martyrs of heretics, thereby reinforcing their obduracy. Bernard emphasizes the importance of winning the hearts of heretics through persuasion, as compelling them to orthodoxy did not ensure a genuine conversion.<sup>56</sup> Despite these reservations, Bernard ends the passage with a paraphrase of Romans 13:4.<sup>57</sup> He relies on the Gospel to support the idea that the violent repression of heresy was moral under the auspices of the Church.

Much like Peter the Venerable, Bernard of Clairvaux validates violence against heretics as moral, but questions its efficacy and highlights the importance of persuasion. Bernard was not averse to moral violence. As discussed in the previous chapter, he encouraged Eugenius III to address the failures of the Second Crusade to ensure that future excursions succeeded. Bernard advocated that Eugenius crusade against the pagan Wends as well.<sup>58</sup> Yet in *Sermo* 66, Bernard qualifies his support of violence on the matter of heresy. He calls it moral and canonical while emphasizing the need to persuade heretics to return to the fold. The effort Bernard exerts to explain how and why heresy was evil suggests that persuasion was his primary goal. All of *Sermo* 65 and the majority of *Sermo* 66 aim to persuade the reader of heresy's ungodliness. Bernard's discussion of violence against heretics features briefly in the latter sermon. He mitigates his clear

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<sup>56</sup> See Introduction, note 4.

<sup>57</sup> Paul the Apostle, speaking on the authority granted to the Church by God, states that "for it is God's servant for your good. But if you do what is wrong, you should be afraid, for the authority does not bear the sword in vain! It is the servant of God to execute wrath on the wrongdoer." See. Rom. 13:4.

<sup>58</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 147-8.

support of zealous Christians ending the lives of recalcitrant heretics by stressing the obstacles such actions posed to the Church. Creating martyrs of heretics did not abate their appeal or the danger they posed. Therefore, Bernard aims to explicate the sinfulness of heresy, and with some reservations, remains open to the idea of using violence to end them.

### *V. Conclusion*

The Church of the High Middle Ages responded to the return of heresy by producing many propagandistic texts expounding its illegitimacy. Countering heresy's dissemination centered on persuasion. Heresy polemicists sought to convince readers that heretical groups were an impediment to salvation, that they were the antithesis of Christianity's ideals, and that they threatened the very existence of Christendom. The methodology the Church inherited from early medieval writers like Alcuin of York utilized persuasion to combat heresy. Persuasion, to Alcuin, meant denigrating heresy and characterizing it as physically and spiritually harmful. Only orthodoxy could cure the ills of heresy.

Persuasion remained an important feature of anti-heresy propaganda into the twelfth century, as polemicists continued to frame heresy as inauthentic and dangerous. Yet the efficacy and propriety of moral violence became a concern for multiple anti-heresy authors. Guibert of Nogent's account of the Soissons trial shows how the abbot saw violence as a defensible way to deal with heresy, just one he was hesitant to seek out himself. Peter the Venerable was less reluctant to express his approval of violence. However, Peter's acceptance of moral violence was tempered by his preference to

convince heretics of their faults and ensure their conversion back to orthodoxy. Bernard of Clairvaux's approach to heresy parallels Peter the Venerable's. His sixty-fifth *sermo* promotes persuasion, as does most of his sixty-sixth. *Sermo* 66, however, recognizes the morality of violence against heretics while acknowledging the difficulties that may arise from engaging in it. To Bernard, though violence against the recalcitrant was moral, persuading dissenters to return to the fold was preferable. By the mid-twelfth century, the role of moral violence in anti-heresy propaganda was conditional. Violence against heretics was within the bounds of orthodoxy, but persuasion remained the favorable course of action for many polemicists. Few qualms stymied anti-heresy violence, though ensuring heretics became Christians again endured as a key feature of anti-heresy propaganda. As the next chapter will demonstrate, the idea and practice of anti-heretical violence evolved in the final decades of twelfth century. Defining characteristics of crusading propaganda began to permeate anti-heresy propaganda, resulting in the idea of crusading against heretics to develop years before the Albigensian Crusade began.

## CHAPTER 3: THE UNION OF CRUSADING AND ANTI-HERESY PROPAGANDA

### *I. An Evolving Discourse*

As the threat of heresy endured, so too did efforts to delegitimize the beliefs and practices of heretical groups. Churchmen led preaching missions into territories considered replete with heretical dissenters in the final decades of the twelfth century. These missions aimed to eliminate heresy in region, relying on many ideas characteristic of anti-heresy propaganda. Preachers aspired to persuade heretics and their sympathizers of the spurious and deceptive nature of heresy, hoping to encourage their return to orthodoxy and the Church. Preaching missions encountered resistance. Much as Bernard of Clairvaux experienced defiance, even outright scorn, when preaching in Toulouse and Albi during his 1145 mission, so too did later anti-heresy preachers and papal legates. While the violent suppression of heretics by secular authorities succeeded in reducing many overt challenges to ecclesiastical authority, it never eliminated heresy entirely.<sup>1</sup> While violence—to subdue heretics and as anti-heresy propaganda—was moral and just under certain circumstances, waging a crusade for the explicit purpose of eliminating a heretical group did not occur before 1209. Similarly, the propaganda of crusading had yet

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<sup>1</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, Gratian's *Decretum* engaged the issue of moral violence and warfare. Regarding heresy, the *Decretum* induced the secular arm into fighting against heretics, codifying the notion that armies could be raised for killing recalcitrant heretics. See Frederick Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 56.

to become a feature of discourse on heretics. The idea of crusading against heretics emerged with the institutionalization of crusading propaganda as a component of anti-heresy propaganda in the late 1100s. This union of propaganda culminated in framing the Occitan war as a crusade.

Between the 1170s and the first decade of the 1200s, heresy polemicists began to incorporate elements of crusading propaganda into their anti-heresy texts. Anti-heresy propaganda subsumed fundamental aspects of crusading propaganda, leading crusade to become a viable method for subduing heretics. While Innocent III issued the call to arms that launched the Albigensian Crusade itself, the idea for waging a crusade against heretics predates Innocent's papacy by several decades. Beginning with the writings of Henry de Marcy and culminating with those of Pope Innocent III, a modified anti-heresy propaganda arose advocating crusade to eradicate heretical *pravitas*. Support for crusading against heretics was tentative in earlier instances of this revised discourse; heresy polemicists utilized some elements of crusading propaganda but were reluctant to call for crusade outright. This reluctance is evident in the earlier writings of Henry de Marcy, writings that became increasingly supportive of crusading against heretics over time. Moreover, persuading heretics to return to the fold never ceased being a goal of the Church. So long as heretics submitted to Catholic authority and atoned for their transgressions, they became Christians once more. However, the thirty-year period preceding the Albigensian Crusade saw the rise, institutionalization, and codification of a modified anti-heresy discourse that promoted a new tool for countering heresy: the violence of crusade entered the Church's anti-heresy arsenal, marking an expansion of permissible moral forms of violence against the recalcitrant.

