The power of God

A study of power in medieval religious discourse regarding the crusades

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## Table of Contents

**Abstrakt** ........................................................................................................................................ iii

### 1. Introduction ........................................................................................................................................ 1

1.1. Background ....................................................................................................................................... 2

1.2. Previous research ............................................................................................................................ 4

1.3. Research aims and questions .......................................................................................................... 7

1.4. Source material ............................................................................................................................... 8

1.4.1. The structure of medieval papal letters ................................................................................... 9

1.5. Methodology ..................................................................................................................................... 11

1.5.1. Defining my use of discourse .................................................................................................. 12

1.5.2. Michel Foucault ....................................................................................................................... 13

1.5.3. Episteme or ‘That which can be thought’ ............................................................................... 14

1.5.4. Power and knowledge .............................................................................................................. 14

1.5.5. Non-agency and strategic positions ......................................................................................... 16

1.5.6. Pastoral power ......................................................................................................................... 18

1.5.7. Points of deviation from Foucault ......................................................................................... 19

1.6. Disposition ........................................................................................................................................ 21

### 2. Analysis .............................................................................................................................................. 22

2.1. Eugene III – Quantum Predecessores ......................................................................................... 22

2.2. Eugene III – Divini Dispensatione ............................................................................................... 27

2.3. Gregory VIII – Audita Tremendi ................................................................................................. 30

2.4. Innocent III – Post Miserabile .................................................................................................... 34

2.5. Innocent III – Quia Maior ........................................................................................................... 39

2.6. Innocent III – Ad Liberandam .................................................................................................... 44

2.7. Comparison – Claims of authority and the use of power .............................................................. 49

2.7.1. Authority .................................................................................................................................... 49

2.7.2. Religious legitimacy ................................................................................................................. 51

2.7.3. Privileges ................................................................................................................................... 54

2.7.4. Intimidation ............................................................................................................................ 57

2.7.5. Depiction of the ‘pagan’ .......................................................................................................... 58

### 3. Conclusion ............................................................................................................................................... 60

3.1. Religious claims of authority and legitimacy .............................................................................. 60

3.2. Religious power and the difference between religious and secular power .............................. 62

3.3. The distinguishing aspects of the papal letters .......................................................................... 66

### 4. Sammanfattning .................................................................................................................................. 70

### 5. References ........................................................................................................................................ 74
5.1. Sources ......................................................................................................................... 74
5.2. Translations .................................................................................................................... 74
5.3. Literature ........................................................................................................................ 74

Appendix .............................................................................................................................. 76
Divini dispensatione .............................................................................................................. 76
Abstrakt

1. Introduction

Verum cum longe plus de divina clementia quam de humana potentia confidere debeamus, oportet nos in tali conflictu non tam corporalibus armis quam spiritualibus dimicare

But since in the long run we should trust more in divine mercy than human power, we ought to struggle in this conflict not only with physical weapons but also with spiritual

Innocent III, Quia Maior

The crusades have always been of great interest both within and outside of the academic world. The theme of intertwined religious and political struggles is just as relevant today as it was 900 years ago and for this reason there is a plethora of literature about the crusades, both scientific and fictional. The crusades have also had a significant impact on history, it has brought about communities, united people and peace but also war and exclusion. During the crusades many ‘took the cross’ to fight the enemies of the church. However, many also died under that cross, both Christians and non-Christians.

According to the traditional way of looking at the crusades, based on Latin sources, all crusades launched during the Middle Ages was part of one historical narrative. Beginning with the first crusade in 1095 launched by pope Urban II, it then came to an end in 1291 with the fall of the last Latin kingdom in the Middle East and the city of Acre. During this time many scholars and learned people within the church wrote texts concerning the crusades, for example papal letters and treatises. This study will focus on one of these sources, namely the papal letters, and more specifically, letters concerning the planning, organisation or call to a crusade will be studied. The choice to use solely papal letters for this purpose was to focus the study around power and the strategic position of the papal seat in the Middle Ages.

The great interest for the crusades as historical events can be both positive and negative. Many people are aware of the general turn of events of the crusading movement and the

3 A Foucauldian concept which indicates a position from which an individual would have the possibility to wield power.
repercussions it had on the medieval world. However, because war, religion and ethnicity are controversial topics in modern times, there are also cases in which the crusades have been (ab)used by people seeking to legitimise actions which are to their benefit. A common misconception is to view the crusades as a war between Christians and Muslims⁴ and using this image to paint the crusades as a defence against continuous Muslim aggression rather than as a result of European expansion. The events and actions of the crusades cannot be explained through one perspective. This study will to some extent be taking a traditional perspective on the crusades⁵ but it aims to build on and broaden that perspective by analysing the material in a new way. Nonetheless, perspectives are important because a part of the dissertation will relate the textual findings to the actual historical events.

The focus of this thesis is to study papal letters concerning the crusades, and the religious discourse that they were a part of (and contributed to). To accomplish this, a discourse analysis will be conducted to shed light on how the medieval authors used God to legitimise crusading and motivate the audience to support the crusades. The purpose of the study is to give a better understanding of religious influence in the Middle Ages and to examine the aspects of religion and spirituality in the papal use of power.

### 1.1. Background

The first call for a crusade was made by Gregory VII in 1074. Gregory proclaimed the crusade in response to Muslim advanced in Asia Minor against the Orthodox Christians of the Byzantine Empire.⁶ The suggested reaction was a force of 50 000 Christians who were to push the Muslims back and to liberate Jerusalem under the leadership of the pope himself. The letter proclaiming Gregory’s crusade did not get enough response and the idea was put aside for two decades. 21 years later, in 1095 Urban II announced in a speech at Clermont the intention of a renewed effort to help the Orthodox church. It is difficult to know the reasons to why Urban was successful where Gregory had failed but at least a partial explanation can be found when comparing the proclamations of the two crusading calls. Crusade-historian

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⁴ The comparison which is often made is that between the Crusades and the Islamic Jihad. These concepts, however, have very little in common; Cobb, *The race for paradise*, p. 29.

⁵ Meaning that the study will use a Christian / European point-of-view to study the crusade, and that the sources will be of Christian authors.

Jonathan Riley-Smith argues that the main differences were that Gregory proclaimed the crusade to be in service to St. Peter rather than Christ, no indulgence was offered, no vows were required and no material protection was extended to those who would undertake the journey. All of these reasons which Riley-Smith points out, were connected to the use of power showed by Urban and reflected in later papal letters and, as will be shown in this study, they were all powerful tools for the papal seat in matters concerning the crusades.

Warfare was a central part in maintaining the Christian peace and it was the king’s duty to protect the church and the people from a sinful world. In the 11th century, however, the idea that the church could defend itself was developed. An idea of legitimate Christian defence of people and places emerged which in turn spurred the idea of crusading. The first crusade, launched by Urban II on the 27th of November 1095, was proclaimed to have two goals, the liberation of a people (the eastern Christians) and the liberation of a place (Jerusalem). The crusade managed to conquer large areas of the Holy Land and conquered Jerusalem in July 1099. The 1st and the following crusades lead to an increase in contact between the Christians in the west and in the east but these relations were unstable. The crusaders, according to the Byzantines, were supposed to help them retake control of lost land but the crusaders often had different ideas of whom the conquered lands should belong too and claimed the lands for themselves. The Byzantine attitude toward the crusaders was not very welcoming either and the support for the crusaders was wavering at times. Ultimately, the fragile relation between the crusaders and the Byzantines culminated in the sacking of Constantinople in 1204 during the 4th crusade.

The inheritance left by Urban II resulted in centuries of holy wars waged for both religious and political reasons. The crusades expanded to cover not only the Holy Land but also Spain, the Baltic, and southern France. In a similar fashion to modern day events, religion in the Middle Ages could not be separated from its political counterpart.

7 Riley-Smith, The first crusade and the idea of crusading, p. 8.
1.2. Previous research

The research upon which this thesis will build will mainly derive from three different aspects, the history of the crusades, studies on the papacy, and research on discourse analysis. The latter will be more thoroughly examined in the chapter on methodology.

A considerable amount of research has been done on the history of the crusades. Historians such as Jonathan Riley-Smith, Kurt Villads Jensen, Paul Cobbs (and many more) have provided wide-ranging studies which give a great overview of what the crusades were and how they affected both people in the west and in the east. However, these studies could not possibly include everything and therefore a large number of scholars dedicate their careers to understanding the crusades.

Kurt Villads Jensen is a professor in medieval studies whose scientific focus has been on the crusades. The work which will be related to in this study is his recently published *Korstågen: Européer i heligt krig under 500 år*. The book offers a great overview of the entire crusading movement and is mainly used to provide context for that which is written in the papal letters analysed in this study. However, the book also offers interesting observations about the ideas of religion during the Middle Ages and insightful conclusion about the difficulty of understanding medieval Christianity as it is quite different from the modern idea of faith.

Jonathan Riley-Smith is another crusade historian who has conducted many studies on the topic and although he has been criticised for having a traditional approach to the crusades he is still considered an authority in the field of crusading studies.\(^{11}\) Two books will be included in this study, his book *The first crusade and the Idea of Crusading* as well as the 4\(^{th}\) volume of the *Cambridge medieval history* which he co-edited together with David Luscombe. The anthology covers the time between 1024 and 1198 and contains a lot of the historical research done on the crusades from a European perspective and although there are some exceptions (for example there are two chapters about the Muslim Al-Andalus and the Byzantine church respectively), there is a noticeable lack of studies on the Islamic and Byzantine perspectives as well as on the Baltic crusades. Nonetheless, this work offers a great overview of the events surrounding the crusading movement and for that reason it is included here.

\(^{11}\) Meaning that he often studies the crusades from a Christian/European point-of-view with little regard to Byzantine or Muslim sources.
Paul M. Cobbs is an American crusade historian whose focus is examining the crusades from an Islamic perspective, using sources from Islamic countries.\textsuperscript{12} Paul Cobbs’ book exists in contrast to the western perspective and the research provided in the book is important because it offers a perspective which helps to critically engage with that which is written in the Christian sources and that which is claimed in traditional modern research.

Further, the analysis conducted in this study will relate to Fredrick Russel’s study on the thoughts and ideas on Just war. In his book, \textit{The Just War in the Middle Ages}, Russel calls the crusades a hybrid of the idea of Just war and that of Holy war.\textsuperscript{13} Both the origin of the concept of just war and how it was used in the Middle Ages is of interest to Russel, in this study, however, the focus will be on how the idea of just war is implemented in the papal letters and how this relates to what Russel writes about just war.

Using these historical studies helps by providing the background and the setting in which the thesis will be constructed, they are also going to be analysed in relation to the discourse which will become apparent within this study. It is necessary, in order to understand historical events, to study the non-discursive context in relation to the discursive context.\textsuperscript{14} To study historical events during the Middle Ages, however, is not always an easy task. The source material (which, together with archaeology, lays the foundation of our historical knowledge) is often fragmented, distorted by tendencies, or simply not representative of the actual historical events. Reviewing established modern research parallel with the source material and utilising the theoretical framework which this study applies can therefore enable the textual analysis of this thesis to be put in relation to that which is known about this time. The purpose of the present study is not to attempt to extrapolate any kind of truth about these actual events however. Instead, the previous research will be utilised to further emphasise the discursive aspects of these letters by placing them in their non-discursive context.

In order to focus the study around the strategic position of the papal seat, it is relevant to include studies made on the inner workings of the papacy and the curia. To some extent information about the papacy can be found in the general crusading studies. In addition to the

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Cobb, \textit{The race for paradise}, p. 6.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Russel, Fredrick H., \textit{The Just war in the Middle Ages}, Cambridge University Press (Cambridge 1977) p. 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{14} Nilsson, Roddy, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, Égalité, (Malmö 2008) p. 60.
\end{itemize}
general crusade works, research which has been done on the papacy and its inner workings are examined and put in relation to the analysis of the present study.

Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt’s book *The popes and the Baltic crusades* covers information about the papal seat and the curia with special attention to their policy regarding the Baltic crusades, a perspective which, according to Fonnesberg-Schmidt has been overlooked by many historians. Truly, it is and especially it has been historically more interesting (judging by the amount of studies made) to study the crusades to the Holy Land than those to the Baltic. However, Fonnesberg-Schmidt covers more on the crusades than just the Baltic crusades and the book provides an insight into the workings of the papal seat and the curia.

Historian Thomas W. Smith’s book *Curia and Crusade* aims to create a righteous image of Pope Honorius III. Honorius have, according to Smith, historically been seen as a rather passive and careful pope, mainly because of the strong images of his predecessor Innocent III and his successor Gregory IX. However, Smith argues that Honorius’ reign was actually more impactful than have previously been believed. Although Smith’s book covers a period which takes place after the time period of this study, his work includes analyses made on letters written by Honorius which have granted an understanding on how to approach medieval papal letters. Likewise, Smith writes about the inner workings of the papal curia and the standard structure of medieval papal letters. Smith’s book, will, however, also be criticised for an individualistic approach, and a statement made on the passive and reactive nature of the papacy.

Smith criticises contemporary historians for having overplayed the role of the individual popes and their intentions. However, even though Smith himself criticises this approach, he does at several points in his study approach individual intentions. He discusses whether or not the popes themselves wrote the letters or if they solely signed them and to what extent the curia was involved in the formulation of the letters. Also, he questions whether or not the theological stance of the popes can be attributed to them alone, since they might have been advised by specialists. If instead, as is proposed in this study, the pope and the curia are considered to be parts of a strategic position which is the papal seat then there is no point in

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16 Smith, *Curia and Crusade*, p. 218.
trying to comprehend what was the theological stance of a specific pope, or to what extent the curia was involved in writing these letters. This present thesis will also challenge the statement made by Smith that the papacy was responsive and passive during the Middle Ages.\footnote{Smith, Curia and Crusade, p. 14-5.}

The final aspect of the previous research which will be examined is based on the theoretical framework which will be employed in the thesis. For this, Foucault’s own texts will be examined together with later researchers who have interpreted Foucault’s ideas such as Sara Mills and Roddy Nilsson. Using later researchers works helps understanding the sometimes elusive and hard to grasp concepts and ideas that originate in Foucault’s work. Also, Foucault’s research was not structured as a work on method but rather the methodology he created was a product of the studies he conducted. Therefore, the definitions of the concepts and how Foucault used these concepts are examined, interpreted and clarified by later scholars, for this reason it makes sense to study these later works in correlation with Foucault’s own writings. The methodology used in this study is based on ideas and concepts made by Foucault regarding power and discourse. However, Foucault’s ideas have been used as a theoretical framework within which the analyse of the papal letters have been conducted and it is not a comprehensive list of all Foucault’s ideas. The necessary concepts are explained in the chapter on methodology together with the deviations taken from Foucault’s teachings.

1.3. Research aims and questions

The present study aims to reveal and analyse the use of power in papal letters concerning the crusades. The following research questions have been formulated to reveal the authority claimed through the use of the religious expressions, how this authority is used to wield power, any distinctive features of the religious power (as opposed to other forms of power) and differences between the letters.

- How do the papal letters claim authority and legitimise crusading through the use ‘God’ and religious expressions?
• What expressions of power usage is apparent in the papal letters and how does this differentiate from other forms of power in the Middle Ages?

• What differences can be discerned between the use of power in the papal letters?

The study also aims to benefit further studies both within crusading history and within medieval studies. Understanding the textual use of ‘God’ is a way of discerning the church’s influences in medieval Europe and it provides a perspective on the role of the papacy in the Middle Ages. Utilising the discursive approach can also enhance our understanding of the uses of power within the Christian faith and how this was used to distinguish the papacy from other powerful institutions in the Middle Ages.

The Foucauldian theoretical framework can also open the field of medieval studies for further research in textual analysis on medieval sources. Because the discourse analysis is better suited to deal with modern sources it is not without its difficulties to apply it to medieval source material. However, by conducting the discourse analysis with a Foucauldian framework and making necessary deviations to be able to work with medieval sources it can be utilised successfully.