The ideas characteristic of crusading and anti-heresy propaganda were not mutually exclusive. As figures like Bernard of Clairvaux illustrate, authors delved into both areas of discourse. Neither these figures nor their ideas existed in a vacuum, uninfluenced by their contemporaries and the concepts they propounded. Discourse promoting crusading and attacking heresy did not reside in two strict and unyielding categories. The boundaries between these categories were porous. However, prior to the 1170s, the idea of crusading was not a key feature of anti-heresy propaganda. Heresy polemicists did not widely promote the act of crusade as a way to contend with heretics, preferring persuasion through preaching and tolerating violence under the right conditions. Through the union of these two distinct yet permeable strains of propaganda, crusading became a part of anti-heresy discourse in the late 1170s, a process culminating in Innocent's call for a crusade in 1208.

As discussed above, the heretics of Occitania were often labelled as Cathars, though they referred to themselves by such names as the Friends of God or the Good Men.<sup>2</sup> While this distinction is essential to understanding how the Occitan heretics perceived themselves, this chapter is not about the Cathar heresy specifically. It is about Catholic perceptions of this heresy as exhibited in anti-heresy propaganda. The Catholic Church perceived these heretics as an organized Church or counter religion that threatened its existence, a notion still defended by some scholars.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the term Cathar is used here because it evinces the Catholic Church's perceptions of this heresy.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2012), 6n.; Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 17-8.

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 2000), 71-5.

<sup>4</sup> Bryan E. Peterson, "'Ubi apostolica forma et vita quam iactatis?': Evaluating Textual Representations of Cathar Asceticism, c. 1100-1300," in *FCH Annals: Journal of the Florida Conference of Historians* 24 (June 2018): 34.

## *II. The Letters of Henry de Marcy*

The abbey of Clairvaux possessed a vigorous opponent of heresy in its founder, Saint Bernard. Two decades after his death, another champion of Catholic orthodoxy rose to the abbacy of Clairvaux, Henry de Marcy. While Bernard and Henry agreed that heresy was a menace that needed to be eliminated, their approaches to achieving that end diverged significantly. Henry's contributions to anti-heresy discourse mark one of the earliest surviving examples of this union of propaganda strands. Between 1176 and 1179, Henry's stance on the ideal methodology for subduing heresy evolved. Several of Henry's extant letters illustrate an increasing level of acceptance for not only violence against heretics but crusading specifically.

Any assessment of Henry de Marcy's contributions to anti-heresy propaganda must acknowledge the research of Beverley Kienzle. A scholar of medieval homiletics, Kienzle evaluates the Cistercian Order's fight against heretics in Occitania in the years before, during, and after the Albigensian Crusade. Henry de Marcy was a key figure in the order's efforts against the Occitan heretics, and Kienzle's analysis of Henry's letters demonstrates that. The present study features an analysis of several of the letters Kienzle examines and reaches conclusions that are in many ways in accordance with hers. Despite these similarities, it must be noted that her monograph and this study utilize these sources for different purposes. Kienzle's goal, overall, is to determine how and why members of the Cistercian Order took up the fight against heretics. The Cistercians were a monastic community in the Benedictine tradition that advocated withdrawal from the secular, temporal world in favor of an austere and contemplative life.<sup>5</sup> According to Kienzle, that

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<sup>5</sup> Beverley Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy, and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229* (Suffolk, UK: York Medieval Press, 2001), 1-5.

members of the Cistercian Order saw fit to preach, write, and even take up arms against the Occitan heretics suggests that the perceived severity of the heretical threat increased to the extent that many Cistercians turned away from the contemplative life to combat that threat more effectively.<sup>6</sup>

The goal of this study, however, is to evaluate how the idea of crusading against heretics took root in the late 1100s. While the topics of both analyses overlap to a degree, and though they deal with the same chronology and sources, the assessment of Henry in this study differs from Kienzle's in fundamental ways.<sup>7</sup> The influence of ideas and the language transmitting those ideas are center stage in this study, not a monastic order and the specific contributions to anti-heresy efforts made by its members. Without discounting the ideas and discourse promulgated by the Cistercians, members of other contemporaneous monastic orders and the papacy played vital roles in tackling heresy as well. For this reason, the propaganda examined in this study covers an array of ecclesiastical perspectives. The present study's discussion of Henry's letters is not about his efforts as a Cistercian writing against heresy, but his role in shaping ideas about the efficacy and necessity of waging a crusade against heretics.

Henry's ideas about heresy and the language he uses fit into two overlapping areas of heresy studies: monastic anti-heresy efforts and the violent suppression of heresy. Kienzle's monograph falls into the former category, while the present study falls into the latter. Though they clearly intersect, both analyses aim to assess distinct elements

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 2-3, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Moreover, several quotations of Henry's letters included below are identical to those featured in Kienzle's analysis. The reason for following Kienzle so closely here is that these specific quotations are the most pertinent passages of Henry's letters and best illustrate and advance the arguments made in the present study.

of medieval Christendom's concern with and response to medieval heresy. Therefore, the following analysis of Henry de Marcy's letters is less a summary of Kienzle's research than it is a parallel assessment of a pivotal figure whose writings left a striking mark on various aspects of medieval monasticism, anti-heresy discourse, and the idea of crusading in the context of medieval heresy.

Henry's role in reshaping anti-heresy propaganda began in 1178, a pivotal year for the Cistercian. Cardinal Peter of St. Chrysogonus led a preaching mission into Occitania that year, and Henry de Marcy accompanied him. Over the course of 1178, Henry composed a series of letters about the Occitan heresy, dated before and after the Occitan mission. Each successive letter illustrates an increasing level of acceptance of the idea of crusading as an effective and necessary way to combat Occitan heretics. While his earlier letters stress the need to persuade heretics to return to the fold, later ones increasingly emphasize the need for war. This trend culminates in Henry's calling for a crusade against the Cathars.

In the first letter, dating to the spring of 1178, Henry writes to the king of France, Louis VII. Henry describes the danger posed by the heretics and urges Louis to compel them to return to the fold or force them out of France.<sup>8</sup> Seeking a monarch's support demonstrates that, at least amongst Church leaders like Henry, the threat of heresy was dire enough to warrant obtaining the assistance of secular authorities to mitigate its severity. The role of secular authorities in religious matters was a contentious issue. The conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV in the 1070s left its mark on church-state relations, culminating in efforts to delineate ecclesiastical and secular authority as

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<sup>8</sup> Henry de Marcy, *Epistola XXVIII*; PL, Vol. 204, 234-5.

embodied in the Gregorian reforms of the late eleventh century and the Concordat of Worms in the early twelfth.<sup>9</sup> Heresy, however, was a different matter. Ecclesiastical opinion on the appropriate function of secular authorities regarding heretical matters shifted during the first half of the twelfth century. Gratian's *Decretum*, for example, stipulated that secular assistance was needed to counter the spread of heresy, "effectively turning heresy into a secular crime."<sup>10</sup> While the tensions that shaded church-state relations did not dissipate entirely by Henry de Marcy's time, the threat posed by heresy seemed to justify institutional collaboration and prompted Henry to secure the French king's commitment to extinguishing heresy in his 1178 letter.

Henry had good reason to seek out Louis's support against heresy, as the French king had experience defending Christendom. Thirty-three years before Henry's letter, Louis answered Pope Eugenius III's call to arms and took up the cross as a participant in the ill-fated Second Crusade.<sup>11</sup> While the crusaders failed to retake Edessa and hold off Muslim forces at Damascus, Louis's participation in the Second Crusade illustrates the king's commitment to defending Christendom and his willingness to respond to papal calls to arms. Louis was also well aware of papal concerns regarding southern France. He had, along with Henry II of England and Count Raymond V of Toulouse, contacted Peter of St. Chrysogonus in September of 1177 and encouraged the Cardinal to lead a preaching mission into Occitania to suppress heresy.<sup>12</sup> That these nobles encouraged

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<sup>9</sup> Constable Giles, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 3, 318.

<sup>10</sup> Peter D. Diehl, "Overcoming Reluctance to Prosecute Heresy in Thirteenth-Century Italy," in *Christendom and its Discontents*, eds. Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 48.

<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Philips, *The Second Crusade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 61-5, 269; Jean Richards, *The Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 156.

<sup>12</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 114.

Peter of St. Chrysogonus to lead this preaching mission confirms their concern with efforts to eradicate heresy, or at least their willingness to acknowledge and publicly support such efforts. These developments between secular and ecclesiastical authorities opened new avenues for opposing heresy. Institutional collaboration was expedient for both sides and essential for the idea of crusading against heretics to become a part of anti-heresy discourse.

Henry begins his 1178 letter to Louis commending the king's achievements on behalf of the Church, remarking how he was a "propagator of the faith and a conqueror of the defeated infidels."<sup>13</sup> Louis's past actions fixed his position as a defender of the Church, one who could be a reliable ally in the fight against Occitan heretics. Henry continues, making the argument that either Louis "would bring the heretics back to the bosom of the Church or he will drive these obstinate heretics out of the kingdom."<sup>14</sup> Drawing on Saint Augustine's rebuke of Donatus, Henry concludes that Louis was well suited to tackle the heresy and ensure that heretics returned to the fold.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, that Henry ventures to secure Louis's cooperation reveals that the monk recognized the severity of the heretical threat and questioned the Occitan Church's ability to suppress it. The rise of the Cathar heresy in Occitania paralleled the rise of a powerful and independent nobility often at odds with the Church and other external authorities; the

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<sup>13</sup> Henry, *Epistola XXVIII*, 234. "tam propagator fidei, quam victis infidelibus triumphator."

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. "vel faciatis eos ad Ecclesiae sinu reduces, vel a sinu regni propulsabitis contumaces."

<sup>15</sup> In his letter to Donatus, the progenitor of the ancient Donatist heresy, Augustine argues that "it is better for us to obey the will of the Lord, who charges us to compel you to return to His fold, than to yield consent to the will of the wandering sheep, so as to leave you to perish." Augustine considers compulsion a just and necessary way to ensure orthodox hegemony over heretical deviance and to reinforce unity within the flock. See Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, trans. by J.G. Cunningham (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887); Augustine, *Epistolae*, 173.3; CSEL, Vol. 44, 642. "Melius enim facimus voluntatem domini monentis, ut vos ad eius ouile redire cogamus, quam consentimus voluntati ouium errantium, ut perire vos permittamus."

extent of the Occitan nobility's influence reduced the regional Church's power and the efficacy of its clergy.<sup>16</sup> Henry's letter to Louis VII, therefore, functions as a call for aid. From Henry's perspective, the Cathar heresy required eradication. Whether that eradication came in the form of reconversion to Catholicism or the forced expulsion of the recalcitrant, Henry illustrates his acceptance of secular violence as a legitimate tool to quell heresy. Much as Augustine solicited the aid of secular authorities to stifle the spread of the Donatist heresy, Henry of Clairvaux considered a united force of the Church and state necessary to counter heresy and restore orthodoxy.<sup>17</sup>

That same spring, Henry wrote to Pope Alexander III. Henry's support for moral violence is even clearer in this letter. The abbot writes to convince the pope to appoint Cardinal Peter of St. Chrysogonus as a papal legate for a preaching mission into Occitania to gauge the extent of Cathar power in the region.<sup>18</sup> That Henry advocates this mission suggests he remained as committed to persuasion as much as he was open to the idea of using violent measures to suppress heretics. The Church, Henry argues, was under attack and required the papacy to act as the high priest Phinehas once had when his sword was "laid bare against the incest of the Israelite and the Midianite."<sup>19</sup> Kienzle makes the argument that Henry's reference to this passage from the Book of Numbers is important for three reasons. Firstly, it indicates Henry's understanding of the severity of heresy by comparing it to the crime of incest, a sinful act that functioned as a popular medieval

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<sup>16</sup> Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 90-2.

<sup>17</sup> Christine Caldwell Ames, *Medieval Heresies: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 52-3.

<sup>18</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 114.

<sup>19</sup> Henry de Marcy, *Epistola XI*; PL, Vol. 204, 224. "et gladius Phinees sacerdotis incestum Israelitae et Madiantidis exeratur." This is a reference to Num. 25.1-15. Upon learning that Zambri the Israelite engaged in sexual intercourse with the woman Cozbi of the enemy Midian tribe, Phinehas took a spear and killed both of them to mitigate God's anger. Henry de Marcy frames heresy as being equally transgressive as this biblical account of "incest." See Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 115.

literary motif and sat well within the bounds of medieval notions of social and sexual depravity.<sup>20</sup> Secondly, Henry's reference to Phinehas illustrates the idea of moral violence and killing as a legitimate means to destroy heresy. Just as Phinehas killed the Israelite and the Midian for their transgressions, so too must the heretics meet their end for their own. Thirdly, Phinehas's actions led to the end of a plague ravaging the Israelites, caused by their incest as well as their submission to Baal of Peor, a non-Christian god.<sup>21</sup> The parallel between heresy and disease was thoroughly established element of anti-heresy propaganda by Henry's time. As discussed in Chapter 2, framing heresy as a disease served to reinforce perceptions of its infectivity and the danger it presented to Christians. To Henry, just as Phinehas's moral violence mitigates the effects of plague, so too could church-sanctioned violence counter the evils of heresy.

Henry continues, advocating for holy war in all but name. "Truly," proclaims Henry to Alexander, "according to the word of the Gospel, there must be two swords here. We believe it appropriate and honorable that your ambition be joined with the zeal of secular leaders too."<sup>22</sup> Henry's propaganda promotes the notion that secular and ecclesiastical forces must unite to subdue the Occitan heretics. Kienzle explains that Henry uses the imagery of two swords in reference to the two swords of power, one wielded by the Church and the other by the state. She demonstrates that this is an explicit reference to the ideology of crusading, which brought the Church and secular powers together to counter existential threats.<sup>23</sup> The abbot reinforces the notion that defeating

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<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Archibald, *Incest and the Medieval Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2-5; Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 114-5.

<sup>21</sup> Num. 25:3, 25:7-8, 25:16-18; Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 115.

<sup>22</sup> Henry, *Epistola XI*, 224. "Verum, quia necesse est, ut juxta Evangelii verbum sint gladii duo hic, dignum credimus et honorificum vobis, ut zelum saecularium principum vestra quoque aemulatio comitetur."

<sup>23</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 115.

Occitania's Cathars required institutional collaboration. While he does not call for a holy war specifically, Henry's anti-heresy propaganda characterizes the Occitan heresy as an evil force that only a union of spiritual and temporal powers could contain and crush.