1.4. Source material

The source material is papal letters, these were written between 1145 and 1215 and they all deal with crusading. The authors of these letters were Eugene III, Gregory VIII and Innocent III. The speech at Clermont given by Urban II will not be analysed in this study with the purpose of focusing the study on written discursive uses of power. Recantations of the speech at Clermont exists in different variations and by different authors, making it difficult to know exactly what was proclaimed by Urban. The version of Quantum Predecessores examined in this study was succeeded by a new version by Eugene III six months later. However, the later variant only had minor differences from the studied version and was largely just a reiteration of the first variant, the original variant of the letter is therefore the one which is analysed here.

The Christian faith and the roman church held significant influence over the people of Europe during the middle ages, every aspect of life was influenced by the church both for commoners and princes. Religious discourse, therefore, was influenced by and in turn influenced all medieval discourse. That would also mean that any medieval text can be used to study the religious discourse. However, in the case of this study, the strategic position of the papal seat
is in focus and the understanding of how power is used and enhanced through this strategic position is of interest.

The letters are analysed both in their original form (in Latin) as well as in translation. Because the purpose of this thesis is to make a discourse analysis it is important to work with the Latin directly in order to not let the translations distort the linguistic uses in the original language. Using both the original and the translation will therefore let me critically engage with both alternatives.

In order to focus the study on the strategic position of the papal seat and its development during the 12th and early 13th century, the source material chosen for this study was written by popes and concerned the crusades. Using papal letters allows for a focus of the study on a single strategic position and its uses of religious expressions and God. The religious expressions are abundant in the letters and filled with claims of authority and use of power.

The source material is studied through modern prints and some of them have added notes in the margin about things such as biblical quotes and/or comments to the text. However, the letter is represented in its original form and in Latin. The translations usually keep the remarks made in the printed original text and sometimes they add their own comments. These comments, however, are always distinguished from the translated text and only serve to give the reader a better understanding of the material. Most of the books used for the analysis conducted in this study are solely transcriptions or translations of medieval source material, with exception for Crusade and Christendom by Bird, Peters and Powell. This book not only translates medieval sources but is also filled with background and some analytical notes on the sources which is translated. The information about the specific sources have been used as a secondary source together with other previous research, however, the use of Crusade and Christendom has mainly been for the translations of Audita Tremendi, Post Miserabile and Quia Maior.

1.4.1. The structure of medieval papal letters

Before the analysis of the papal letters, however, something needs to be said about the structure of the papal letters which will be analysed. medieval historian Thomas Smith at the university of Leeds recently published a book looking at the papal letters by Honorius III analysing various aspects such as textual and historiographic. Honorius, who has been
overshadowed in modern studies by his predecessor (Innocent III) and successor (Gregory IX), is the focus of the book.

Smith covers the standard structure of the papal letters which has been incorporated in the analysis of the present study. For that reason, a basic knowledge of the standard structure of papal letters during the middle ages is beneficial to understanding how these letters were constructed and the purpose of certain aspects and also the meaning of certain concept which will be used in the present study.\(^\text{18}\)

Usually, there are six sections in a medieval papal letter. These are; \textit{Salutatio}, \textit{Arenga}, \textit{Narratio}, \textit{Dispositio}, \textit{Sanctio} and \textit{Datum}. The first section, the \textit{Salutatio} presented the author and the recipient of the letter. Most notably in this section is the indication given by the author of whether or not the recipient was in favour of the curia in which case they would be addressed as \textit{karissimo in Christo filio}, ‘most beloved son in Christ’.

The following section was the \textit{arenga}, which was the theological introduction of the letter.\(^\text{19}\) This is theoretically the most interesting section for the present study as it provides the religious motivations and papal authority of the letter. The \textit{arenga} is written like a short sermon in which the pope elaborates his authority in writing the letter at hand. This section is usually filled with references to the Bible with the purpose of stressing the religious authority of the papal letter.

The \textit{narratio} contained the events which lead to the issue of the papal letter. In the cases where the letter was a response to a petition, the \textit{narratio} would be directly related to this petition (this is made significant for historical studies as a majority of these petitions were not preserved).\(^\text{20}\)

Papal decisions or orders followed in the \textit{dispositio} (The reason for writing the letter which have been authorised, sanctified and motivated in the earlier sections). The safeguarding clause, the \textit{sanctio}, was the part of the letter where the author offered rewards and threatened

\(^{19}\) Smith, \textit{Curia and Crusade}, p. 59.
with ecclesiastical sanctions in order to ensure that the orders in the dispositio were followed. The final section was the datum, which provided the time and place for the issue.\textsuperscript{21}

Smith problematises the authorship of the papal documents produced in the Middle Ages as we cannot know for sure to what extent the pope was involved in the writing of the letters. Sometimes, in lesser cases, the letters were probably written by the curia and only signed by the pope. Nonetheless, in the letters studied here, it does need to affect the analysis because of the intention to study the papal seat as a strategic position rather than studying the individuals who possessed it. The view on agency, individuals and intentions is the main difference between the present study and that conducted by Thomas Smith.

1.5. Methodology

The influential Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153) asserts, in his \textit{Sermon Two for the Feast of Peter and Paul}, that the word of man is worthless, but the word of God has value. He explains the relation as a tree, where his own words (the word of man) act as a fertiliser which nourishes the tree on which the fruits (word of God) can grow. As such, Bernard perfects his writing, making it as beautiful as possible, to bridge the gap between the worthless dung and the valuable fruit.\textsuperscript{22} Although Bernard of Clairvaux calls his own words ‘worthless’ he implies that they have got value because they are conveying the word of God. How this value (or power) is used in papal letters is what will be examined in this study.

The theoretical framework which will be used is a Foucauldian discourse analysis. The textual content will be examined, the discursive context in which the texts were produced and the content will be put in relation to what is known about the papal seat and about the events of which the letters write. The Foucauldian analysis is focused on learning the effects of power rather than understanding and interpreting its existence.\textsuperscript{23} This means that the fact that Bernard attributes the existence of the textual value to God does not matter, instead, that which is interesting is how this value is used.

\textsuperscript{21} Smith, \textit{Curia and Crusade}, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{23} Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 85.
The research conducted in this study uses medieval source material produced by individuals who possessed the strategic position that the papal seat offered. From the position as pope, these authors were strongly influential during the crusading movement. The authors of the source material include, Eugene III, Alexander III, Gregory VIII and Innocent III and the letters were produced between 1145 and 1215. During this time the crusading movement was a part of the everyday life of many Christians and had a great impact on the political relations of the secular rulers of Europe.

All the sources originate from the papal seat and were a part of the religious discourse of the 12th and early 13th century. Within these texts the use of ‘God’ and what role he is given in the letters is be analysed. Religious expressions and other means of relating to God within these letters is also analysed in order to determine how they were used to empower the texts and grant legitimacy to the crusades.

1.5.1. Defining my use of discourse

A good attempt at explaining the definition of discourse has been made by Laclau and Mouffe (1985), as quoted by Sara Mills:

> An earthquake or the falling of a brick is an event that certainly exists, in the sense that it occurs here and now, independently of my will. But whether their specificity as objects is constructed in terms of ‘natural phenomena’ or ‘expression of the wrath of God’, depends upon the structuring of a discursive field.24

In her book, Sara Mills examines different ways of approaching discourse and this definition was made by Laclau and Mouffe, whom presented their own form of discourse analysis. The definition, albeit not a Foucauldian one, explains the key parts of the concept of discourse and it helps in understanding why it is necessary to look at both what happened and what was written about what happened. The purpose of the quoted definition of discourse is as a clarification as to how this thesis will approach the concept of discourse and as such, the fact that it was not defined by Foucault himself will not hinder the usability of the definition but rather, it serves to make the theoretical framework clearer to the reader.

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As for its compatibility with the Foucauldian view of discourse, Foucault did acknowledge that there was a reality outside of the discourse with which the discourse coexists and is formed in relation to. In the definition, Laclau and Mouffe writes that *objects* are specified within each discursive field and that how they are presented is dependent on the structuring of that specific field. Foucault further argues that this also includes the *subjects* of the non-discursive reality. In order to understand history and its *subjects* we must, according to Foucault, study the discursive and the non-discursive contexts in which history’s subjects existed. Following that line of thought it is also clear that the study of discourse, according to Foucault, is prioritized over the study of the non-discursive reality.

### 1.5.2. Michel Foucault

It [power] is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes it easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action.

Michel Foucault

The theoretic framework which is utilised in this thesis is Michel Foucault’s discourse analysis and his concept of power. The papal letters are analysed in order to figure out how the religious discourse uses ‘God’ and other religious expressions to imbue power in the texts. Some of the most important parts of the Foucauldian discourse analysis will be presented here, including his view on the relation between power and knowledge, pastoral power episteme, strategic positions and the non-agency of his teachings.

Considering that the purpose of this study is to try to decode the use of power in medieval religious discourse, the established discourse analysis by Foucault was found to be the most applicable theoretical framework. However, Foucault is not the only scholar who have established a way to study discourse. As such, the framework provided by Foucault will be utilised as a framework rather than as a set of strict rules and concepts. Therefore, the definition of discourse used in this thesis was not made by Foucault. Also, there are certain

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parts of the analysis which will not fully follow Foucault’s teachings. These points of deviation will be presented and explained later in the chapter.

1.5.3. Episteme or ‘That which can be thought’

One of several influences on the Foucauldian analysis was Fredrich Nietzsche’s (1844-1900) thought of the correlation between knowledge and power. The idea of which becomes relevant for the present study when Foucault introduces the idea of episteme. The episteme defines the structures within which human thought exists and it therefore ordains the knowledge of a certain culture. When these thoughts are applied to the medieval European scene it can also be reasoned that the reigning episteme of medieval Europe was to some extent governed by the religious discourse. The church during the 12th and 13th century held great influence over the everyday life of the people of Europe and it held certain power over the secular rulers as well.

It is not in the interest of the current thesis to establish the episteme of the 12th and 13th century Europe. However, Foucault argues that history is an endless game of dominance and control, continuous battles between powers and that history is controlled by those with power to decide or adopt the rules which have governed these battles. Through that control, these powers could enforce their own interpretation of history and its meaning. Considering the powerful position as head of the church, the papacy could certainly be considered to have such influence.

1.5.4. Power and knowledge

One thing that is clear when it comes to Foucault is that his research was not aimed to reveal epistemological ‘truth’ about a certain period. Rather, he was interested in unravelling the production of truths. Swedish historian Roddy Nilsson argues that Foucault’s power analysis can be viewed as a critique of two modern conceptions about history; namely that truths can be observed objectively and that knowledge and power are separable.

30 Nilsson, Foucault: en introduktion, p. 76.
Knowledge conveys power and power cannot be wielded without knowledge. Knowledge is governed by an episteme and truths are produced by a regime of power and knowledge. That which is considered as true, at a certain point in time, is therefore an effect of discursive and institutionalized (empowered) practices. Truth, therefore, is also inseparable from power.\textsuperscript{32}

Power cannot be possessed, it cannot be acquired, removed nor shared. Instead, power is constantly exercised in every situation.\textsuperscript{33} Viewing power as a substance is to underestimate the concept and makes for a narrow view which, to a great extent, would simply place the power with sovereign institutions. Because power is fluid, there is no fundamental binary opposition between those who rule and those who are ruled. There are no relationships without power.\textsuperscript{34} As such, the relationship between ruler and ruled is surely governed by power, but Foucault would argue that this is not an essential pattern for power relations. Rather than stemming from powerful institutions, Foucault claims that power exists in everything, in every relationship.\textsuperscript{35} This can be the relationship between a mother and her child just as well as between a king and his subjects. Because power cannot be possessed, no individual is more powerful than another, however, power can be wielded from a strategic position which grants access to power.

Foucault argues against the idea that individuals stand in relation to power and instead he views the individual, as well as the community, as an effect and a direct consequence of power relations.\textsuperscript{36} The importance of this standpoint is that individuals become irrelevant to study in opposition to power, instead, individuals, as well as the community, should be studied as a direct effect of power relations. Seeing individuals (especially during the Middle Ages) as an effect of power relations easily leads the mind to consider the repressive sides of power, such as harassment through taxation. However, in this study, rather than studying the repressive sides of power relations on the individual, the creation of the individual as well as the community in these letters is examined.

The focus on power relationships is what makes Foucault’s theoretical framework so useful in this study. As even Bernard of Clairvaux noted, however, the writings of mere men were not

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32} Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 81.
\item \textsuperscript{33} Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 788; Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 91-92.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Foucault, Michel, \textit{Sexualitetens historia. Viljan att veta} (Gothenburg: Daidalos 2002) p. 104.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Foucault, \textit{Sexualitetens historia. Viljan att veta}, p. 104.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 88; Mills, \textit{Discourse}, p. 20.
\end{itemize}
substantial but rather, the word of God was that which held importance. Through the religious expressions, the word of God, therefore, ought to have shone through and granted the texts power and influence. The claim of divine authority and the power related to God can therefore be studied in these letters.

Further, there is a risk with studying power relations through power institutions. Foucault emphasises that the study of power should not be done through the study of power institutions, but rather that the institutions should be studied through the power relations.37 In the present thesis, the institution (the church) will be studied from the standpoint of power relations. It is also clear that even though it is embodied and studied through the institution, the power relations exist outside of the institution. Combining Foucault’s thoughts on episteme, the control of history, and the relation between power and knowledge, it can be argued that the papal seat certainly was a strategic position which had the potential to wield substantial power.

1.5.5. Non-agency and strategic positions

“How,” not in the sense of “How does it manifest itself?” but “By what means is it exercised?”
and “What happens when individuals exert (as they say) power over others?”38

Michel Foucault

Subjects, in Foucault’s teachings, do not get a lot of attention. In fact, Foucault criticised the historical discipline because of its focus on the acts of individuals, the discipline’s methodological approach put intentions and motives in focus which excluded a majority of the people. This lead to a division between the active (subjects) and the passive (objects) in history.39 In Foucault’s opinion, the thoughts of the displaced people (eccentrics, criminals, the crazed) were just as useful for historical study as men of power (kings, scholars, clerics). This also ties into Foucault’s thoughts that power exists everywhere, it doesn’t originate from a powerful institute but rather it appears ubiquitously.

Foucault’s non-agency can to some extent be derived from his conviction that the individual is formed by the effects of power relations. Even the body is created by power relations,

37 Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 791.
38 Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 786.
without these the body would only be a combination of chemical substances.\textsuperscript{40} The body is nonetheless valuable for empirical research when making a power analysis, it was after all the bodies of the people, the poor, the workers, the women, the children, who would directly experience the effects of power.

Even though power cannot be owned, individuals can possess positions which provide the possibility of wielding power (strategic positions). These positions are of great interest for Foucault, unlike the subjects who hold them.\textsuperscript{41} This means that power relations can be goal-oriented and at the same time non-subjective.\textsuperscript{42} Separating the subject from the position was Foucault’s method to get around the problem of agency based historical studies which had motives, intentions and thoughts as its focus. With the purpose of avoiding intentions and motivations of individual popes, this study will utilise Foucault’s concept of strategic positions. This enables the study to focus on uses of power without being forced to try to determine the elusive intentions.

At the same time, Foucault argues, in the \textit{Archeology of knowledge}, that the knowledge of a certain discourse cannot be separated from the individuals who, because of their position, held the authority to articulate the discourse.\textsuperscript{43} Foucault exemplifies this argument through medical discourse. Doctors, because of their authoritative position within the medical discourse, have the favourable position from which they can articulate the discourse. This works just as well with religious discourse; priests, clerics, popes etc. would then be the discourse’s articulators. On top of this, Foucault claims that actions of power by people in these positions often are calculated and not independent of the subject, further increasing the subject’s role in power relations. Power relations are goal-oriented as well as non-subjective, no power can be conducted without purpose and goals but this does not mean that it needs to be subjugated to the will of the subject.

To conclude, the subject’s role in Foucauldian discourse is not as insignificant as has sometimes been claimed. The subjects who are in a position of power cannot be separated from the power relations associated with that position. The actions which are made possible

\textsuperscript{40} Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{41} Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 87.
\textsuperscript{42} Foucault, \textit{Sexualitetens historia. Viljan att veta}, p. 105.
\textsuperscript{43} Foucault, Michel, \textit{Archaeology of knowledge}, 2nd ed., Taylor and Francis (Hoboken 2002), p. 56.
by the position are often rationally calculated by the subject. It is important, however, to keep
in mind that the reason why Foucault claims the non-agency of his analytic method is to avoid
that the research ends up trying to explain intentions, motivations and thoughts. For the same
reason, this study uses the concept of strategic positions in order to avoid the topic of
individual intentions. However, the subjects will not be completely neglected.