Alexander III heard Henry's plea for a preaching mission to Occitania. The pope agreed to send Henry de Marcy along with Peter of St. Chrysogonus to preach against the Occitan Cathars between August and October of 1178.<sup>24</sup> Accompanying Henry and Peter were a retinue of administrators from Henry II's court and a military escort led by Count Raymond V of Toulouse. After submitting many locals to questioning and finding many hostile to their presence and efforts, Henry concluded that heresy had engulfed Occitania entirely.<sup>25</sup> The preaching mission of 1178 confirmed many of Henry's suspicions and made his fears manifest. He perceived the Cathars as an existential threat to Occitania's Catholic Church. After the mission's conclusion, Henry composed yet another letter on Occitania's Cathars. Designed for public readings, this letter transformed Henry's experiences and fears into propaganda, further establishing the idea of crusading against heretics.<sup>26</sup>

Henry begins this letter emphasizing the magnitude of heretical *pravitas* emanating from Occitania. Describing them as the "Philistine of our time," Henry argues that the Cathars of Occitania "stand opposite the phalanx of Israel. The order of heretics, an army of the perverse, irreverently reproach the army of the living God. These wicked

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 121.

<sup>25</sup> Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 191-5. Moore describes Henry's questioning methodology as *inquisitio*. He argues that this rudimentary form of inquisition was closer to its Roman precursor than the medieval institution it became in later years.

<sup>26</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 121.

ones blaspheme against the majesty of the Lord.”<sup>27</sup> Much like his pre-mission letters, Henry frames the Occitan Cathars as dangerous and transgressive. Yet he also characterizes the Church and their heretical enemies in terms of war and battle. The “army of the living God” did battle against “army of the perverse,” phrasing that connects the Church’s efforts against heresy with notions of spiritual warfare. Moreover, Henry stresses the need to fight the Cathars on behalf of Christ and in defense of the Church. Henry’s language frames the orthodox and heretical as opposing belligerents, as enemies in a spiritual war. Yet given his prior receptivity to secular involvement in anti-heresy efforts and the violence that entailed, Henry’s wording suggests that he viewed heretics as enemies in a potential physical war as well.

The bulk of Henry’s letter is an account of his mission to Toulouse and the heretical depravity he witnessed.<sup>28</sup> After completing his narration of events, Henry concludes with his solution to the heretical crisis. “Behold,” proclaims Henry, “henceforth it is clear and apparent that a great doorway stands open to Christian leaders to avenge the injuries to Christ and fashion in that desert the garden of the Lord, and in the wilderness the pleasures of paradise.”<sup>29</sup> Henry calls on the secular authorities of

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<sup>27</sup> Henry de Marcy, *Epistola XXIX*; PL, Vol. 204, 235. “Stat contra phalangas Israel novus nostri temporis Philisthaeus, haereticorum ordo, exercitus perversorum, qui agminibus Dei viventis irreverenter exprobrat, et Dominum majestatis impia praesumptione blasphemat.”

<sup>28</sup> See Moore, *The War on Heresy*, 191-203 for an account of the entire mission to Occitania and its outcome. Moore recounts a noteworthy instance from Peter of St. Chrysogonus’s narrative, where Peter and Henry examined Raymond de Baimac and Bernard Raymond at the cathedral in St. Etienne, witnessed by Raymond V and hundreds of others. The men refused to admit to any wrongdoing, claiming no belief in anticlericalism nor in dualism. After reading their prepared statement before witnesses at the nearby church of St. Jacques, many witnesses proclaimed the men had supported such heretical sentiments in the past. The swell of popular opposition to these men culminated in Peter, Henry, and the bishop of Poitiers excommunicating the men. Moore argues this event was crucial in shaping Henry’s opinions on the ubiquity of heresy in Occitania and the measures needed to eradicate it.

<sup>29</sup> Henry, *Epistola XXIX*, 240. “Ecce amodo satis apparet quam grande et evidens ostium patet principibus Christianis, ut Christi ulciscantur injurias, ponantque desertum illud quasi hortum Domini, et solitudinem ejus in delicias paradisi.”

Western Europe to join with the Church to oppose and put down Occitania's Cathars. Henry's anti-heresy propaganda possesses defining characteristics of crusading propaganda. Henry's letter supports moral violence, frames the dangers of heresy in terms of warfare, and advocates the need to restore the Catholic Church of Occitania. To Henry, waging war against the Cathars was an opportunity to revive and rejuvenate the region's Church, to protect the vulnerable from the dangers of heresy, and negate the existential threat it posed to Christendom.

### *III. The Third Lateran Council*

While Henry de Marcy was receptive to the notion of institutional collaboration and waging war against Occitania's Cathars, the idea of waging a holy war against heretics was not yet a feature of canon law. That changed in March of 1179 when Pope Alexander III convened an ecumenical council known as the Third Lateran. Alexander's council met to address several issues apart from heresy. A total of twenty-seven canons were promulgated by Alexander and the many attending bishops. These canons covered an array of issues, including the election of popes, the ordination of clerics, ecclesiastical finances, usury, lepers, clerical sexual activity, and many other matters.<sup>30</sup> The twenty-seventh canon concentrated on the heretical crisis. One of the key authors of Canon XXVII was Henry de Marcy. Promoted by Alexander III to the position of cardinal bishop of Albano, Henry's experiences preaching against Occitan heretics no doubt influenced his contributions to the canon.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Jennifer Kolpakoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 65.

<sup>31</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 127.

The authors of Canon XXVII begin their decree with a discussion of the Church and state's relationship with violence. "As Saint Leo says, though the discipline of the Church should be satisfied with the judgment of the priest and should not cause the shedding of blood, yet it is helped by the laws of Catholic princes so that people often seek a salutary remedy when they fear that a corporal punishment will overtake them."<sup>32</sup> The authors of this canon conclude that while clerics were crucial agents of persuasion, secular authorities played a vital role in the punishment of heretics as well. The Church had the duty of convincing heretics of their errors and converting them back to orthodoxy. When those efforts failed, the state interceded to ensure that intractable heretics were duly punished.

The council determined that the situation in Occitania was dire. The authors of Canon XXVII discuss the benefits available to those willing to take up arms against the region's Cathar heretics. Speaking to devout Christians everywhere, the council affirmed that:

On these and on all the faithful we enjoin, for the remission of sins, that they oppose this scourge with all their might and by arms protect the Christian people against them. Their goods are to be confiscated and princes free to subject them to slavery. Those who in true sorrow for their sins die in such a conflict should not doubt that they will receive forgiveness for their sins and the fruit of an eternal reward.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Norman P. Tanner, ed., "Third Lateran Council (1179)," in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2017), 224-5. Mansi, Giovanni D, ed. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Vol. 22 (Florence, 1778), 231-2. "Licet ecclesiastica disciplina sacerdotali contenta iudicio, cruentas non efficiat ultiones: catholicorum tamen principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, ut saepe quaerant homines salutare remedium, dum corporale super se metuunt evenire supplicium."

<sup>33</sup> Tanner, *Decrees*, 224-5; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, 232. "Ipsis autem, cunctisque fidelibus, in remissionem peccatorum injungimus, ut tantis cladibus, se viriliter opponant, et contra eos armis populum Christianum tueantur. Confiscenturque eorum bona, et liberum sit principibus, hujusmodi homines subjucere servituti. Qui autem in ver poenitentia ibi decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam, et fructum mercedis aeternae se non dubitent percepturos."