1.5.6. Pastoral power

It has often been said that Christianity brought into being a code of ethics fundamentally
different from that of the ancient world. Less emphasis is usually placed on the fact that it
proposed and spread new power relations throughout the world.44

Michel Foucault

In his studies, Foucault uses the concept of ‘pastoral power’ as a way to explain the origin of
a new political shape which in modern times have been integrated in the modern state, but
which has its origins in Christian institutions.45 The origin of the pastoral power can be found
in the organisation of the Christian religion. The church postulates that certain individuals can
serve others as pastors, as compared to the already existing princes, magistrates, prophets, etc.
The power associated with the pastor is, according to Foucault, a very special form of power
with four characteristics.46

Firstly, the ultimate aim of the pastoral power is to assure individual salvation. Secondly,
pastoral power does not only command but must also be willing to sacrifice for the group.
This characteristic differentiates pastoral power from royal power which demands sacrifices
from its subjects in order to save the throne. Third, the pastoral power individualises, it is not
only concerned with the salvation of the entire group but also on the individual throughout his
lifetime. Finally, this form of power needs, in order to be exercised, to have intimate
knowledge of people’s minds. The pastoral power needs to have a deep knowledge of the
life, the soul and the secrets of every individual in the group. “It implies a knowledge of the
conscience and an ability to direct it.”47

44 Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 783.
45 Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 782.
46 Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 783.
47 Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 783.
The pastoral power has at least in part ceased to exist within the church since the 18\textsuperscript{th} century and its functions have since then spread outside of the ecclesiastical institution. Indirectly, Foucault asserts that a special power existed within the institution of the Christian church up until the 18\textsuperscript{th} century which is emphasised by the fact that the concept of pastoral power closely relates to the use of power seen in the papal letters. It is, however, worth noting that not all uses of power in these letters were specific for the Christian institutions, implying that more than one form of power could be wielded at any given time.

1.5.7. Points of deviation from Foucault

For those who are familiar with Foucault’s teachings there are most likely already some question marks which have been raised concerning the compatibility of this study being conducted with the Foucauldian framework which have been presented. This study does, however, intend to use Foucault just as such, a framework, and not as a set of rules which must be followed. There are several kinds of discourse analysis and Foucault’s ideas, influential as they are, are not without problems. One of these problems, for example, is the focus on discursive context. This is not always obtainable since historical sources can be both few in numbers and fragmented. In a similar fashion it is not possible, when studying medieval history, to provide a satisfying image of the life of the ordinary men and women. The micro-perspective which Foucault prefers in his own research (focusing on the marginalized people such as the crazed, the criminals and the eccentrics) is for this reason very difficult to apply to medieval history.

While Foucault does include structural power relations in his teachings, his focus was the micro perspective which claims that power exists in every relationship, big or small.\textsuperscript{48} Foucault himself often conducted his studies from the perspective of commoners or the marginalised. Foucault did, however, also use learned texts and sources from kings and lords in his research.\textsuperscript{49} In this thesis the perspective will be that of a highly ranked position within the Christian church. The reasoning is that it is easier to establish what impact these texts had in their own time, something which would be difficult if the study attempted to study the marginalised. A study such as this is also able to produce a satisfying discursive context

\textsuperscript{48} Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{49} Nilsson, \textit{Foucault: en introduktion}, p. 99.
which allows the study to be more thoroughly conducted. Utilising a macro perspective in the present study is the most viable way to conduct the research and produce results.

Although this study works with power and influence as it is exercised from an already influential position, it does not ignore the thoughts of Foucault which claims that power exists in every relationship, whether it was a relation between kings or peasants. It is not assumed that the popes had the ability to wield power because of their possession. Rather, the power of the papal seat came from the numerous Christians who believed in the papal authority. Also, in retrospect, the influence of the studied letters can be seen in their contribution to the reigning discourse. The strategic position which these individuals held provided a potential to wield power because of the wide-ranging and highly influential Christian faith and the belief in the apostolic succession. With this in mind the theoretical framework with which the present study will be conducted does adhere to the Foucauldian teaching that \textit{power exists in every relation}.

Foucault’s research was focused on modern or pre-modern history, however, the research conducted in this study goes further back, to the 12th century. The difference between the two epochs is clear when you look at the available source material. The medieval epoch is difficult to analyse from a micro-perspective simply because of the lack of source material. It is not impossible to conduct such research and it has been done before. However, the scarce and fragmented material makes it impossible to assert a satisfying discursive context. The reigning episteme of the 12th and 13th century and the nature of the religious discourse can therefore not be studied to the same extent as is possible in modern history. Foucault was, throughout his career, a free thinker and he constantly changed approaches with the goal to understand and explain universal questions. However, he does not claim that the methods he created needs to be used together, in a complete way. Instead, he encourages his audience to use his books as toolboxes, where the ideas and theories (or even just a sentence) can and should be used whenever it is useful.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{50} Foucault, \textit{Sexualitetens historia. Viljan att veta}. p. 10.
1.6. Disposition

The following analysis endeavour to examine six papal letters written between 1145 and 1215. The purpose is to extrapolate how they use religious expressions to grant the letter authority, to legitimise holy war and to empower the text. Firstly, all the letters will be examined chronologically in order to show the development of the letters. These letters were all connected by a shared theme, the crusades, and the ideas presented in 1215 by Innocent III was in many ways similar to the ones presented by Eugene III in 1145. However, as will be shown in the following analysis, there were also significant differences between the letters.

After the letters have been examined individually, they are compared and analysed regarding their uses of power through religious ideas and expressions as well as the granting of legitimacy and authority. The use of religious expressions to empower the texts was plentiful, however, five distinct uses of power have been identified in the letters and it is through these that the power is analysed. These are authority, legitimacy, privileges, intimidation and the depiction of the pagan. Each of the chapters in the conclusion will then relate the findings of the analysis to the research questions and discuss these in relation to both the theoretical framework and earlier research.
2. Analysis

2.1. Eugene III – Quantum Predecessores

The former pupil of Bernard of Clairvaux was elected as pope in 1145 and took the name Eugene III. The time at which he ascended to the papal seat, however, was troublesome. The principality of Edessa, the oldest of the Latin kingdoms, had recently fallen into the hands of the resurgent Muslims and the fear of a Muslim invasion in Europe was present at the curia. As a result, the call for a second crusade was issued. In this endeavour Eugene had the strong support of his old mentor, Bernard, who became the principal preacher of the crusade.

The letter which is analysed in this chapter is Eugene’s Quantum Predecessores which, as was common practice, was named after the first words of the letter (excluding the Salutatio). The letter was produced during the first year of Eugene’s pontificate and it was written with a specific recipient, King Louis VII of France. The Quantum Predecessores was a call to arms for Christians and a response to the aggression of the Muslims in the Holy Land. In the letter, Eugene proclaims that “Whereby how great a danger threatens the church of God and the whole of Christianity”.

For this reason, Eugene invokes a legacy of the French crown as defenders of the church and calls for Louis to show the same bravery as his ancestors did before him.

Quantum predecessores is the only of the crusading letters studied here which was written with a named recipient. The decision to direct the letter specifically to the illustrious king of

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51 This practice excludes the letter’s Salutatio – the greeting clause and uses the first words of the letter’s narrative; “Quantum predecessores nostri Romani pontifices pro liberatione orientalis ecclesiae laboraverint...”.
52 Eugene III, Quantum Predecessores, transl. in Henderson, Ernest F., Select historical documents of the Middle Ages, George Bell and Sons (London 1903) p. 334; Original in Doeberl, Michael (ed.), Monumenta Germaniae selecta ab anno 768 usque ad annum 1250, vol. 4, (München 1889-1894) p. 42 “In quo quantum ecclesiae Dei et toti christiandati periculum imminet”.
53 Quantum Predecessores, transl. in Henderson, Select historical documents p. 334-5 “For it is known that it will be the greatest proof of nobility and probity, if those things which the bravery of your fathers acquired be bravely defended by you the sons; Original in Doeberl, Monumenta Germaniae selecta, p. 42.”
the French signifies that the original thought concerning the second crusade did not include multiple secular leaders. Instead, the crusade would have consisted of French leaders and French crusaders. It was only later, under the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux that the call to crusade included multiple secular rulers from around Europe.\textsuperscript{54} The decision to direct the papal letter specifically to the French king, however, might also have been a strategic move by Eugene in order to compel Louis to respond.

The overall structure of the letter follows the standard structure of medieval papal letters.\textsuperscript{55} However, the arenga is not constructed by the usual components. Instead of using biblical quotations to build the papal authority, an idea of a crusading legacy was invoked through pope Urban II’s call to crusade 50 years earlier. As a motivation to take the cross, the audience (not to be confused with the named recipient of the letter, the audience was much bigger as these letters were open and read throughout all of Christian society) was reminded of the first crusade, proclaimed by pope Urban II, in which people from different countries bound together to free Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the pagans. Again, the French are specifically mentioned, this time as “the bravest and strongest warriors of the French kingdom”.\textsuperscript{56}

A short reference to Jesus and the heritage which he has left the Christians in Jerusalem is made at the end of the arenga. Jesus’ suffering is mentioned and how the crusaders of the 11\textsuperscript{th} century “not without much shedding of their own blood, the divine aid being with them, did free from the filth of the pagans that city where our Saviour willed to suffer for us”.\textsuperscript{57} This sentence is the only reference to events older than the first crusade in the arenga of Eugene’s letter. The sentence, however, includes a lot of interesting aspects.
Firstly, the fact that the first crusade did come with great loss of Christian lives was acknowledged, nonetheless, the crusade’s success is attributed to divine aid and therefore the crusade was considered Godly sanctified. Secondly, the ‘filthy pagans’ was not Eugene’s comment of the Muslims personal hygiene but rather their spiritual impurity. Negative adjectives in relation to pagans or heretics were common medieval Christian texts and the reason for this negative attitude is easily understandable. It is however worth noting that this way of constantly associating pagans with negative adjectives was a way to steer the opinion of the audience so that there was no doubt that this was a certain group of people which Christians (collectively) were not supposed to like.

Finally, the destination of the first crusade and the goal for the coming second crusade, Jerusalem, is mentioned. It is not mentioned by name, but it is used to legitimise the loss of lives in the first crusade through the liberation of the city where Christ suffered. The suffering of Christ was a theme which appeared often in the papal letters and the idea was that if Christ was willing to sacrifice his life for his people, Christians also needed to be willing to sacrifice their lives for Christ. According to Fonnesberg-Schmidt, The idea of Tempus Acceptabile, a time of acceptance, was important in the launching of the second crusade. It was a time when God had provided the faithful with a way to salvation in a time when the enemies of the church had risen to punish the sins of man. 

The focus on the French in particular continues over to the narratio, where more recent events leading up to the crusade are covered. The narratio starts off by addressing the defence of Christendom which has been undertaken since the launch of the first crusade. Through this, the crusade was positioned within the frame of a just war. Just war was an idea that rose out of the need to justify warfare on moral, juridical and religious grounds. The medieval use of the concept was derived from ideas of St. Augustine. An essential part in the idea of just war was the idea that war was both caused by sin and a remedy for sin. Any war waged on divine command, according to Augustine was a just war, but he also stated that ‘iusta bella ulciscuntur injurias’, just wars avenge injuries. Even though the Augustine definition of just war allowed any wars declared with divine command to be just, it was important for the popes

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59 Russel, The Just war in the Middle Ages, p. 1.
60 Russel, The Just war in the Middle Ages, p. 16.
61 Russel, The Just war in the Middle Ages, p. 18, 20.
(the idea was present in all of the letters except one) to also proclaim the injury which had been done to the church in order to maintain the legitimacy of the crusade.

The fall of the city of Edessa is the next point in Eugene’s letter. The loss of Edessa has been described as the igniting spark for the second crusade and that is also reflected in the letter. The city was described as having long-term Christian heritage from even before the events of the first crusade. The loss of the city included the slaying of the entire clergy as well as Christian relics being destroyed and scattered. Losing a foothold in the Holy Land leads Eugene to the conclusion that even Christianity in Europe was threatened. Therefore, a legacy of the French as defenders of Christendom is proclaimed and they are called to defend that which was acquired by the bravery of their fathers.62 This line of reasoning is interesting as Louis VII:s predecessor Louis VI was not directly involved in the first crusade. However, among the leaders of the first crusade were some prominent French nobles, namely Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond IV of Toulouse. The reference to ‘fathers’ might have been a way of referencing these French nobles. It is also possible that it was meant much broader and that it was meant to create a feeling of crusading inheritance amongst the people of France as well as the leaders; “But if it should happen otherwise, which God forbid, the valour of the fathers will be found to have diminished in the case of the sons”.63

Following the proclamation of a legacy of defending Christendom and the church, the letter continues with commands and recommendations (dispositio). In this section of the letter, it is clear that the letter is written with a larger audience in mind than simply the French crown. The wording includes all “those who are of God”64 and the command is for every man to gird themselves and oppose the many pagans. The motivating concepts found in this section mirrors those already mentioned, Eugene once again brings up the inheritance as defenders of the church and the fathers and brothers who have suffered at the hands of the infidels. Most noteworthy in this section is how Eugene keeps to the fact that the proclaimed crusade shall

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62 *Quantum Predecessores*, transl. in Henderson, *Select historical documents* p. 335 “the bravery of your fathers acquired be bravely defended by you the sons.”


64 *Quantum Predecessores*, transl. in Henderson, *Select historical documents* p. 335; Original in Doeberl, *Monumenta germaniae selecta*, p. 42 “ut qui Dei sunt”.

65 *Quantum Predecessores*, transl. in Henderson, *Select historical documents* p. 335 “the greater men and the nobles do manfully gird themselves; and that you strive so to oppose the multitude of the infidels”.

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be to defend the oriental church. Considering that the crusade was meant to reemphasise the Christian claim on the Holy Land and the city of Edessa it is questionable whether it would be qualified as a defence. It does, however, signify how deeply rooted the idea of the just war was in the discourse of medieval Europe. It was of importance to legitimise any violent action by the church.

Throughout the *Quantum Predecessores* it is interesting to note that the praises given often were coupled with minor threats or warnings. As mentioned, it was written that God forbid, that the valour of the fathers be lost in the sons, and similarly, in the *dispositio* a hope and a subtle warning is issued about the valour of the Christian name that it “may remain intact and unshaken.”

According to Thomas Smith, the penultimate section of the standard papal letter, the *sanctio*, was usually about the spiritual and material rewards for taking the cross as well as the ramifications associated with refusing or disobeying these commands. No such ramifications are mentioned in the *Quantum Predecessores* and instead the focus was on the rewards. Initially it is announced that the indulgence introduced by Urban II will also be in effect during the second crusade. The text then moves on to material rewards which include protection of material possessions and the nullification of interest on loans. Lastly the remission of sin is repeated and that absolution would be given to those who accomplished the journey at hand.

In many ways, the *Quantum Predecessores* set the standard for the coming crusading letters and a lot of its inspiration and narrative originated from Urban II:s speech at Clermont and the first crusade. Almost all the following crusading letters reused religious aspects such as defence of the church, the suffering of Christ, testing of faith and of course the indulgence and material protection offered by Eugene. However, some aspects of the *Quantum Predecessores* remained distinctive for this letter. Firstly, the letter has very little signs of intimidation or threats, an aspects of the crusading letters which became more apparent with time and reached

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a peak in Innocent III’s letters. Even in the *Divini Dispensatio*ne which was produced only 2 years after *Quantum Predecessores* there was a significant increase in intimidations.

There were some expressions of intimidations in the *Quantum Predecessores*, as has been mentioned, but very subtle and with no explicit repercussions. What was truly unique with this letter, however, was the named recipient in Louis VII and the invoking of a crusading legacy amongst the French. Although the 2nd crusade eventually came to include more than just the French in the crusade, the legacy proclaimed among the brave and strong soldiers of the French was seemingly an effective way of issuing a sense of duty among the French, encouraging them to take the cross.