Just as Urban II promised those willing to take up the sword to secure the Holy Land and defend Christendom from Muslim forces, Alexander III pledged the very same to those willing to take up arms against the Cathars. Third Lateran's twenty-seventh canon codified the notion that the indulgence, a defining characteristic of crusading and crusading propaganda, was applicable to the armed opposition of heretics. Thirty years before Innocent III called for the Albigensian Crusade, Alexander's council integrated the propaganda of crusading into anti-heresy discourse. With the promulgation of the canons issued by the Third Lateran Council, crusading against heretics became a feature of anti-heresy propaganda. A crusade against the Cathars was now a theoretical possibility.<sup>4</sup>

#### *IV. Innocent III and the Albigensian Crusade*

While the idea of crusading against heretics became a part of many texts polemicizing heresy, the realization of that idea did not occur for another quarter century; though the Third Lateran established the idea of crusading against heretics, it was not realized until the beginning of the Occitan war. Crusading, however, remained a popular pursuit. There was a resurgence in interest for crusading in the Holy Land in the late twelfth century. In 1187, Pope Gregory VIII issued his bull *Audita tremendi*, a call for holy war that brought about the Third Crusade.<sup>34</sup> Alternatively, heresy received limited attention between the pontificates of Lucius III and Innocent III. The period between 1184 and 1198 saw few significant advancements in the fight against heresy and the

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<sup>34</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2006), 376.

production of anti-heresy propaganda.<sup>35</sup> Yet with the accession of Innocent III, concern for the spread of heresy rebounded.

Innocent III was the most powerful of all medieval popes. During his pontificate, Innocent strove to strengthen the Church and the papacy, limit the power of secular authorities, and tackle the dual threats of heresy and Islam.<sup>36</sup> The pontiff was even willing to threaten holy war and offer the remission of sins for those fighting the Church's Christian enemies, though these conflicts were often smaller, more politically tinged, and less religiously motivated than many conflicts against heretical groups.<sup>37</sup> Innocent's agenda for dealing with the heretical crisis was twofold. Firstly, he encouraged preaching as an orthodox outlet for austerity, one of the appealing attributes of many heretical groups. Not only did Innocent encourage established monastic orders like the Cistercians to preach against heresy, he gave his support to popular preachers like Dominic de Guzmán and Francis of Assisi, the respective founders of the mendicant Dominican and Franciscan Orders established during and after his pontificate.<sup>38</sup> Innocent was not intransigent on the matter of violence against heretics. So long as it was possible, Innocent encouraged legates to persuade heretics and their sympathizers to submit to

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<sup>35</sup> While there were no major Church laws or preaching missions against heresy between 1184 and 1198, the topic remained a concern for some authors. Bernard of Fontcaude wrote a treatise on the Waldensians around 1190, based on the proceedings of a debate between Catholics and Waldensians organized by Bernard Gaucelin, the archbishop of Narbonne, at around the same time. The treatise promotes persuasion and conversion as a method for countering heresy. This indicates that while the prospect of holy war had become more acceptable by the 1190s, heresy polemicists like Bernard of Fontcaude were more concerned with delegitimizing heretics rather than eradicating them through violence. See Walter Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, *Heresy of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 210-3.

<sup>36</sup> Beverley Mayne Kienzle, "Innocent III's Papacy and the Crusade Years, 1198-1229: Arnaud Amaury, Gui of Vaux-de-Cernay, Foulque of Toulouse," *Heresis: Revue d'hérésiologie médiévale* 29 (1998): 49-50.

<sup>37</sup> Norman Housley, "Crusades Against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216," in *The Crusades*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 89; Elizabeth Kennan, "Innocent III and the First Political Crusade," *Traditio* 27 (1971), 231-2.

<sup>38</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 105.

correction and acknowledge the authority of the Church.<sup>39</sup> Secondly, Innocent was willing to apply “pressure [on] the unwilling episcopate of [Occitania] and the leading nobles who would not put down heresy.”<sup>40</sup> While the former approach indicates an attempt to win over the minds and hearts of those susceptible to heresy, the latter approach illustrates Innocent’s understanding of the severity of the heretical crisis. To Innocent, Occitania’s Cathars were an existential threat. Subduing and negating that threat required a united front of ecclesiastical and secular forces, a notion that emerged in the pontiff’s anti-heresy propaganda.

From the start of his pontificate, Innocent perceived Occitan Cathars as a threat that needed to be dealt with. Much like Henry de Marcy, the propaganda he employed, and the specific actions he took, evolved over time. Yet upon rising to the Holy See in 1198, Innocent found the status of the Holy Land a more pressing matter than heresy. In August of 1198, Innocent issued the major bull *Post miserabile*, a call for a crusade to the Holy Land. Innocent’s bull describes the status of the Holy Land, arguing that “after the wretched destruction of Jerusalem, after the lamentable massacre of the Christian people, and after the deplorable invasion of that land on which Christ stood,” holy war was needed to maintain Christian dominance in the region.<sup>41</sup> Here, Innocent employs a standard feature of crusading propaganda: the immoral violence committed against Christians and their sacred lands needed addressing. Much like Urban II, Eugenius III, and Gregory VIII, Pope Innocent III offers the indulgence to those willing to take the

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<sup>39</sup> Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 443.

<sup>40</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 105.

<sup>41</sup> Innocent III, “Post miserabile,” *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedenem*, Vol. 4 (London: Longman & Co., 1871), 70. “Post miserabile Jerosolimitanae regionis excidium, post lacrymabilem stragem populi Christiani; post deplorandam invasionem illius terrae in qua pedes Christi steterunt.”

cross. “In the case of those who, in their own persons and at their own expense, will endure the hardship of this journey, we grant the full indulgence of sins for which they have done penance of mouth and heart, and we promise everlasting salvation as a reward for the just.”<sup>42</sup> Apart from demonstrating Innocent’s dedication to defending the Holy Land, *Post miserabile* reveals a pontiff versed in the propaganda of crusading. Like crusade authors Fulcher of Chartres, Guibert of Nogent, and Baldric of Dol before him, Innocent’s *Post miserabile* promises salvation in exchange for fighting on behalf of the Church. Innocent’s propaganda sustains the ideals of crusading, relying on arguments and language his predecessors used to promote and defend the practice.

While *Post miserabile* was the first major decretal of Innocent III’s papacy, the matter of heresy was not forgotten. Several months before Innocent’s promulgation of *Post miserabile*, the pontiff composed a letter addressed to the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence and his bishops on heresy in Occitania. In *Cum unus Dominus*, Innocent encourages his readers to support the preaching mission to Occitania led by his legates Rainerius and Gui. Innocent notes that the mission’s aim was to root out heretics, excommunicate them from the Church, and banish them from the territory. Innocent’s *Cum unus Dominus* offers the remission of sins for fighting heretics, an idea first articulated in the twenty-seventh canon of Third Lateran Council. Innocent encourages the bishops to aid his legates with their preaching mission to the best of their abilities, informing them that:

We are writing to all the people of your province that, since they have been required to do so by the same Brothers Rainerius and Gui, they may gird themselves against the heretics, just as Rainerius and Gui have

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<sup>42</sup> Innocent, “Post miserabile,” 74. “In personis propriis subierint et expensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis egerint poenitentiam, veniam indulgemus, et in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum.

ordered. For those who assist these men faithfully and devotedly for the preservation of the Christian faith in such a crisis which threatens the Church, we concede that indulgence for their sins as we concede to those visiting the thresholds of the Blessed Peter and James.<sup>43</sup>

Innocent's choice of words here illustrates how he interpreted the threat of heresy and how he framed it in the discourse he produced. *Accingantur* is a verb that connotes the donning of armor, protecting one's self, and preparing one's self for battle.<sup>44</sup> In this context, Innocent frames suppressing heresy as a form of spiritual warfare; defending the Church and Christendom from heresy required a militant response. Innocent's imagery parallels the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which Paul encourages the Ephesians to "put on the whole armor of God" to battle "against the spiritual forces of evil."<sup>45</sup> Just as Paul spurred on the Ephesians, so too did Innocent in his effort to oppose heresy.

Moreover, Innocent offers indulgences to those willing to fight, comparing it to the spiritual benefits of pilgrimage. Essentially, the indulgence functioned as a commutation of sins, awarded to those engaging in various sacral activities. Whether a devotional pilgrimage to the shrines of saints or the waging of holy war—a militant pilgrimage of sorts—the indulgence reduced one's time in purgatory.<sup>46</sup> Much like the authors of Third Lateran's Canon XXVII, Innocent incorporates remissions of sins in exchange for fighting heretics on behalf of the Church. That Innocent includes the

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<sup>43</sup> Innocent III, "Cum unus Dominus," in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade*, eds. Catherine Léglu, Rebecca Rist, and Claire Taylor (New York: Routledge, 2014), 33-4; PL, Vol 214, 83. "Scribimus etiam universo populo vestrae provinciae, ut cum ab eisdem fratribus Rainerius et Gui fuerint requisiti, sicut ipsi mandaverint, contra haereticos accingantur; illis qui pro conversatione fidei christianae in tanto discrimine quod Ecclesiae imminet, ipsis astiterint fideliter et devote, illam peccatorum suorum indulgentiam concedentes, quam beati Petri vel Jacobi limina visitantibus indulgemus."

<sup>44</sup> Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 17.  
<sup>45</sup> Eph. 6:10-18.

<sup>46</sup> Rebecca Rist, "Salvation and the Albigensian Crusade: Pope Innocent III and the Plenary Indulgence," *Reading Medieval Studies* 36 (2010): 95-6; Robert W. Shaffern, "Indulgences and Sainly Devotionalism in the Middle Ages," *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 4 (Oct. 1998): 643-6.

indulgence, a key element of crusading propaganda, into this example of anti-heresy propaganda illustrates that he interpreted the threat of heresy as comparable to the threat of Islam.<sup>47</sup> From the outset of Innocent's pontificate, his anti-heresy propaganda builds on the ideas introduced in Henry de Marcy's letters and codified in Third Lateran's twenty-seventh canon, framing Occitania's heretics as dangerous enough to warrant crusade to subdue them.

Composed six years into his pontificate, the letter *Ad sponsae suae* deals with the Occitan heresy as well. Addressed to the French king Philip II Augustus and introducing the papal legate Peter de Castelnau, Innocent's *Ad sponsae suae* illustrates how the pontiff continued to build off Henry's letters and Canon XXVII. Innocent explains why God established both ecclesiastical and secular authority on Earth. "To protect his spouse, the universal Church, the Lord founded priestly and royal authorities, one cherishes sons, the other subdues his enemies, one teaches by word and example the subordinate life, the other holds back the jaws of the wicked by the bridle and bit, lest they throw the peace of the Church into disorder."<sup>48</sup> Innocent stresses the importance of the relationship between the Church and secular powers. His propaganda reinforces the notion that secular authorities had a duty to stand with the Church and aid in efforts to suppress them, with weapons if necessary. Innocent seeks to convince Philip that:

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<sup>47</sup> See reference to Markward of Anweiler (Ch. 1, no. 28). Innocent expands on this notion in his 1207 letter *Inveterata pravitatis heretice*. Innocent's offer of the indulgence shifts to a full plenary indulgence comparable to those offered to crusaders: "may that remission of sins avail which we have designated as an indulgence for those who labour for the aid of the Holy Land." This further illustrates the integration of crusading propaganda into anti-heresy propaganda. See Innocent III, "Inveterata pravitatis heretice," in *The Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade*, eds. Léglu, Rist, and Taylor, 37; PL, Vol. 215, 1247. "illa valeat remissio peccatorum quam his qui laborant pro terrae sanctae subsidio duximus indulgendam."

<sup>48</sup> Innocent III, *Ad sponsae suae*; PL, Vol. 215, 361. "Ad sponsae suae, universalis videlicet Ecclesiae, munimentum, pontificalem et regiam Dominus instituit dignitatem, unam quae fovet filios, aliam quae adversarios expugnaret; unam quae subditorum vitam verbo instrueret et exemplo, aliam quae iniquorum maxillas in freno cohiberet et camo, ne pacem Ecclesiae perturbarent."

It is expedient that both the spiritual authority and the secular power, aware of the origin of their institutions, must fight as one to defend the Church and that each supports the other, so that the secular arm may restrain those whom ecclesiastical instruction does not recall from evil, and spiritual retribution may pursue those who, assured of their own fierceness, do not fear the material sword.<sup>49</sup>

Much like Henry de Marcy, Innocent III stresses the importance of institutional collaboration. His references to the material sword evoke imagery of the two swords from Luke 22 and discussed in Henry de Marcy's letter to Alexander III.<sup>50</sup> Innocent's text frames the military might of Philip II Augustus as indispensable to the suppression and eradication of Occitania's Cathars. The moral violence that secular authorities could engage in was essential to ensuring the restoration of the Occitan Catholic Church and the preservation of Christendom. While Innocent's propaganda was imbued with the ideas developed by Henry and codified by the canonists of Third Lateran, he had yet to call for a crusade against Occitania's Cathars outright. The catalyst came in January of 1208 when Innocent's legate, the Cistercian abbot Peter de Castelnau, was murdered by an unknown ally of Count Raymond VI of Toulouse.<sup>51</sup>

Peter's murder infuriated Pope Innocent. Two months after the legate's death, Innocent wrote a letter to the bishops of Occitania and central France detailing Peter's murder and the consequences for those guilty of it. Innocent's *Ne nos ejus* begins with an

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 361-2. "Expedit igitur, ut et spiritualis auctoritas, et saecularis potestas, suae causam institutionis attendentes, concurrant ad Ecclesiae defensionem in unum, et utraque alteri suffragetur, ut, quos a malo ecclesiastica non revocat disciplina, brachium saeculare compescat, et eos qui, de feritate propria confidentes, gladium materiale non timent, spiritualis ultio subsequatur."