### 2.2. Eugene III – *Divini Dispensatio*ne

As the second crusade was organised to march to the Holy Land, after the issue of *Quantum Predecessores*, the existence of pagans in northern Europe was introduced at the papal court. Some of those who were reluctant to take the cross and go to the Holy Land, then suggested fighting the pagans closer to home. The idea was supported by Bernard of Clairvaux and by his influence Eugene III issued the *Divini Dispensatio*ne.

The letter was very short which might be explained by the fact that there was already existing support for the crusade which nullified the necessity to compel the audience through the use of an extensive arenga. Rather than initiating his letter with a theological preamble the letter is initiated by mentioning the ongoing preparations for the second crusade.

It is claimed in the letter that almost the whole Christian world was about to undertake this pilgrimage, under the sign of the cross, to help their brothers in need in Edessa and the other cities which suffered. The reason for the suffering is proclaimed to be because of the sins of man, an idea which can also be seen in the other papal letters, the sins of all men were the cause for the evil which preceded the crusades. This idea was continuously reused by the popes in order to propagate a purer way of life for their Christian subjects. It was also a way of invoking a sense of shame upon those who sinned and it was coupled with a way of salvation, by taking the cross.69 Salvation through a crusade to the Holy Land was not, however, what was proposed in this letter. Rather, the preparations for the oncoming crusade

69 Eugene III, *Divini Dispensatio*ne, transl. by Kurt Villads Jensen, Appendix; Original in PL 180, p. 1203.
were mentioned to give homage to those who were about to embark on this journey and to perhaps raise a feeling of crusading duty among the audience.

In the *narratio*, the Spanish effort against the Moors was mentioned. Thankfully, they had, by the grace of God, often stood victorious in this struggle. Using the situation in Spain as a preamble, the purpose of the letter was announced. The letter was a response to the request to launch a crusade, similar to the one in Spain, against the pagans in the north and to submit them to Christianity. Eugene’s answer was to grant them the same indulgence as the one granted by Urban II for the first crusade, by the authority of God through the apostolic succession. Allowing people to take the cross without having to travel the long and dangerous road to the Holy Land (which required great dedication by the crusaders as they were away often for many years) was a successful way of recruiting more people to the crusading cause. However, the decentralised crusading efforts might have weakened the efforts undertaken in the Holy Land and in the 13th century.

Fonnesberg-Schmidt argues that offering indulgence was used to recruit more people to join the crusades, but indulgence was not given freely. Eugene’s proclamation of full indulgence to the crusaders who undertook a northern crusade put all the crusading efforts on equal footing. However, the failure of the second crusade had a negative impact on the papacy and the three-front war failed spectacularly. This failure was attributed to many things such as the sinfulness of the crusaders, the work of the Devil, or as Bernard of Clairvaux claimed, it was a punishment by God.

Pope Alexander III attempted to launch a new crusade in the second half of the 12th century but he had little success. To some extent the failed attempt can be attributed to the failure of the second crusade which still plagued the Christian west. The little response he did get was sent straight to the Holy Land, which was constantly under the threat of the Muslim leader Saladin and his army. However, Alexander’s letters did change one significant policy when following upon Eugene III:s legacy, he retracted the full indulgence offered to the northern crusaders and only offered them partial remission of sins. This created a hierarchy between

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70 *Divini Dispensatione*, transl. by Villads Jensen, Appendix; Original in PL 180, p. 1203.
72 Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 36.
the crusades in the Holy Land, the Baltic, Spain and southern France which was emphasised by Innocent III:s revoking of indulgence in Spain and France in 1215. Plenary indulgence in the Baltic crusades was not reinstated until 1218 by Pope Honorius.\footnote{Divini Dispensatione, transl. by Kurt Villads Jensen; Original in PL 180, p. 1203-4.}

The sanctio covered not only the material protection but also showed some caution and deemed it necessary to set up some rules for the proposed crusade. Those who had already taken vows to go to Jerusalem were not allowed to now change their minds and break their vows. Also, under the threat of excommunication, it was forbidden to take payment or ransom from the pagans in order to let them be, spreading the word of Christianity was of greater importance than financial gains.\footnote{Divini Dispensatione, transl. by Kurt Villads Jensen; Original in PL 180, p. 1203-4.} The last part had the effect of hindering the crusaders from using the crusades to further their own gains close to home. Finalising the short letter, the material protection for fighting in the northern crusades was proclaimed simply by stating that the possessions of these men were under the protection of the holy apostle, Petrus.\footnote{Divini Dispensatione, transl. by Kurt Villads Jensen; Original in PL 180, p. 1203-4.}

The Divini Dispensatione was different from the other crusading letters in many ways. It seems to have been written as a quick response in order to officially proclaim the papal support for the northern crusade. As such it did not follow the standard form of the papal letter, neither to the structure nor the content. Many of the usual theological aspects were neglected in the letter, such as the suffering of Christ, the testing of faith as well as a clear apostolic succession to grant authorisation to the letter. Neither was there any reference to the crusade as a defence of the church or Christendom, as pointed out by Fonnesberg-Schmidt.\footnote{Fonnesberg-Schmidt, The popes and the Baltic Crusades, p. 32.} Instead Eugene states that the purpose was to subject the pagans to the Christian faith and to promote it amongst them.\footnote{Divini Dispensatione, transl. by Kurt Villads Jensen; Original in PL 180, p. 1203-4.}

Fonnesberg-Schmidt argues that this could be a breach of canon law, however, it could also be that an underlying idea that the pagans were set up by the Devil against the Christians.\footnote{Fonnesberg-Schmidt, The popes and the Baltic Crusades, p. 32.} That would be enough to sufficiently legitimise the call for a northern crusade. It could also be explained by a common conception of the Middle Ages where Christians would treat pagans as a disease which, if not treated, would spread. Although Augustine claimed that the
just war was to be a response to an injury, he did also proclaim that any war waged on divine command was just.\textsuperscript{80}

\textbf{2.3. Gregory VIII – \textit{Audita Tremendi}}

As the news that Jerusalem had been lost to the Muslims reached Rome, a renewed fear of the aggression of the Muslims fell upon the roman curia. In the same year, only months after the battle of Hattin, and days after his own installation as pope, Gregory VIII issued the bull \textit{Audita Tremendi} (1187).

The structure of the \textit{Audita Tremendi}, unlike Eugene’s \textit{Quantum Predecessores}, does not follow the standard form of the papal letters. Rather, most of the letter consists of what would be categorised as the \textit{arenga}. However, the \textit{narratio} exists in the very beginning of the text and consists of a passage on the fall of Jerusalem. This section is, however, also filled with theological aspects as the description of the event also contains biblical quotes. At the end of the letter the \textit{dispositio} and the \textit{sanctio} are given very little space.

The loss of Jerusalem is depicted straight out of the Bible (Ps 78:1-2\textsuperscript{81}). This, being a biblical quote, was not what happened at Jerusalem in 1187 according to our modern perception of the concept of \textit{truth}. However, during the Middle Ages people had a somewhat different idea of what was true, and the Bible was considered to be true. Faith during the Middle Ages was not a private matter, it was a community and the Christian faith was quite different from how we depict it in modern times. The modern conception of faith can be separated from truth but belief in the flames of hell during the Middle Ages created the flames as a physical reality.\textsuperscript{82}

The integrated reference to the Bible makes sure that the audience understood that the events which took place in 1187 was biblically foretold and the scene was horrifically painted. It seems that the purpose of quoting the Bible in this case was to create sympathy for the Christians in the Holy Land and to emphasise the prophetic nature of the events which would entice more people to join the crusades. Following upon the biblical quote was a short

\textsuperscript{80} Russel, \textit{The Just war in the Middle Ages}, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{81} King James Bible, “O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem on heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth.”
recantation of the events which lead to the defeat. The army, consisting of the King, bishops, Templars, Hospitallers, Barons and knights, was safeguarded by the Lord’s cross but still faced defeat and very few escaped execution or slavery.83 Following the army’s defeat many of the Christian cities in the Holy Land fell to the Muslim army.

Penance was the way to reclaim God’s favour and to still his anger. God was portrayed as forgiving and that which had been taken because of the sins of Christians, would be returned. Whoever did not, at heart, mourn these events, the letter claimed, was not only ignorant of the Christian faith but also of their very humanity.84 The letter also claimed that the Muslim’s purpose for attacking was to erase the name of God from the Holy Land. This assumption, albeit not hard to understand why Gregory would make it, was, according to historian Paul Cobbs, most likely inaccurate.85 It is an assumption which has been made in modern times as well, yet the Islamic sources from the times of the crusades rarely ever mention the religious motivations of the Christian crusaders.86 Any possible religious motivations the Muslims had would have been only one of several motivations for their reactions towards the crusaders, one of which was certainly the pressure applied by Christian expansion into Muslim lands since before the first crusade.

The statement made regarding the motivations behind the Muslim aggression was a form of propaganda which served to further the cause of the Audita Tremendi, to successfully launch a new crusade to retake Jerusalem. However, in doing this the letter created a truth similarly to Gregory’s recantation of the fall of Jerusalem. The strategic position of the papal seat gave such authority to the Gregory’s story that it may very well have been accepted as a truth in its time.

It is made clear, several times, in the letter, that the transpired events were caused by the sins of man. It is not God who is unjust or unforgiving but instead men who are unworthy of his magnificence. Blaming the fall of Jerusalem on the sins of man was a powerful way to invoke

84 Audita Tremendi, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 6; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 50.
85 Cobb, The race for paradise, p. 40.
86 Cobb, The race for paradise, p. 28-29.
feelings of shame among the audience. The kings and princes were shamed for their conflicts and scandals and the people were told that;

We, therefore, should heed and be concerned about the sins not only of the inhabitants of that land but also of our own and those of the whole Christian people so that what is left of that land may not be lost and their power rage in other regions.\textsuperscript{87}

The threat of the Muslims was certainly real in the remaining Christian kingdoms in the Holy Land, the threat to Europe, however, was rather speculative. Nevertheless, the threat of such an invasion, which would have been to blame on the impurity of the Christian people, surely gave the text a firm grip on its audience which was good, because the letter also offers a solution. Christianity, unsurprisingly, had the solution, and more specifically, it was to be reached through penance. The lack of penance after the second crusade was the reason for the fall of Jerusalem and now, as the Christian people were about to embark on another crusade, the individual had to atone for his own sins, it was essential in order for the crusade to succeed. The idea presented in the \textit{Audita Tremendi} was that in order to alter the evil of others, first you must alter the evil in yourself.

This spiritual lesson coincides with the worldly recommendation given in many of the crusading letters, that Christian kings and princes ought to band together to fight the common enemy, the pagans. When the internal evil has been abolished, then the external evil can be dealt with, and as Gregory puts it; “And, what they do not fear to try against God, we will not hesitate to do for God.”\textsuperscript{88}

Eugene III’s letter \textit{Quantum Predecessores}, was written with a specific recipient (the king of France) but it clearly had a bigger audience which is reflected in the writing. However, the letter was focused on persuading the king and the privileged people of France. Gregory VIII’s letter on the other hand, has no named recipient but rather was written as an open letter to all Christ’s faithful. The letter was also more focused on persuading the Christian people more so

\textsuperscript{87} \textit{Audita Tremendi}, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, \textit{Crusade and Christendom}, p. 7 Original in Taurinorum, \textit{Magnum bullarium Romanum}, p. 51 “Porro nos qui in tanta terrae illius contritione non solum peccatum habitatorum illius, sed et nostrorum et totius populi christani, debemus attendere ac vereri, ne quod reliquum est illius terrae depereat, et in alias etiam potestas eorum desaeviat regiones.”

\textsuperscript{88} \textit{Audita Tremendi}, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, \textit{Crusade and Christendom}, p. 7 Original in Taurinorum, \textit{Magnum bullarium Romanum}, p. 51 “et quod illi contra Deum tentare non timent, nos pro Deo agere nullatenus haesitemus.”
than directly focusing on princes. This is not to say that their support was not wanted, it most surely was, but the writing is more focused on awakening a feeling of crusading as a duty and a necessity in order to preserve their religious lifestyle. This was done through applying Christian virtues to crusading ideas and asserting the need for penitence among Christians in all kingdoms to prevent evil from spreading. The letter also maintains that all that the Christians had, and all that they were, was by the grace of God and therefore they ought to have been willing to give everything up for God.

Among those things they were recommended to give up for God were riches. If not given to the church, Gregory claimed, they would risk falling into the hands of a greedy heir. The hazardous family relations in which the riches would end up with someone unworthy of the possessions presents another idea which will become more apparent with later popes. This idea was that a reluctance to act for God might be just as bad (and as harshly punished) as doing evil acts. This was emphasised by the idea that God alone could defend the Holy Land but chooses not to in order to give an opportunity to the Christians to do penance through crusading. Inaction, then, would not only be considered a neutral stance but rather an act against God who has benignantly given Christians this opportunity for atonement.

The idea of martyrdom and dying for God is present in the letter. It is mentioned several times with biblical quotes and references to the earlier crusade as motivators. The desecration of that which is sacred, the minute worth of personal possessions, the promise of future glory are all motivations given for those willing to heed its call.

We promise full remission of their sins and eternal life to those who take up the labor of this journey with a contrite heart and a humble spirit and depart in penitence of their sins and with true faith. Following upon the long arenga of this letter then follows a short paragraph (in the above quote) on the command and the rewards for following this command. The benefits of

89 Audita Tremendi, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 8 “Give your riches to him, which whether willingly or unwillingly, you do not know to which greedy heirs they will be left.”; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 51.

90 Audita Tremendi, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 8; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 52 “His autem, qui corde contrito, et humiliato spiritu, itineris huius laborem assumpserint, et in poenitentia peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam suorum criminum indulgentiam et vitam pollucemur aeternam.”
following the command was full remission of sins, their earthly possessions as well as their families were under the protection of the church and they were exempted from the payment of interest on loans. This was commonly used in the crusading letters as rewards for the crusaders. Interesting in this paragraph is that Gregory’s authority by God is explicitly mentioned through apostolic succession. Because of the layout of the letter, which has more in similar with a sermon than a crusading letter, this is the first time where an apostolic authority is warranted. However, the letter’s structure as an elongated written sermon on the state of the Christian society provides a lot of authority to the short dispositio and the apostolic authority claimed in this late part of the letter emphasises that power.

The Audita Tremendi, unlike the other crusading letters, seems to have been focused more towards the common people than the secular authorities. This is shown in the elongated sermon-like arenga which emphasises penance, crusading duty and Christian virtues. Similar to the attempt in Quantum Predecessores to reach the French people and soldiers with an idea of a crusading legacy, Gregory here attempts to invoke a sense of duty among the Christians to take the cross and do penance and if necessary to die for Christ, as he died for them.

2.4. Innocent III – Post Miserabile

During the first year of his pontificate, Innocent III had to deal with several major difficulties both politically and morally. Nonetheless, Innocent always kept the situation in the Holy Land at heart and only seven months after his coronation he sent out the letter Post Miserabile (1198) which announced the plans for a new crusade to the Holy Land.\footnote{Fonnesberg-Schmidt, The popes and the Baltic Crusades, p. 79.} The initial plan was to have a crusading army ready already in March 1199, this was not achieved however. The amount of planning necessary for a crusade of the scale Innocent imagined could not possibly be done in such a short time. However, he had declared his ambition of launching a new crusade early in his papal career and did not have to wait very long to fulfil his wish, in 1202 the 4\textsuperscript{th} crusade was launched.\footnote{Bird, Peters, & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 30.} The Post Miserabile was written in a couple of different variants as it was sent to various kingdoms around Western Europe. The letter studied here in
both original and in translation was addressed to the archbishop of York and his ecclesiastical subjects.93

The greeting clause of Innocent’s letter addressed the clerics, the nobles and the people of York, with apostolic benediction. As mentioned, the salutatio would have changed depending on the recipient of the letter at hand which would have created a more personal connection to the local audience. As this one was addressed to York and its Christian inhabitants so would other versions of the letter have been personalised and addressed to the local recipients.