<sup>50</sup> Luke 22:36-38; Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 115, 151. The imagery of the two swords features in the writings of earlier pontiffs as well. In his letter *Famuli vestrae pietatis*, Pope Gelasius I (492-496 CE) tells Emperor Anastasius I Dicorus that "there are two powers, august Emperor, by which this world is ruled: the sacred authority of priests and royal power." Gregory VII employed similar imagery in his efforts to reform the papacy and engage in warfare. See Gelasius, *Famuli vestrae pietatis*; PL, Vol. 59, 42. "Duo quippe sunt, imperator Auguste, quibus principaliter mundus hic regitur: auctoritas sacra pontificum, et regalis potestas;" Tyerman, *God's War*, 47-50.

<sup>51</sup> Barber, *Cathars*, 43-4.

elegy to Peter, panegyricizing his life as a priest, monk, and papal legate. Innocent explains that his murder came in the wake of Peter's excommunication of Raymond VI, considered a defender—or at least an ambivalent supporter—of Occitania's Cathars.<sup>52</sup> Innocent describes how Raymond's excommunication angered the count to the degree that he orchestrated the legate's murder.<sup>53</sup> The pontiff connects his description of Peter's murder with the depravity of Occitania's Cathars. Innocent then presents his solution to Occitania's bishops:

But to those who, inflamed with the zeal of orthodox faith to vindicate righteous blood, which does not cease to cry out from the Earth to Heaven, until the Lord of retribution descends from Heaven to the Earth to confound the subverters, shall gird themselves with manly vigor against the pestilential ones, who at once, as one, attack both peace and truth; you may securely promise and grant the remission of sins, from God and his priest.<sup>54</sup>

The propaganda of Innocent's *Ne nos ejus* continues the trend established in his previous letters. This time, however, he calls for all Christians—not just those assisting papal legates in their duties—to gird themselves to fight heretics and enjoy the remission of their sins. Innocent's *Ne nos ejus* marks the climax of a textual and theological development that began nearly thirty years earlier. *Ne nos ejus* fully realizes the idea of crusading against heretics first developed by Henry de Marcy and codified by the Third Lateran in the late 1170s.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.; Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 102.

<sup>53</sup> Whether Peter de Castelnau's murder was ordered by Raymond VI or due to an overzealous ally of his is a matter of debate amongst scholars. Jennifer K. Deane argues that Raymond was politically astute enough to not order the assassination, meaning that Peter's death was perhaps an attempt by one of Raymond's knights to win the count's favor. See Deane, *Medieval Heresy*, 53.

<sup>54</sup> Innocent III, *Ne nos ejus*; PL Vol. 215, 1356. "Illis autem qui orthodoxae fidei zelo succensi ad vindicandum sanguinem justum, qui de terra clamare non cessat ad coelum, donec ad confundendum subversos et subversores de coelo, descendat ad terram Dominus ultionum, viriliter se accinxerint adversos hujusmodi pestilentes, qui simul in unum et pacem veritatem impugnant, suorum remissionem peccaminum a Deo ejusque vicario secure promittatis indultam."

While Peter de Castelnau's death—along with important political and sociocultural factors—gave form to the Albigensian Crusade, the precedent for the idea of crusading against heretics emerged with the union of crusading and anti-heresy propaganda. Between 1198 and 1208, the propaganda Innocent III produced and the policies he implemented against Occitania's heretics evolved. Innocent built a case against the Cathars through these letters, a case bolstered by the precedent established in late twelfth-century anti-heresy discourse and aimed at convincing church and secular leaders of the exigence of crusading against heretics.<sup>55</sup> The letters of Pope Innocent III mark the end of a process that began with Henry de Marcy. The idea of crusading against heretics, an idea thirty years in the making, became a reality in 1209 when the papacy banded together with the secular lords of northern France, marking the first year of the Albigensian Crusade.

#### *V. Conclusion*

Between the 1170s and 1208, anti-heresy polemicists promoted the idea that crusading was a necessary and effective way to suppress and extirpate heresy. From the letters of Henry de Marcy, to the canons of Third Lateran, to the decrees and letters of Pope Innocent III: these works were vital to the major developments in anti-heresy discourse that began in the 1170s and actualized in 1208. These developments influenced how authors living through or participating in the crusade interpreted and portrayed the events they experienced. A noteworthy example is Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay's *Historia albigensium*, a first-hand account written in the midst of the war and completed around

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<sup>55</sup> Christian Chenu, "Innocent III and the Case for War in Southern France in 1207," *Journal of Religious History* 35, No. 4 (Dec. 2011): 507-8, 515.

1220. Peter describes the Occitan city of Toulouse as the nexus “from which a treacherous poison emanated, infecting the people and causing them to rebel from their knowledge of Christ, from his truthful splendor, from his divine clarity.”<sup>56</sup> He goes as far as to argue that Occitania’s Cathars were the “limbs of the Anti-Christ and the first born of Satan.”<sup>57</sup> Peter quotes the entirety of Innocent III’s letter *Ne nos ejus* as justification for the Albigensian Crusade, illustrating the influence that Innocent’s words continued to have throughout the conflict.<sup>58</sup>

William of Tudela, a contemporary of Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, wrote the first half of an epic poem chronicling the conflict known as the *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise*. William reflects on the obstinacy of the Occitan people when exposed to the preaching of the bishop of Toulouse and the abbot of Cîteaux. He notes that “not one word of their exhortations did those people listen to, but said scornfully, ‘There’s that bee buzzing round again!’, so that I myself, God help me, cannot wonder that they are robbed, pillaged and suffer violent punishment.”<sup>59</sup> Beverley Kienzle notes that the “connection that the poet makes here between the heretics’ mockery and the violence they endured comes disturbingly close to justifying the coming massacres of the crusade.”<sup>60</sup> In this way, William of Tudela’s *Chanson* reinforces the arguments made against the Cathars in many earlier propagandistic texts, namely, that their deviance and recalcitrance legitimized the waging of holy war against them. Peter and William

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<sup>56</sup> Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Historia albigensium*; PL, Vol. 215, 545. “A qua venenum perfidie principaliter emanabat, plebes inficiens sicque deficere faciens a Christi cognitione, a veridico splendore, a deifica claritate.”

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 546. “Hii omnes membra Antichristi primogeniti Satanae.”

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 556-60.

<sup>59</sup> William of Tudela, *The Song of the Cathar Wars*, trans. Janet Shirley (Burlington: Ashgate, 1996), 32.

<sup>60</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians*, 150.

demonstrate the influence and prevalence of the idea of crusading against heretics in the aftermath of Innocent's call to arms.

Anti-heresy propaganda evolved over the final decades of the twelfth century. After Henry de Marcy's preaching mission to Occitania in 1178, the abbot advocated waging a holy war against the region's heretics. Canon XXVII of the Third Lateran Council, a canon Henry contributed to, codified the idea of crusading against heretics in 1179, twenty years before Innocent's pontificate began and twenty-nine before his call for crusade. Innocent III's role in starting the Albigensian Crusade itself cannot be understated. However, Innocent's call for crusade was shaped by an evolving theological and textual paradigm that predates his papacy by several decades. The institutionalization and codification of the idea of crusading against heretics allowed the Occitan war to become a crusade, a development that was decades in the making.

## CONCLUSION

The war in Occitania was a novel phenomenon. Unlike all crusades that preceded it, the enemy the Catholic Church faced was a heretical group. Unlike previous ecclesiastical efforts to counter the spread of heresy, the Church employed a crusade against a heresy. The Albigensian Crusade marked a new way of understanding the parameters of crusading and anti-heresy efforts as well as a new way of mitigating crises the Church deemed vital to its continued spiritual and institutional hegemony.

Many factors contributed to making the war in Occitania a crusade. Of course, there is no discounting the social and political climate of Occitania in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The region's relationship with the French monarchy and the papacy, its sociocultural idiosyncrasies, and the actions the Occitan nobility all shaped this conflict and the specific course it took. Yet this war's status as a crusade and the vital role that heresy played were essential to its composition. For this reason, the Occitan war cannot be divorced from the religious climate from which it emerged. This religious climate was imperative to the development of the idea of crusading against heretics in the late twelfth century. Evaluating the rise, institutionalization, and eventual realization of this idea was at the heart of this analysis of medieval propaganda.

This study has surveyed approximately two centuries of discourse pertaining to crusading and heresy repression. The first chapter analyzed crusading propaganda, beginning with a detailed assessment of St. Augustine's conception of just warfare and moral violence. While other patristic figures played a role, Augustine's ideas were indispensable to the formation of a conceptual framework for crusading propaganda. After the emergence of crusading as a practice, many eleventh and twelfth century propagandists and canonists incorporated Augustine concepts into their texts, legitimizing and promoting crusade as a method for eliminating threats to the Church's authority and Christendom's existence. The propaganda these medieval authors produced championed the practice, explicated its necessity, and publicized the spiritual benefits available to those willing to take the cross and defend the Church. Crusading propaganda was resilient as well, adapting to the failures of the Second Crusade while maintaining its core features.

The second chapter outlined the medieval Church's response to the return of heresy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It focused on the substance of anti-heresy propaganda and assessed its development into the mid-twelfth century. The primary methodology of the discussed authors was persuasion; these figures ventured to convince their audiences of heresy's illegitimacy, inauthenticity, and the danger it posed to Christians, the Church, and to Christendom. Central to this discussion was the receptivity of heresy polemicists to the efficacy and propriety of moral violence. While moral violence against heretics was never explicitly opposed by these authors, embracing it depended on certain contingent circumstances, such as whether heretics truly deserved violent suppression.

The concluding chapter brought crusading and heresy repression together. Focusing on the final decades of the twelfth century and the first of the thirteenth, this chapter evaluated the institutionalization of a modified anti-heresy discourse that subsumed key elements of crusading propaganda. Beginning with the writings of the Cistercian abbot Henry de Marcy, this chapter revealed how the idea of crusading against heretics—and its codification as church law—was thoroughly established in the final decades of the twelfth century, many years before Innocent III's call to arms against the Cathars of Occitania. Innocent's own anti-heresy propaganda built on the ideas first articulated in Henry de Marcy's work, ideas made canonical with the pronouncements of the Third Lateran Council in 1179. As no previous crusade had been deliberately waged against a heretical group and no previous efforts to suppress heretical groups had explicitly advocated crusade, the Albigensian Crusade marked a major development in the realms of crusading and heresy repression, a development that began decades before Innocent's papacy and his call for crusade with the institutionalization of an anti-heresy discourse sympathetic to crusading. This development created the theological precedent for framing the Occitan war as a crusade. Apart from the unique sociopolitical pressures in Occitania, Innocent's call for crusade against heretics was the end result of an evolution in ways of thinking and writing about these two phenomena in the medieval Catholic Church.

While this has not been an exhaustive analysis of all the propaganda the medieval Church produced on these topics in the decades preceding the Albigensian Crusade, it illustrates the ideas held and promoted by many of the Church's most influential and widely read authors. The texts produced by these authors were essential to the formation

and dissemination of their ideas about crusading and heresy repression. These texts played an active role in the Church's efforts to preserve and expand the bounds of its authority in a time when fear of losing that authority guided many of its actions.

Propaganda—texts aiming to influence, inform, and persuade readers—was the means for circulating the Church's ideas on self-preservation and expansion. Analyzing the propaganda produced by the discussed authors evinced the process by which the Church's ideas about crusading and heresy evolved and manifested.

Approaching the subject of crusading against heretics in this way is critical for understanding the influence and goals of the medieval Catholic Church. While another Church history may evoke sidelong glances and questions about the flaws of a top-down approach to evaluating the past, this study is not a return to outdated approaches of historical inquiry, but an effort to demonstrate that institutions and the ideas they propagated warrant study. The vast majority of surviving sources from the medieval era were written by ecclesiastical figures. While many scholars use these sources to ask questions of other aspects of medieval life, society, religious belief and practice, politics, warfare, education, and culture—all valuable avenues of inquiry—there remains value in considering the Church's influence as an institution. Though the medieval Church was not a monolithic power that controlled every aspect of medieval society, gauging the nature and extent of its influence still has merit. The texts produced by the Church fundamentally shaped the medieval Christian world. These texts were conduits through which the Church developed and communicated its ideas and ideals, influencing the world and society the Church ventured to create. The writing of crusading and anti-heresy propaganda were efforts to make and remake Christian society into what the Church as an

institution generally deemed concordant with God's will. These texts actively contributed to how many churchmen understood the world around them and how they chose to act in that world. In this way, crusading and anti-heresy propaganda were textual endeavors to forge a Christian society comporting with a collective vision of a spiritually and institutionally dominant Catholic Church.

Regarding the study of the Albigensian Crusade, future scholarship must contend with the war's status as both a crusading excursion and as an anti-heresy enterprise. As much previous scholarship approached the Albigensian Crusade as one or the other, or approached the conflict as a stand-alone event, it is crucial that scholars continue to frame this event within the broader context of High Medieval Church and religious history. Moreover, the role that propaganda played in the development and institutionalization of ideas is an area of study that Church historians can expand on, as the texts its writers produced and propagated were an integral part of how the Church perceived and portrayed itself and others. The continued study of medieval propaganda, especially on the topic of heresy, can uncover much concerning the medieval Church's sense of self. In their efforts to ensure the suppression and eradication of heretical *pravitas*, the medieval Church revealed much about its own concerns, fears, and aspirations. Anti-heresy propaganda can, therefore, continue to provide more insight into the idea of heresy, those declared heretical, and those defending orthodoxy.

Texts have their limitations. Though they communicate much, they are confined by the purposes and biases of their authors and their literate audiences. The knowledge they impart is tempered by questions of what their authors deemed worthy and unworthy of recording. The insight they provide into the past is frustrated by the loss of documents

to the ravages of time or the disregard of past generations. Despite these limitations, texts are invaluable artifacts with which historians strive to make sense of a world long gone. That world, in this case, belonged to the medieval Catholic Church, an institution aspiring to preserve its status as the sole hegemonic Christian Church in an ever-expanding Christian society. The propaganda created by its many gifted writers were pledges to defend that status. The propaganda celebrating crusade and condemning heresy were integral features of the Church's efforts to safeguard Christendom and protect itself. As the perils of heresy evolved, so too did the propaganda that denounced it. The emergence of an anti-heresy discourse that championed crusading and its adoption as Church law laid the groundwork for the war in Occitania to become a crusade in the late twelfth century. Though texts have their limitations, the making of this crusade demonstrates the truly remarkable impact they could have.

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