As an introduction to the letter and the start of the theological preamble the fall of Jerusalem is mentioned (this was also the case in Gregory VIII’s Audita Tremendi). Here, it is plainly stated that this “lamentable slaughter of the people of Christendom”94 was an invasion by the Muslims on lands which rightfully belonged to the Christians. Setting aside the religious claims to the Holy Land for a moment, it is made unambiguous that the proposed crusade following in this letter will be considered a defence against the Muslim aggressors and as such it was to be considered a just war. To affirm the religious claim on the land, the biblical quote used, was the same one used by Gregory VIII 11 years earlier, when announcing the third crusade (Ps 73:1295). Establishing any legitimacy in these claims would be fruitless, however, it can be estimated that these claims, as they were made with authority of the Bible and the papal seat, surely added to the religious motivations behind the crusade. Religious claims to this land can be a strong motivator, one which is still used in modern conflicts fighting over the same lands that the crusades fought over hundreds of years ago.

The arenga is formed like a sermon about the hardships of Christians. More so then in the earlier letters, the Post Miserabile manages to keep a clear purpose which is emphasises with well-chosen biblical quotes which are sewn into the structure of the letter so well that they are hardly noticeable. The letter smoothly moves from disasters and grief to the sound of trumpets arousing the Christian nations to fight the battle for Christ. Several biblical

94 Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 31; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 70 “lacrymabilem stragem populi Christiani”.
95 King James Bible, “For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth.”
references are also made for that which has once been ours and now has been lost (Jerusalem) and that Jesus has been driven in exile from his own inheritance.

Finalising the arenga, the unworthy present day Christian princes were strongly criticised for their behaviour. After proclaiming the regrettable situation in the Holy Land, the critique was directed toward the Christians leaders of Europe who committed adultery and fought amongst themselves to the point where there was no one who was concerned with the injustice made to Christ. Although no one was pointed out specifically for the critique, the scandals and allegations of adulterous behaviour was present among several Christian rulers. The critique of internal fighting amongst Christian kingdoms was certainly directed toward England and France (which is explicitly mentioned by Innocent later in the letter). Importantly, as these letters were not addressed to the kings or princes of these areas (although they surely were meant to be part of the audience) this was a way of shaming them in front of their subjects and an indication that greater Christian fidelity was needed among the leaders of the Christian west.

The narratio in the Post Miserabile was written as if from the perspective of the Muslims. This is an interesting rhetorical move which was surely used to provoke its Christian audience. “Where is your God..., who can neither deliver himself nor you from our hands?” Within this Muslim exhortation is imbedded the events leading up to the issuing of the letter. Everything brought up in this rhetorical section was written in a way to provoke a reaction in its audience. Jerusalem is called a place where the Christians pretend that their superstition took rise. Major Crusading losses are mentioned and the strength of the Muslim army is asserted. God is taunted to make a move and save the Christians as well as himself, several attempts by Christians to fight the Muslims are brought up and they, the Muslims, claim that the Christians prefer to attack each other rather than once more experience the strength of the

96 Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 32; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 71.
97 Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 32; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 71 “Ubi est Deus vester, Qui nec Se potest, nec vos, de manibus nostris liberare?”
Muslim army. Finally, the Muslims exhort that they ought to attack the Christian territories in the west and destroy Christianity both by name and memory.

Masking as a Muslim statement, the letter was able to freely provoke, insult and post potential Muslim threats to Christian lands. This enabled very clear and strong message to reach the audience in topics which were not commonly written about. Further, this allowed Innocent to criticise poor Christian efforts to fight against the Muslims. Because this exhortation was a suitable interpretation of what the Muslims might think, rather than an actual Muslim statement, it also gave Innocent every possibility of positioning himself favourably in relation to the Muslim exhortation. “How then, brothers and sons, are we to rebut the scorn of these insulters, in what terms shall we be able to answer them?”

With strong biblical backing, the dispositio was a call to aid ‘him by whom you exist’ to return the exiled to his rightful place. To emphasise the point that all Christians owe it to God to go on the crusade, the audience was reminded of the eternal judgment and how this decision would affect their opportunity to go to heaven, if God would die for man, would not man die for God? Martyrdom is also hinted at through the use of the Romans 8:18 where it was claimed that the sufferings of man are incomparable with the glory which shall be revealed.

A date for the crusade was set in March 1199 in which all barons and earls were to march for the defence of the Holy Land. Some haste was recommended and a fear that more evil would plague the remaining Christians in the Holy Land if they were to delay. It was then made very clear that the church would not be idle as this crusade was organised, already appointed clergymen were ordered to go with the crusaders and these clerics were to be financially

98 Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 33; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 71-72.
99 Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 32 “And after they [the Germans] had taken the single fortified place of Beirut when no one was defending it, they would have woefully experienced our might, had not the opportunity of retreat come to the aid of themselves and their potentates”;
Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 71.
100 Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 33; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 72 “Qualiter ergo, fratres et filii, opprobria exprobrantium repellemus, qualiter eis poterimus respondere?”
101 King James Bible, “For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.”
supported by the church. There was to be no doubt as to that the church was taking an active role in the organisation and funding of the crusade.

Explicitly with the purpose of getting support for the joint venture which the Post Miserabile suggested, a cardinal was sent to broker a peace between the French and the English in order for them to be able to support the venture. Also, the ecclesiastical communities addressed in the salutatio of the letter were asked to present a fixed number of soldiers or financial funds for the crusade. The letter then turns to emphasise the repercussions which would fall upon any cleric whom did not adhere to the ordinance given in the letter. The cleric would be punished for transgressing the sacred canons and he would be suspended from his duties. ¹⁰²

The sanctio starts with an invocation of sacred authority bestowed by God and the apostles. By that authority, Innocent offered remission of sins and everlasting salvation for all those who undertook the labour and had done penance both in voice and heart. ¹⁰³ In the translation, the authors (the translators) claims that the way Innocent formulates his offering of indulgence is unusual and that it emphasises the need for inner contrition and oral confession, ¹⁰⁴ however this exists in many of the other letters studied here as well and the offered rewards remain the same.

Four different possibilities of supporting the crusade were offered in the Post Miserabile. Firstly, you could go on the crusade and finance the journey by yourself. Secondly you could finance someone else to go on a crusade and so you would not have to go in person. Another possibility was to go in person but to be financed by someone else and lastly, you could donate money to the crusading cause. The first three of these options was said to give the benefactors plenary pardon for their sins. The option to donate money for the crusade, however, only granted remission according to the amount of aid they give and, more importantly, in proportion to the feelings of devotion they manifested. The possibility of taking part in the crusading indulgence without having to take the cross in person would have enabled support from those who were, in one way or another, unable to go on a crusade,

¹⁰² Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 35; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 74.
¹⁰³ Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 35; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 74.
¹⁰⁴ Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 35.
perhaps because of injuries or old age. The restriction on the indulgence given, however, was probably a clause made simply to emphasise that the support given had to be of proportion of the available funds of the benefactor. At the same time the benefactor had to show devotion to the crusading cause and not, in theory, donate simply for the spiritual benefits.

Further, the letter’s sanctio included familiar topics such as protection of property and the absolving of interest on loans. Unlike some of the earlier letters, however, the Post Miserabile continues to imbue the text with several biblical quotes and binds these together with the rewards offered and the commands given in the earlier section, exhorting the prominence of walking with the Lord and turning away from a sinful life. Also included was the harsh treatment which would occur if anyone was to break these spiritual sanctions provided by the church. The threat of ecclesiastical censure was proclaimed for those who would make claim on the property of a crusader whilst he was on the pilgrimage. Jews were threatened with a forced isolation from the Christian communities and a spiritual trade embargo was to be enacted on those who would enforce payment of interest.

2.5. Innocent III – Quia Maior

With a wide range, pope Innocent III’s Quia Maior (1213) reached virtually every secular and spiritual leader of Christian Europe.105 The letter was one of three letters which Innocent wrote as a prelude to the coming 4th Lateran council of 1215. Pium et Sanctum and Vineam Domini were the other two letters written in the series. Pium et sanctum appointed preachers for the crusade and Vineam Domini announced the details regarding the coming council. Quia Maior, however, was devoted to planning the coming crusade. This was not the first crusade prepared by Innocent, his earlier experience with the fourth crusade left him wary of all the difficulties which hindered the crusaders success. With his own experience planning crusades and the experience of his successors Innocent deemed it necessary to make detailed planning and keep continued supervision in order for the crusade to be a success.106 Unfortunately, he died in 1216 and did not live to see the launch of the 5th crusade.

The arenga of the Quia Maior was filled with multiple biblical quotations. The first three of these were about the crucifixion of Jesus. Initially the suffering was proclaimed in order to

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105 Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 106.
invoke a feeling of responsibility for Christians (for whom Christ suffered) to be willing to suffer for Christ. A reference to Christ’s call for his disciples to follow him (Mt 16:24107) was suitable seeing as the text served as a call to arms for Christians. Following the biblical quotations an interpretation was given in which the meaning of the words was shaped to fit the purpose presented in the letter. The interpretation provided for the biblical quote above was “He who wishes to follow me to the crown, let him hasten to the battle which now is proposed for the testing of all.”108 Like the suffering of Christ, the testing of faith was also a powerful motivator. In the case of the crusades it was claimed in the letter that God could defend the Holy Land, if he chooses to do so, but instead it is left up to the faithful to prove their faith through taking the cross and following Christ.

The arenga continued with more biblical quotes and it was made clear that the support for the crusading movement had been poor.109 Therefore, the crusade was presented as God’s way of testing their faith. Interestingly, God was given direct agency in regard to the crusade. It is God that proposes the task and he who tests their faith through the task given. God, in the other texts was more commonly given a passive role and was used more as an authority through which actions or commands of the letters were motivated. In Quantum Predecessores, Audita Tremendi and Post Miserabile, God was given agency, but, in all of these letters, this agency was either in something which had happened in the past, such as a biblical event, or theoretical. Most commonly, the divine authority was claimed through the idea of apostolic succession by which the sitting pope had an authority granted by God.

Furthermore, in addition to providing the faithful with a way to salvation, the text condemned those not willing to participate. Those unwilling were presented with a damning judgment and offered a solution of penance through the crusades. The letter promoted the positive aspects of taking the cross but also contained warnings for those who would deny. With more strength than in earlier letters, the Quia Maior enforced the audience through spiritual and moral

107 King James Bible, “Then said Jesus unto his disciples, if any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.”
108 Quia Maior, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 107; Original in PL 216, p. 817
“Qui vult me subsequi ad coronam, ne quoque subsequatur ad pugnam, quae nunc ad probationem proponitur universis.”
109 Quia Maior, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, p. 107, Crusade and Christendom, “But, since evil now abounds [Rom 5:20] and the charity of many has become cold [Mt 24:12]”; Original in PL 216, p. 817.
justification to take the cross and to be more generous in the support of the crusades or to suffer the repercussions of being idle.

O how great a benefit will result from this cause; how many, converted to penitence, have handed themselves over by the service of the Crucified for the liberation of the Holy Land, as if by suffering martyrdom they have obtained the crown of the glory [cf. 1 Pt 5:4; 1 Thes 2:19], who would perhaps have perished in their iniquities entangled in carnal desires and earthly seductions.\footnote{\textit{Quia Maior}, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, \textit{Crusade and Christendom}, p. 108; Original in PL 216, p. 817}

Apart from the purpose of inspiring people to take the cross, the quote shows some of the rewards for going on a crusade and at the same time it sets some demands on the action of the crusaders as well as the crusading movement. The crusaders predecessors, whilst bravely conquering and defending the Holy Land, obtained a crown of glory. The never fading crown of glory (as it is called in 1 Pt 5:4\footnote{King James Bible, “And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.”}) was a symbolic spiritual reward for the pious which was referred to as a part of the great benefit which was also mentioned in the beginning of the letter. The spiritual reward was, however, not given without certain requirements. In order to suffer martyrdom not only did you have to die on a crusade but you needed to have the right intentions. The thought was to imitate Christ’s selfless sacrifice for humanity, so too should the crusader give his life selflessly in order to obtain martyrdom.

Innocent titles Jesus as the King of Kings, symbolically portraying him as a worldly leader. The letter further used terms such as kingdom, vassals and crime, which gave the text a more secular context. Innocent then explicitly compared God and a worldly king: If a King were to lose his lands to his enemies, and his vassals did not sufficiently aid him, would the King then not punish these vassals? Likewise, then, should God, who has lost his lands, not punish those who have not tried to aid him? Making God out as a worldly ruler might have emphasised the need for assistance among his Christian vassals and made it easier for them to relate to the problem at hand.
Jesus was given an active role as he is the one who would condemn those who showed ingratitude. As stated above, the agency which God and Jesus possessed in this letter was not mirrored in any of the other letters. The fact that Jesus was portrayed as a worldly ruler and that he chose to punish for inaction created a very real and material impression of Him that was not present in any of the other letters.

Further, and with continuing support from biblical quotes, elementary Christian values were emphasised such as love your neighbour and do onto others whatever you wish them to do to you. Like earlier in the letter, these quotations were also put in a crusading context. The neighbours whom were to be loved were the imprisoned crusaders and in order to show them love they had to be rescued from their Muslim Jailors. Similarly to the other papal letters, the Saracens in *Quia Maior* were coupled with negative terms which aimed to guide the audience’s feelings towards them.\(^{112}\)

Also included in the letter was a direct confrontation with the Muslims and more specifically “the pseudo-prophet Muhammad”.\(^{113}\) Muhammad was said to have mislead and seduced many with carnal pleasures but that signs have shown that the end of the Muslims was near. Muhammed was decisively depicted as Satan and the number of the beast, 666, was interpreted by Innocent as the amount of years until the end of the Islamic religion (of which, according to Innocent, over 600 already had passed). This connects both a vision of Islam as Satan’s religion and an apocalyptic theme to the crusade. Both were powerful ideas and both may very well have enticed people to take the cross.

The long *arena* covered several ways of legitimising the crusades through theological and moral motivations. The *narratio*, however, was short and only really covered a single event which is blown up to potentially have great repercussions. The building of a fort on Mount Tabor put the city of Acre at risk of conquest and in case it would fall, it would put the remaining Christian lands at risk. In order to gather a defence of Christianity then, Christians in the west were recommended to solve their disagreements and unite against the common enemy, the enemy of the church. The short *narratio* was followed by an equally short

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\(^{113}\) *Quia Maior*, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 108; Original in PL 216, p. 818 “Machometus pseudopropheta”.

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*dispositio* which contained the call to arms; “Therefore, dearly beloved sons, changing dissensions and fratricidal jealousies into treaties of peace and goodwill, let us gird ourselves to come to the aid of the Crucified”.\(^\text{114}\) The *dispositio* emphasised the need for Christian rulers to stop fighting amongst themselves and bond together to fight the common enemy.

By the apostolic succession, the power of God was invoked and full forgiveness of sins was offered to all who confess and take the cross in person and at their own expense. However, Innocent also offered the possibility of supporting the crusades in other ways. There was a possibility of economically supporting someone else to go, or to take the cross being supported by someone else, and still receive full pardon for sins, similarly to what was offered in the *Post Miserabile*. A suitable donation for the crusade would also grant part in this remission. The remission of sins had been an important motivator throughout the entire crusading movement and here it was presented with the authority of God. Most people in Europe during the early 13\(^{\text{rd}}\) century were Catholics and even though there were some deviating Christian communities (such as the Cathars\(^\text{115}\)) most people accepted the notion of apostolic succession. This was one of the aspects which made the papal seat a strategic position which in turn allowed the letters to assert authority and power over the Christian subjects.

The *sanctio* covered information on material rewards, renewed restrictions on trading with the Muslims established during the 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) Lateran council, threats of ecclesiastical isolation for Jews who demanded interest on loans as well as requests to the worldly leaders to provide a certain number of fighters with the necessary funds. The worldly leaders could be excused from personally taking the cross but were asked to contribute with sufficient financial support for the crusading forces. Also emphasised in the *sanctio* was something indicated earlier in the letter, that the intended target of the crusade was to be the Holy Land. For that reason all indulgence given in the crusade against the Moors in Spain and the heretics in southern France was revoked. This was an attempt to consolidate the crusading forces, instead of fighting on several fronts it would now focus all its efforts in one place.

\(^{114}\) *Quia Maior*, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 109; Original in PL 216, p. 818

\(^{115}\) The Cathars were a group of Christians who did not accept the Catholic dogma and was therefore branded as pagans by the church.
After the sanctio followed another command, this time directed towards the Christian communities. It was proclaimed that in order to succeed in this undertaking, there was a need to trust in divine mercy rather than human powers.116 Therefore, a monthly procession was to be held where the salvation bringing cross was exhorted. With prayers the people was going to spiritually support the crusading efforts, these processions were also to be combined with fasting and alms.117 Furthermore, every day after the mass, an additional prayer would sound in the churches. According to Kurt Villads Jensen the purpose of the regular sermons proposed by Innocent was in order to make it absolutely clear, to every Christian, who the enemy was and whom they ought to fight for the glory of God.118 The prayer which asks for the returning of the Holy Land to Christian worship meant that every day people would be reminded of the crusades. Making the crusade a part of the everyday life of the Christian was both a way of retaining more financial support for the crusades (they were given the option to donate specifically to the crusades in these processions) but also, and perhaps more importantly, it raised the awareness of the crusades to impact the everyday life of all Christians in Europe.

The Quia Maior was written quite differently from the earlier papal letters. It was strongly worded and there was an excessive amount of threats and harsh terms not only for those who fought the church but also against those who acted passively or did not make enough effort to support the crusades. Anyone who was associated with the deeds of those who would go against the church was subject to the same harsh treatment. In the same decisive tone, the secular leaders were given duties to uphold under likewise harsh threats. The threatening nature of the letter was surely a powerful approach and the only letter written more decisively and with more threats was Innocents next letter, the Ad Liberandam.

2.6. Innocent III – Ad Liberandam

In 1215, after or during the final stages of the 4th Lateran council, Innocent finalised his call for a 5th crusade. This letter renewed many of the ideas which had been presented two years earlier in the Quia Maior but the difference was that now Innocent had accumulated the authority of the council to back up his letter. The letter was not a recantation of that which

116 Quia Maior, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 111; Original in PL 216, p. 820.  
117 Quia Maior, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 111-2; Original in PL 216, p. 820.  
118 Jensen, Korstügen, p. 235.
had been decided at the council but it does reference a couple of times that a particular point
has the endorsement of the council.

*Ad Liberandam*, was not structured like a normal papal letter, it does not start with a *saluatio*,
instead the letter started with a reference to the 4th Lateran council through the authority of
which it was proclaimed that on June 1217 the crusaders were to set off to the Holy Land.
Organisational aspects were addressed next, for example whether the transportation would be
made by sea or by land. Ecclesiastical support and council was tended to and those clerics
who were taking the journey with the crusaders were commanded to pray diligently and to
avoid offending God.119 An indication was made that it was expected that the crusaders might
fall into lapses of sin, a state which should be remedied through penance and presentation of
humility in appearance as well as lifestyle.120 The focus on spiritual purity, through the
appointment of clerics and their specific function for the crusaders, were in order to better
prepare the crusaders for waging war against the enemies of the faith.

So that, thus armed with spiritual and material weapons, they may fight the more securely
against the enemies of the faith; not presuming in their own power, but hoping in the divine
virtue.121

The idea of arming the crusaders with spiritual as well as material weapons was an essential
part of the crusading ideology. The original theory of the material and the spiritual swords
was from the late 5th century when Pope Gelasius I wrote to the emperor about the purpose of
the two powers that ruled the world, the material and the spiritual powers. The theory was
revived by pope Gregory VII, who attempted to launch a crusade to the Holy Land in 1074.
The theory was popularised again by Bernard of Clairvaux who used it both as a way of
deterring members of the clergy to take the cross because they were already a waging the

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119 *Innocent III, Ad Liberandam*, transl. in Henderson, *Select historical documents*, p. 338; Original in
bullarium Romanum*, p. 301.
bullarium Romanum*, p. 301 “Ut sic spiritualibus et materialibus armis muniti, adversus hostes Fidei securius
praelientur, non de sua praesumentes potentia, sed de divina virtute sperantes.”
spiritual war against evil but also in with regards to the Knights Templar whom he concluded had the privilege to wield both swords, for the glory of God.  

The support of the council for the launch of a new crusade meant that Ad Liberandam was written in an even more commanding way than Innocent’s earlier crusading letters. In the case of delays, it was written that the prelates of the church were to diligently work the worldly leaders toward upholding their vows and those who were strictly unwilling to uphold their vows risked being excommunicated. Next was commanded to patriarchs, archbishops, bishops and abbots that they were to proclaim to the secular leaders that those who shall not in person take the cross shall donate soldiers and their necessary expenses for the remission of their sins. This was also written in the Quia Maior two years earlier (which was also referenced in the letter) but the difference was that now it was written down as a command, those who do not take the cross shall donate a certain amount.  

Also this was to be enforced by high ranking Christians such as archbishops and abbots. This emphasises the authority of the council which allowed the letter to be more forceful when endorsing these commands.

With the same vigour, any refusal to donate to the church was to be protested by the clergy. The threat presented, like in the Quia Maior, was that at the final judgment they would be harshly sentenced. Christ died for the sins of man and it was the duty of all Christians to serve Him, it was by his gift that they lived, were sustained and redeemed, therefore, all Christians were beseeched to take the cross or to donate for the cause. The suffering of Christ and the asserting of a Christian duty were tools which had been used both by Innocent and by earlier popes and in the case of Ad Liberandam it gained a powerful effect as it was not only threatened with repercussions on paper but Innocent actually delegated clergy to back up these threats in person for those who would refuse.

Like in Post Miserabile, the burdens of the crusades were claimed to be shared by the church and for the first time in the crusading letters, a specific number for the support was given in the form of thirty thousand pounds and three thousand marks of silver. Some other services

122 Chapman, Alice, Sacred authority and temporal power in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux, Turnhout (Belgium 2013) p. 187.
123 Ad Liberandam, transl. in Henderson, Select historical documents, p. 339; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 301.
124 Ad Liberandam, transl. in Henderson, Select historical documents, p. 339; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 301.
the church provided are also mentioned, such as the continuous support which has been provided for the Holy Land.¹²⁵ The use of specific numbers probably originated from the council as well, even though there was no specific mention of it in the letter. The purpose seems to have been to make the church’s contribution to the crusade undisputable. For the same reason, it was also proclaimed, through the decree of the council, that the entire clergy, prelates and subordinates were commanded to pay the twentieth part of their revenue. Similarly, the cardinals and brothers of the holy Roman church were commanded to pay a tenth to the support of the crusade. In the same way as with the secular rulers, these commands are endorsed with strict and harsh treatments for those who would disobey or knowingly commit fraud.¹²⁶

Further, the material rewards for taking the cross are presented. Some of which are recognisable from earlier letters such as protection of possessions and absolving of interest on loans. There are, however, two main differences presented in the Ad Liberandum which have not been present in earlier letters. Firstly, crusaders (after a year of service) were exempted from all taxes and talliages and secondly, secular forces were now appointed to make sure that any interest forcefully claimed by Jews was in the same manner reclaimed.¹²⁷ The exemption of taxes was probably just an added material benefit of taking the cross (the power of which should not be underestimated). The use of secular powers as ‘muscle’ when the rights of the crusader needed to be enforced was probably a way of reorganising the way that these benefits were satisfactory upheld. Also mentioned in the letter were repercussions for the prelates who neglect to see to the justice of the crusaders and their families. This indicates that these material protections (which had been offered since the announcement of the first crusade) had, at times, been neglected. This might also have been the result of insufficient support from secular authorities which would explain why they are now specifically commanded to compel the Jews not to incur any interest.

Those who committed piracy against those who travel to and from the Holy Land were threatened with ecclesiastical severity. Also, those who were unwilling to disturb the impious

¹²⁷ Ad Liberandum, transl. in Henderson, Select historical documents, p. 341; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 302.
actions were to be treated just as harshly, implying that idleness was as much of a crime against God as evil actions. Regarding trading with the Saracens, the same threats were made as was done in the *Quia Maior*, those who would trade in arms, iron, wood, or anything else which would benefit the Saracens in their struggle against the crusaders, would be sentenced with excommunication. Anyone who was found to be guilty of collaborating with the Saracens was subject to being enslaved and stripped of all possession. These sentences were to be renewed every Sunday and those found guilty were to be punished in a way which prevented others from having the same audacity.128

One interesting difference between the *Ad Liberandam* and the earlier letters is quite noticeable. The commands, threats and prohibitions made by Innocent stretched over the rules of what was normally governed by secular forces. In the later parts of the letter, it is written that boats from maritime cities were forbidden to make journeys to lands controlled by the Saracens in order to make sure that the ships are available for those who shall undertake the crusading journey, and in the same way, tournaments were forbidden because it impaired the organisation of the crusade.129 The appointment of secular rulers to enforce the justice of the crusaders was also an example of this. Perhaps most apparent of the great authority this letter claimed was the demands put on every secular ruler to contribute to the crusade under the threat of ecclesiastical repercussions. The necessity of mutually observed peace among Christian kingdoms was proclaimed and a command was issued that a general peace was to last for at least four years. Failing to adhere to the commands was to put oneself in the risk of repercussions of ecclesiastical and secular powers combined.

But if by chance they despise the ecclesiastical censure, not without reason shall they fear lest, through the authority of the church, the secular power may be brought to bear against them as against disturbers of what pertains to the Crucified One.130

As a final section of the letter, the indulgences were once again repeated to the audience, in the same way as it was done in the *Quia Maior*. The benefactors were given the opportunity

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130 *Ad Liberandam*, transl. in Henderson, *Select historical documents*, p. 343; Original in Taurinorum, *Magnum bullarium Romanum*, p. 303 “Quod si forte censuram ecclesiasticam vilipenderint, poterunt non immerito formidare, ne per auctoritatem Ecclesiae, circa eos, tanquam perturbatores negotii Crucifixi, saecularis potentia inducatur.”
to take the cross and finance it themselves, finance someone else’s journey or be financed by someone else. In the same way as before they were also given the opportunity to donate financially to the cause which would grant them remission according to the “quality of their aid and the depth of their devotion”\textsuperscript{131}.

2.7. Comparison – Claims of authority and the use of power

There was one approach in which the papacy could claim superiority towards the worldly rulers, and that was through God and what Foucault called pastoral power. The use of religious expressions, spiritual benefits and ecclesiastical threats was prominent in the papal letters and these were areas where the papacy held great authority as the head of the church and by the apostolic succession. Even Smith acknowledges that the theological preamble (the \textit{arenga}) of the letters was the place where the papacy could take a proactive role in the administration of the crusades.\textsuperscript{132} Based on the abundant existence of empowering religious expressions in these texts, however, there is reason to argue that the papacy could be much more proactive and powerful than has been claimed by Smith.

Even as head of the church, the importance of salvation, individualisation, a willingness to sacrifice oneself for the community and knowing the mind of the audience shines through in the letters.\textsuperscript{133} The first two of these characteristics are apparent in the letters use of indulgence (salvation) and spiritual as well as physical support through appointed preachers and administrators (willingness to sacrifice for the group). Further, individualisation is incorporated in the letters, through indulgence, material protection and penance. Knowledge and control over the conscience of the audience is done by directing the audience’s feelings towards the pagans but also by exhorting that ‘sins of man’ was the reason for the negative events surrounding the crusades, such as the fall of Edessa and later the fall of Jerusalem.

2.7.1. Authority

The authority claimed as pope, and explicitly proclaimed in most of these letters, was through the idea of apostolic succession. It was an integral part of the papacy and that which allowed

\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Ad Liberandam}, transl. in Henderson, Select historical documents, p. 343; Original in Taurinorum, \textit{Magnum bullarium Romanum}, p. 303 “iuxta qualitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum”.

\textsuperscript{132} Smith, \textit{Curia and Crusade}, p. 260.

\textsuperscript{133} Characteristics of pastoral power in Foucault, \textit{Subject and Power}, p. 783; Also covered in the Methodology chapter.
the pope to act as a spiritual ruler over the Christian world. All Christians in Western Europe accepted the papal claim and it is upon that acceptance that the apostolic authority rests. As mentioned earlier, the power of the strategic position was dependent on the belief of the Christians. Without the belief of its subjects, the position of the papacy would not be so favourable. Their faith and their trust in the church and the papacy granted the popes the ability to wield pastoral power.

By proclaiming the apostolic succession and the power of God, the claim made by the popes was also one that no one else could make. Considering Bernard of Clairvaux’s explanation of how the words of man are useless but that the words of God have meaning, this would allow the apostolic successors even greater authority to claim the power of God in their letters. Their words were in direct succession derived from God and the letters would therefore be considered by many to have the value of the words of God.

The use of the Bible was also a way for the authors to legitimise and motivate the claims made in the dispositio. The Bible was the most read, exhorted, and studied book of the Middle Ages and every Christian had regular contact with the contents of the book through church visits and sermons. In modern times, it is not uncommon to claim that the Bible is partly or fully a fictional work, however, that was not the case in the Middle Ages. The Bible was a work of great authority which contained the truths on everything from the creation to the apocalypse, and the Bible was frequently used in the papal letters.

In the letters, biblical quotes were most frequently used in the arenga, the theological preamble of the letter. In the cases where the letters had an arenga, this section contained the spiritual authority and the religious motivations behind the letters. That is not to say that these were not expressed in other sections of the letter but they were mostly prominent in the preamble and then used as reminders of that authority in the other sections. As this section was the first part after the salutatio the authority that the letter rested upon was proclaimed early, before any claims or commands were made. Less important letters written by the popes and the curia could use templates for the arenga. However, no such uses have been identified and it is likely that these letters were of too great importance to have the arenga copied from earlier letters. Of course, the letters had similar wording at places because they all promised more or less the same spiritual benefits and material protection but they were definitely not copies of earlier letters. Innocent III utilised the biblical quotes much more often than the
earlier authors, in his letters the biblical quotes were also impressively imbedded in the text and they were often followed up by an interpretation of the quoted section. In these interpretations, the point could be emphasised and the authority of the holy text could be directed towards the crusades.

The Ad Liberandam was written very decisively and contained a language which was harsher and more commanding than any of the earlier crusading letters. The letter was very direct with what was to be done for the planning of the crusade and what was expected by spiritual and secular leaders, it also included threats with both spiritual and material repercussions. In many ways the Ad Liberandam differentiates itself from the other crusading letters and this can be explained by the great authority which the letter claimed. All of the empowering attributes which have been mentioned above was included in the letter, the claim of just war, apostolic succession, the idea of the suffering of Christ and the testing of faith as well as using Jerusalem and the Holy Land as a symbol for the crusading movement. However, that which differentiates Ad Liberandam was the backing of the 4th Lateran council. The council had been assembled per the request of Innocent and during its session, many things concerning the 5th crusade was decided. At several points in the letter, the backing of the council on certain topics is directly referenced, including the crusade itself and its desire to liberate the Holy Land.\textsuperscript{134} The impact of the council on the letter and its contents will be examined in greater detail both in the chapter on the privileges and on the intimidation and it will be made clear that the authority granted by the council allowed Innocent to express authority over both the spiritual and the material realm.

\textbf{2.7.2. Religious legitimacy}

Jerusalem was an important aspect in most of the crusading letters, much attributed to the significance that the city had in the Bible. The only letter in which Jerusalem is not mentioned was the \textit{Divini Dispensatione} and that is understandable since the purpose of the letter was to legitimise the launch of the northern crusade against the Wends and not the Holy Land. The rest of the crusading letters mention Jerusalem and the city was used as an important symbol for the crusading movement. In 1099, the 1\textsuperscript{st} crusade claimed Jerusalem for the Christians and

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\textsuperscript{134} Ad Liberandam, transl. in Select historical documents, p. 337; Original in Taurinomrum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 300.
\end{flushright}
this event was mentioned in Eugene III:s *Quantum Predecessores*. In the letter, the city was mentioned as the city where the saviour was willing to sacrifice himself for Christians and where Christians in turn sacrificed their life for Christ. The loss of the city in 1187 became an integral part of the crusading movement. The idea which was first proclaimed in Gregory VIII:s *Audita Tremendi* for the 3rd crusade and was then repeated in the following letters by Innocent III, was the liberation of Jerusalem and the return of the city to Christian rule. Jerusalem became a symbol as the goal of the crusades and although it had not yet been reclaimed by the Christians in 1215, after two failed attempts, Innocent III once again called for a crusade to unshackle the Holy Land and the Holy City.

The reason why Jerusalem held such an important part in Christian faith was because of the biblical stories related to the city. Proclaiming The suffering of Jesus was a way for the letters to assert the idea that all Christians ought to be willing to sacrifice their life for Christ just as he sacrificed his life for them. All the crusading letters except for *Divini Dispensatione* utilised this idea to invoke a sense of crusading duty among the Christians of Western Europe. This idea was emphasised by the idea of martyrdom for those who would die on the crusade. Suffering martyrdom was a way to give everything for God and the spiritual benefits for suffering this fate was great for the martyr, it was a shortcut to the eternal life. The suffering of Christ emphasises the second characteristic of the pastoral power, the willingness to sacrifice for the group. In this case, the idea of sacrifice was symbolical and not actually a willingness to sacrifice by the one who wielded the actual power but considering that the stories of the Bible were true in the Middle Ages it was really a sacrifice made by the highest authority within Christianity. The fact that Christ was willing to sacrifice for the group implies a debt which could now be repaid.

The way in which the Christians were to repay Christ’s sacrifice was through doing penance and participate in a crusade. The crusades were described as a possibility granted to the Christians by God to test their faith. This aspect is connected with another aspect of the crusade letters which will be examined under the chapter about intimidation, namely that the cause of all the bad events were to be blamed on the sins of man. The crusades were a way, granted by God, for Christians to redeem their sinful actions and as a reward for taking on this journey, spiritual rewards and material protection was granted by the popes. This atonement was to be coupled with both inner contrition and external penance for the sins which had been committed. The inner contrition was heavily emphasised in the letters by Innocent III as a
condition in order to obtain the spiritual benefits of doing external penance (fighting the enemies of Christ). However, the idea that in order to cleanse the evil pagans, an inner cleansing must first take place was present also in the *Quantum Predecessores* and the *Audita Tremendi*.\(^{135}\) The inner contrition gives the letters a personal impact on the audience, going back to the Foucauldian characteristics for the pastoral power, it shows an intimate knowledge of the mind of the audience and the power to guide it towards performing both inner and external penance. The testing of faith also has clear connections to two other characteristics of pastoral power; it had the goal of leading to salvation, and penance had a clear individualistic trait through emphasis on inner contrition.

The final way in which the crusading letters were spiritually legitimised was through the proclamation of the crusades as a defence of Christendom, thereby putting them within the frame of being just wars. During the crusades, it was a way to legitimise the violent actions that had to be committed. The only letter which does not explicitly indicate that the endeavour would be a defence of Christianity was the *Divini Dispensatione*. Instead, the northern crusade was proclaimed to subject the pagans to the Christian faith and to promote the faith among them.\(^{136}\) According to Fonnesberg-Schmidt, this could potentially have been a breach of current canon law but it is also possible that this was overlooked as the asserted view on pagans was negative and that the promotion of the faith was considered a defence against the spread of heathendom. The idea of just war was used to legitimise violent actions committed by Christians and in the remaining papal letters the crusades were proclaimed as a reaction to the aggressive actions already taken by the pagans. The *Quantum Predecessores* used the fall of Edessa to legitimise the 2\(^{nd}\) crusade, in *Audita Tremendi* and *Post Miserabile* it was the fall of Jerusalem that legitimised the 3\(^{rd}\) and 4\(^{th}\) crusades respectively. The liberation of Jerusalem and the protection of the Holy Land was used in both *Quia Maior* and *Ad Liberandam* to legitimise the proclamation of the 5\(^{th}\) crusade.

\(^{135}\) *Quantum Predecessores*, transl. *Select historical documents*, p. 336, "...shall obtain absolution for all his sins which with a humble and contrite heart he shall confess..."; *Audita Tremendi*, transl. *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 7, "For this reason, everyone must understand and act accordingly, so that by atoning for our sins, we may be converted to the Lord by penance and works of piety and we may first alter in our lives the evil that we do."

\(^{136}\) Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 32.
2.7.3. Privileges

Another way in which power was exhorted in the crusading letters was through the granting of privileges. Mainly, this concerned the spiritual benefits and the material protection granted by the popes for the ones who would go on a crusade. In *Quantum Predecessores*, Eugene III proclaimed that the indulgence given would be the same as it was instituted by Urban II and the 1st crusade\(^\text{137}\) and onward from that point, it did not change in any major way. The only thing that changed regarding indulgence over the period was where it was granted. Eugene III announced plenary indulgence for those who fought the Wends in the north, however, in the following crusades, indulgence was only partly granted for the crusaders in the Baltic. Innocent also revoked indulgences in Spain and southern France, the difference in offered indulgence created a hierarchy between the crusades.

Throughout the entire crusading movement indulgence was given, in full or partially, to those who would participate in the crusade in order to do penance. However, in order to do penance, an internal repentance had to be made as well. The most explicit expression of this can be found in the *Post Miserabile*.

... in the case of those who, in their own persons, and at their own expense, shall undergo the labors of this expedition, we do grant them plenary pardon for those sins for which they have done penance with voice and heart and promise them the blessing of everlasting salvation as the reward of the just.\(^\text{138}\)

Indulgence and the remission of sin was offered during every crusade but, as we can see in the quoted section of the *Post Miserabile*, the remission was not granted without some demands on the crusader. Evidently, the crusader had to undertake the journey in order to get the spiritual benefits but more importantly, the journey had to be undertaken for the right purpose. This is also evident in the *Divini Dispensatione*. Eugene III proclaimed the purpose of the crusade (to promote Christendom) but he also imposed regulations on the crusaders, for example they were not allowed to take money from the pagans in order to leave them

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\(^{138}\) *Post Miserabile*, transl. in Crusade and Christendom, p. 35; Original in Stubbs, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, p. 74 “omnibus qui laborem hujus itineris in personis propriis subierint et expensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis egerint penitentiam, veniam indulgemos, et in retributione justorum salutis aterne pollicemur augmentum.”
alone.\textsuperscript{139} This prohibition probably originated from a fear that the crusade was going to be used as a way for the northern Christian rulers to empower their positions and gain territory or resources. The proper intentions were also necessary for the individual crusader in order to reap the spiritual benefits. The crusader had to have pure intentions and no spiritual rewards were granted for those who fought for selfish gains. The idea of the proper attitude and the right intentions had existed as early as with Urban II who laid out precise conditions for the indulgence with the purpose to show that it was not the deeds but rather the personal attitude that was rewarded with indulgence.\textsuperscript{140} The different attitude was also how the crusaders were distinguished from worldly knights, who fought for a king or a prince. The crusaders were spiritual warriors who fought only for God and the church.

The personal undertaking of the crusading journey was accompanied, in Innocent’s letters, with the idea that plenary indulgence could also be granted to those who would finance someone else to take the cross in their place. This enabled those who were in any way unable to personally undertake the journey to support someone else to take the cross and still reap the spiritual benefits. Donating money was also an option, however, this only granted indulgence based on the amount given.\textsuperscript{141} This option did not, however, exist in the earlier crusades where the individual pilgrimage was more emphasised. Indulgence could only be granted by the pope and so it was a way to assert power which no one else could utilise and it was strictly focused on salvation, which also places it within the frames of pastoral power.

Unlike the indulgence, the material protection which was exhorted in all the crusading letters was not something which could be granted solely from the church. Nonetheless, the protection was offered as a benefit for taking the cross and it was most likely a factor which helped the recruitment numbers. The protection included the crusader’s possessions and a remission of any interest that they were due to pay on loans. The pronounced repercussions against those who would violate the church’s protection were to be isolated by the church and all Christian society.

\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Divini Dispensatione}, transl. by Villads Jensen, “Og vi forbyder med samme autoritet og under bandlysningstraf, at nogen modtager penge eller anden løsesum fra disse hedninge, for at lade dem forblive i deres vantero”; Original in PL 180, p. 1203.
\textsuperscript{140} Hehl, Ernst-Dieter, “War, peace and the Christian order” in \textit{The new Cambridge medieval history}, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Quia Maior}, transl. in \textit{Crusade and Christendom}, p. 109 “And we desire and concede that all who donate a suitable amount from their wealth for the support of the Holy Land may share in this remission according to the amount of their support and the depth of their devotion.”; Original in PL 216, p. 818-9.
By the time of the 5th crusade, the tone of the crusading letters had become harsher and more threats and demands were made from the papacy. Innocent enforces in his last letter, the Ad Liberandam, that secular forces were to intervene with those who would violate the ecclesiastical protection given to the crusaders. The letter also proclaims, in a similar fashion, that all those involved with piracy against crusaders travelling the Mediterranean were to be banished. Further, those who would trade with the Saracens in material in wood, arms or iron were to be punished with the loss of their possession and those who would capture them were allowed to take them as slaves.142 Significantly, the crusading letter from 1215, enlisted secular powers and worldly repercussions on those who would violate the sanctity of the crusades. Also included in the Ad Liberandam was a material benefit which was not included in any of the earlier letters, namely that those who took the cross and served for at least one year were granted exemption from taxes. These aspects emphasise the authoritative power that the letter wielded not only in the religious but also in the secular realm.

The decisive language used in the Ad Liberandam shows the prominent position in which the letter was written. With the pastoral power, the strategic position of the papal seat and the backing of the Lateran council, the letter imposed commands and repercussions spanning over both the secular and the spiritual. The material protection offered before 1215 was mainly enforced by ecclesiastical repercussions. With Ad Liberandam, however, this trend was altered and the pope was able to invoke more secular repercussions to ensure that the protection was not violated. The material protection offered in the letters does not fall under any of the characteristic traits of the pastoral power which indicates that this way of wielding power was not limited to the church. The way in which the pastoral power was emphasised was through pronounced ecclesiastical repercussions. The fact that Innocent includes secular repercussion, enforced by secular authorities in 1215 indicates that the pastoral power of the papal seat had gained further authority after the Lateran council where both spiritual and secular rulers were present.

142 Ad Liberandam, transl. in Select historical documents, p. 342; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum Bullarium Romanum, p. 303.
2.7.4. Intimidation

Intimidation was present in all the crusading letters and in a similar way, threats were used in almost all of the papal letters, the exception being *Quantum Predecessores*. These threats were usually of a spiritual nature and, which exception of the *Ad Liberandam*, they also had ecclesiastical repercussions. Among the common threat was excommunication for Christians who disobeyed or violated the sanctions set by the church, and a sort of spiritual embargo on the non-Christians (mainly Jews). This spiritual embargo meant an isolation from Christian society and the Christians who would in any way deal with the ones isolated were again under the threat of excommunication. Suffering excommunication or other ‘ecclesiastical severities’ would mean that the person would be unable to achieve salvation through the church, making it a powerful tool to use in order to coerce people to take the cross or in other ways actively support the crusading movement to avoid repercussions. Inaction was considered just as bad as an evil act and was proclaimed to have the same repercussions as the one who act poorly.

Not all intimidations were in the form of threats, the idea that the sins of man were the cause of all evil was an idea presented in all of the letters. This idea was not a threat but it came with an implicit idea that if the sinners do not repent, more bad would happen. This idea was especially noticeable in the *Audita Tremendi*. In the long sermon-like *arenga* of the text the audience was told that the events which preceded the letter (the fall of Jerusalem) was caused by the iniquity of an unworthy people. The sinfulness of man was proclaimed to be the reason for the events, as opposed to the alternative that it was an unjust act of God, which of course was unthinkable. The idea that the sins of man was the cause of all bad events was firmly established in the other crusading letters as well and it created a personal aspect in the letter which called for repentance of both the individual and the community. The need for a change is concretely pointed out in the acts and behaviour of secular leaders.

Another intimidating aspect of the letters is present in the *Quia Maior*, namely that Innocent in this text revokes the indulgence for crusades fought in southern France and in Spain. It is stated in the letter that the reason for this was that the western crusades had already succeeded

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144 Examples of this can be found in the *Audita Tremendi* and the *Quia Maior*.
145 *Quia Maior*, transl. in *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 110; Original in PL 216, p. 820.
in their goals and that they were now obsolete. The purpose for this action, however, was most likely in order to focus the crusading efforts towards the Holy Land and Jerusalem. The spiritual benefits were perhaps the most powerful tool of the papal seat (as no one other than the pope could grant indulgence) and revoking indulgences in certain areas was likely an effective way to focus the crusades back on the Holy Land.

When comparing the six crusading letters it is interesting to note that the amount of threats and intimidations made in these letters became more and more noticeable over time. In the *Quantum Predecessores*, no direct threats were made but rather, only minor intimidations were present, mainly through indicating that the French soldier’s prominence as brave and strong fighters might be shaken if they did not respond to the call.\(^{146}\) It becomes more apparent in *Audita Tremendi* with the letter’s emphasis on the sins of Christians as the cause of all negative events and also the blame put on secular rulers for their impure behaviour. In the *Post Miserabile* a section of the letter is written from the perspective of an imaginary Muslim, a section which provokes the Christians both through their religion and by proclaiming the cowardice of the Christian kings and princes. The demands and threats made in the *Quia Maior* and the *Ad Liberandam* were even more blatant and especially the latter letter was written from what appears to have been a commanding position where threats and intimidations reached beyond ecclesiastical into the secular realm.

### 2.7.5. Depiction of the ‘pagan’

In addition to the aspects of power which have already been presented, the ability to affect the minds of the Christian subjects was apparent in the letters presentation of the pagans. In all the letters, the depiction of the pagans was clearly affected by the tendencies of the authors. Amongst depictions such as ‘filthy Saracens’ and ‘ungodly’ were ideas that the Muslims were a cult devoted to Satan. *Quia Maior* wrote about Muhammed as a pseudo-prophet and used biblical references to explain how the time had come when the Islamic religion would fall. The portrayal of the pagan was consistently coupled with negative attributes and accusations were made concerning both murdering of Christians as well as disrespect towards God.

\(^{146}\) *Quantum Predecessores*, transl. in *Select historical documents*, p. 335; Original in Doeberl, *Monumenta germaniae selecta*, p. 42.
Satan was the source of all evil and he seduced men and moved them away from the Christian path. In the *Quia Maior*, Innocent depicted the Islamic religion as being a cult devoted to Satan. With this assumption, and through the authority of the Bible (Apoc. 13:18\textsuperscript{147}) it was proclaimed that the end of the Muslims was to be 666 years after the appearance of the religion, of which 600 years had already passed.

In the *Audita Tremendi* the accusation directed toward the pagans was that their objective was to erase God’s name from the Holy Land. In the *Post Miserable*, in an even clearer and more provoking way the intentions and motivations of the Muslims were proclaimed. In the letter, the author took the liberty to write from the perspective of the Muslims and claimed both military and spiritual superiority over the superstitious Christians.\textsuperscript{148} In addition to the military losses of the crusaders and insults cast on both the Christian God and on the secular rulers of Europe, the ‘Muslims’ declared that they ought to bring the war to Europe to destroy both the Christian name and memory.

This would have roused anger and fear among the Christian audience but it would have also advanced a probably already existing resentment towards the insolent Muslims. Especially noticeable in the *Post Miserable* but also present in the other letters was the clear purpose to rouse negative feelings towards the pagans. Throughout the letters the Christians were continuously exposed to the pagans in a negative way and it served to direct the audience toward a collective feeling of dislike or hatred of the pagans.

Creating this image of the pagans in contrast to the Christians meant to strengthen the resolve of the Christians but it also guided their feelings towards the pagans as a seducing and dangerous ungodly people. In addition to using this to legitimise the at times horrific actions taken against these pagans, this would have served to affect the people’s mindset and created a collective hatred towards pagans within the Christian society. As is one of the characteristics of pastoral power.

\textsuperscript{147} King James Bible, “Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six.”

\textsuperscript{148} *Post Miserable*, transl. in *Crusade and Christendom*, p. 32-33; Original in Stubbs, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, p. 71-72.
3. Conclusion

The analysis of the uses of power, through the theoretical framework provided by Foucault has brought to light the different ways in which power was used in papal letters. Focusing on that which is written and analysing it through concepts and ideas presented by Foucault has proven to be a fruitful approach in order to enlighten medieval power relations. Five distinct uses of power have been identified in the papal letters studied here, these are claims of authority and of legitimacy, granting of privileges, aspects of intimidation and the depiction of the pagan.

The concept of pastoral power and its four characteristics, being focus on salvation, individualistic traits, willingness to sacrifice for the group and an ability to know its subject’s mindset and to influence it can be seen in all the papal letters. This power has also proven to be what distinguishes the papal power from that of the secular rulers of the time. Although the papal letters written by Eugene before and during the 2nd crusade were mainly focused on the rewards and the positive aspects of doing penance and taking the cross, the coming letters by Gregory VIII as well as Innocent III were all written in a decisive way and with threats and repercussions for those who would refuse. This became even more apparent in the Ad Liberandam where the threats and repercussions are of both spiritual and secular nature.

3.1. Religious claims of authority and legitimacy

Auctoritate nobis a Deo concessa
By the authority granted to us by God

The claimed authority in the letters was shown through apostolic succession, use of biblical quotes and, specifically in Ad Liberandam, authority was claimed by the backing of the 4th Lateran council. The papal authority was embodied through using and interpreting religious ideas such as Jerusalem as a symbol for Christian effort in the Holy Land, ideas of the suffering of Christ, testing of faith as well as the ideas of Just- and Holy war in order to legitimise the crusades. The power claimed in the papal letters were of ecclesiastical nature which is understandable since this was the area where the papal seat had special and

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149 Quantum Predecessores, transl. in Henderson, Select historical documents p. 335; Original in Doeberl, Monumenta germaniae selecta, p. 42.
undisputed power. No one else could claim apostolic succession or the strategic position which it granted. This position gave the popes possibilities to cite biblical passages and offer suitable interpretations of these. In turn, this meant that the popes had the ability to know and influence the minds of their Christian subjects. The spiritual authority was often proclaimed in the arenga and then repeated throughout the letter. In Divini Dispensatione and Ad Liberandam, however, there is no set arenga and the theological sanctifications and spiritual authority was instead proclaimed throughout the letter.

The use of just war and the protection of Christendom was an effective way of legitimising the crusading movement but how did it get such prominence? Modern scholars have argued that the start of the Christian crusade was not with the 1st crusade (which, according to Urban II, was a response towards Muslim aggression against Orthodox Christians and the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor) but rather that the beginning of the wars between Christians and Muslims date back further than that. One significant event was the conquest of former Muslim Sicily by the Normans in the middle of the 11th century. However, the knowledge we have today were not commonly known during the Middle Ages. At the times of the crusades, knowledge of the crusades came from returning crusaders, crusade chronicles (which was only available to those who could read) and the papal letters. The latter was surely the most widespread of the sources as well as the most authoritative. Because of this, the information given in these letters, both regarding the acts of the crusaders, as well as the Muslims (especially considering Innocent III’s outspoken recantation of the Muslims view on the Christians in Post Miserabile) was likely considered to be the truth. The interpretation of reality created in the papal letters could then be used in order to legitimise further crusading actions.

Riley-Smith states that the crusades thrived on chaos and that since all Christian wars required justification, the loss of Christian life and lands were a prerequisite for the continued crusading effort. This statement correlates with the image provided in the papal letters, the fall of Edessa and Jerusalem respectively, were portrayed as horrific scenes. In both the Audita Tremendi and the Post Miserabile, where the fall of Jerusalem was in focus, the event was intertwined with the arenga of the letters. The effect was that the event (the chaos) was used both as a moral justification (to save their Christian brothers) and as a spiritual

legitimisation of the crusading supported by biblical quotes. St Augustine’s idea of just war, however, claimed that in order for a war to be just, it only had to be divinely sanctified, and so the ‘chaos’ would not be necessary. However, the idea that just wars avenge injuries seems to have been more important in the 12th century as it was deemed necessary in all of the letters except for *Divini Dispensatione* to legitimise the war as a defence. The need to justify the crusades as a defence of Christianity seems to have been a way for the papacy to combine the ideas of religious and moral justifications of war with the pacifistic ideal of the Christian religion.

The idea that the individual is created through power relations coupled with the individualistic trait of the pastoral power creates another legitimising aspect of the papal letters. The letters have shown in several ways that they had knowledge of its audience’s mindset and the ability to influence it. This ability not only creates the individual through intimate knowledge of the individuals mind but was also a way of implicitly legitimising crusading efforts. The blame put on the Christian subjects through the idea of the sins of man is an example of such an approach. The audience’s mind was influenced by the proclamation that the sins of the man were the cause of the unpleasant events that preceded the crusade and the need for a new crusade was proclaimed to be because of these events. Similarly, the depiction of pagans can be considered to have the same effect, the negative thoughts and attributes related to the pagans were a way to ensure that the audience knew that the pagans were bad and that the crusaders, Jerusalem, God and all the other Christian aspects written about in these letters were positively related too.

3.2. Religious power and the difference between religious and secular power

*severitatem ecclesiasticam curabimus exercere*

*We will take care to exercise ecclesiastical severity*¹⁵²

The crusades were as much a political endeavour as it was a religious one. The pope and the curia were involved in the crusades but to what extent could they actually claim to be in control over the crusades? It was after all the secular rulers who did the actual warfare and it

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¹⁵¹ Russel, *The Just war in the Middle Ages*, p. 20.

was secular kings and princes who lead the crusading army. Historian Thomas Smith have claimed that the papacy during these times was weak and passive, and that the papacy’s incoherent crusade diplomacy was an indication that the papal letters were written in response to various petitions made by secular rulers and crusaders.\textsuperscript{153} The papal policy was in that sense formed by the secular rulers and crusaders, according to Smith. However, these petitions made to the curia was rarely preserved and their destruction was a deliberate part of the chancery process.\textsuperscript{154}

Only one of the letters examined here (\textit{Divini Dispensatione}) was explicitly written as a response to a petition. The remaining letters were all important crusading letters, each of them concerning one of the large-scale crusading endeavours of the Middle Ages, and none of them were written in a way which would indicate that they were written in response to a petition. These letters, therefore, does not support the idea that the papal policy was governed by secular powers. In the letters by Innocent III, and especially with the \textit{Ad Liberandam} quite the opposite is indicated. It is also worth mentioning that even though the \textit{Divini Dispensatione} was written in response to a petition, the idea to form another front for the crusading movement was strongly supported by the Cistercian abbot (and former mentor of Eugene III) Bernard of Clairvaux, which would have greatly influenced the decision behind the letter.\textsuperscript{155}

The papal letters suggest that the papacy was more active than has earlier been suggested by Smith because they had the ability to wield what Foucault called the pastoral power which was in many ways different from royal, legal, economical or other sorts of power. The individualistic traits, the international reach and the focus on salvation allowed the papal seat to wield power over the Christian people of Europe to the same extent if not more than secular rulers.

The strategic position of the papal seat also granted the power to influence and direct the episteme of medieval Europe. The papal letters were one of few sources from which the people got information about the proceedings of the crusades and many times, with backing by biblical quotes, the \textit{truth} about these crusades and especially about the Muslims were influenced if not governed by these letters. Therefore, the knowledge of the crusades and

\textsuperscript{154} Smith, \textit{Curia and Crusade}, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{155} Fonnesberg-Schmidt, \textit{The popes and the Baltic Crusades}, p. 31.
specific events, was in large governed by the papal letters and the truth about the fall of Jerusalem for example was created in Gregory VIII:s Audita Tremendi.

According to Foucault, history is an endless game of dominance and control. Those who best adopt or decide the rules of the game have the power to enforce their interpretation of history as truth. Also, the structure within which human thought exists (the episteme) of a certain time is governed by dominance and powerful relations. The papal letters, seeing that they were able to spiritually and morally legitimise the violent actions of the crusaders through the idea of just war, their depiction of pagans as well as their claim on spiritual authority indicates that they held such a powerful and dominant position in the Middle Ages.

The granting of certain privileges (mainly spiritual indulgence and material protection) was another way for the popes to use the power which they had claimed. The papal claim on spiritual authority often took place in the arenga and the granting of the privileges were presented later, in the letter’s sanctio. The spiritual reward, granted through the offering of indulgence, was a tool unique to the papal seat and it was arguably the most powerful expression of pastoral power. The material protection was an expression of power by the pope, however, unlike most of the other aspects in the papal letter, the material protection was not explicitly an expression of pastoral power. Instead, the power which was expressed through granting material protection was simply allowed by the pope’s authority in the secular realm, the protection could just as well have been offered by any secular ruler. The repercussions threatened against those who would violate the papal protection, however, were typically of ecclesiastical nature.

In the Ad Liberandam, Innocent proclaims that any prelates of the church who would not actively see to the protection of the crusader’s possession were to be punished severely. Other than asserting dominance as head of the church, this would also indicate that this problem had existed before. With exception for the Ad Liberandam, the letters did not assert much power over the secular realm and it is possible that the material protection offered by the church had faltered at times. In order to suitably deal with this potential issue, however, Innocent proclaims that this protection was to be enforced by secular forces and that worldly

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156 Nilsson, Foucault: en introduktion, p. 76.
157 Ad Liberandam, transl. in Henderson, Select historical documents, p. 341; Original in Taurinorum, Magnum bullarium Romanum, p. 302.
repercussions (as well as ecclesiastical) would befall upon those who would violate the material protection of the church. The material protection offered by the popes throughout all the letters, had a positive effect on the recruitment of crusaders and it showed that use of power which was not restricted to the church could still be wielded effectively because of the secular authority of the pope.

The ecclesiastical authority of the papacy was also used to intimidate. The sins of man were considered to be the reason for all evil that happened during the crusades and in this way, the focus was put on the individual in the Christian community. Some of the letters explicitly recommended kings and princes to alter their actions but the idea of the sins of man stretched over all Christians. The audience were then told to actively take stance against the evil by doing penance and taking the cross. Villads Jensen maintains that pagans and heathendom was considered a disease in the Middle Ages and that staying passive (allowing the bad to happen) would result in that you would become a part of the bad. The disease had to be removed in order not to let it devour the entire Christian body. This correlates with that which was written in the letters where the active stance against the evil was essential. This mindset also necessarily legitimises the crusade suggested in *Divini Dispensatione* which did not explicitly legitimise the crusade through the common ideas such as the suffering of Christ or the idea of just war.

Other, more explicit threats were usually made in the form of banishing, isolation or excommunication. These, however, became more apparent in the later papal letters and were completely absent from the *Quantum Predecessores* written in 1145. The increased number of threats and decisive language used by Innocent III can be explained by an increasingly favourable position. Although present in only one of the papal letters, the revoking of indulgence in the *Quia Maior* was also an indication that the position of the papal seat had become more powerful than earlier. The retraction of indulgence for crusades fought in Spain and in southern France had the purpose to refocus the crusading efforts to the east. However, it also showed that the papacy was not afraid to retract indulgence where it was no longer deserved. The reasons proclaimed in the text was that the crusades had grown to be obsolete and that their goals had already been achieved.

The depiction of the pagan was also a way in which the papal letters used the authority and power imbedded in the strategic position of the papal seat. The letters continuously depicted pagans with negative attributes and put them in positions which were created in order to develop a resentment towards the pagans and make it clear for the Christians who the enemy was. This was yet another way in which the letters guided the minds of the Christian subjects and created feelings of unity of the pure and exclusion of that which was bad, the entire body had to join together to fight of the disease. The description of the Christians and the crusaders from a ‘Muslim’ perspective, made in the Post Miserabile was an obviously provoking section in the letter. This provocation was also imbued with powerful threats and slanders made towards Christians and Christianity which Innocent then could take stance against and proclaim what had to be done to save all Christians from the horrifying fate threatened by the ‘Muslims’.

3.3. The distinguishing aspects of the papal letters

_Where is your God, who can neither deliver himself nor you from our hands?_  

Pastoral power originated in Christian institutions, and has been, according to Foucault, integrated, in modern times, in political institutions. The papal letters studied here emphasise, however, that in this period the power was clearly concentrated within the Christian institution. This pastoral power, albeit not the only way that the popes used power, was unique for the Christian institution and this study have shown that this form of power usage was used in the papal letters throughout the studied period and that it at times could extend over to the secular realm. Fredrick Russel have also made a similar statement regarding Innocent III, whose letters Russel claims “extended ecclesiastical jurisdiction into all areas of secular life.” Further, the strategic position of the papal seat had the unique possibility to grant indulgence, which could not be done by anyone else, even within the church. This favourable position of the papal seat and the perks related to that position is reflected in the writings of the studied papal letters. The pastoral power was regularly wielded

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159 Post Miserabile, transl. in Bird, Peters & Powell, Crusade and Christendom, p. 32; Original in Stubbs, Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, p. 71.
160 Foucault, “The Subject and Power”, p. 782.
161 Russel, The Just war in the Middle Ages, p. 298.
and it became more and more evident in the later letters that the power of the papal seat grew to include influences over the secular realm as well.

Primarily, *Ad Liberandam* was the letter which in a significant way trespassed into the secular realm. Many aspects of the letter including privileges, threats and repercussions were rooted in secular areas. The privilege specifically mentioned in the letter was the exemption of taxes for those who had served in the crusades for more than one year. A command directed to maritime cities was also stated that any ships, commercial or otherwise, bound for lands controlled by the Saracens were to hold off to make sure that when the crusade set off they would be in position to take crusaders to the Holy Land. Similarly, a command for peace among Christian nations is issued, at least four years were to be spent in peace in order to effectively gather and organise the crusade. Apart from commands and privileges, repercussions and threats was made to ensure that the commands, ecclesiastical or material, were met. The threats included enslavement and anathema originating from the Christians but also ecclesiastical threats such as excommunication and isolation from Christian society. The religious threats were in no way unique for the *Ad Liberandam*, however, the way in which they were enforced was. Secular rulers were tasked to uphold these commands and to act upon those who would violate them.

> But if by chance they despise the ecclesiastical censure, not without reason shall they fear lest, through the authority of the church, the secular power may be brought to bear against them as against disturbers of what pertains to the Crucified One.162

Regarding the structure of the papal letters, the *Divini Dispensatione* stands out from the rest. The letter completely disregards the standard structure of the papal letters and is significantly shorter than the other letters. The letter was written with one clear purpose, to promote Christianity amongst the pagans in the north, and it does not deviate from this task. The preamble consists of short references to the Christian successes against the Moors in Spain and after the purpose was stated, the letter was concluded with the granting of indulgence for those who would go on this crusade. It was the only letter written explicitly in response to a

162 *Ad Liberandam*, transl. in Henderson, *Select historical documents*, p. 343; Original in Taurinomrum, *Magnum bullarium Romanum*, p. 303 “Quod si forte censuram ecclesiasticam vilipenderint, poterunt non immerito formidare, ne per auctoritatem Ecclesiae, circa eos, tanquam perturbatores negocii Crucifixi, saecularis potentia inducatur.”
petition made to the curia and the already existing support for the crusade can explain why
there was no need for a long arenga to spiritually legitimise the crusade.

The long arenga is however what distinguished the Audita Tremendi. The bulk of the letter
was dedicated to assert the papal authority and spiritually legitimise the 3rd crusade. The way
in which the letter uses biblical quotes throughout the letter was later used by Pope Innocent
as he wrote the Post Miserabile. The failure of the 2nd crusade still lingered in the minds of
the Christians when Gregory produced his letter in 1187 and the failure of the 3rd crusade to
reclaim Jerusalem left Innocent in a similar position in 1198. The fact that so much attention
was given to the arenga in these two letters might have been because of a great need to
legitimise and motivate people to go on another crusade. Fonnesberg-Schmidt argues for a
similar assessment, she states that the organisation and preparation of the crusades was
necessarily changed after the 2nd crusade. The papal letters also changed and the papacy
needed to assert their authority over the crusades.\footnote{Fonnesberg-Schmidt, The popes and the Baltic Crusades, p. 36.} Fonnesberg-Schmidt also claims that at
the same time, the indulgence granted to the crusaders was developed. In the papal letters,
however, that development is not apparent. The explicit need for inner and outer penance,
mainly emphasised by Innocent III, had appeared in the earlier letters as well. Nonetheless,
the long arenga do indicate that there was now a greater need than ever before to legitimise
and motivate the crusading endeavours.

Most commonly in the letters, God was used as an authoritative figure through which the
papacy as well as the crusades was given legitimacy. However, he was also granted agency at
a few occasions. Most notably, Innocent wrote in the Quia Maior that “God has proposed a
task for them in which he can test their faith like gold in a furnace”\footnote{Quia Maior, transl. in Crusade and Christendom, p. 107; Original in PL 216, p. 817 “agonem illis proposuit in quo fidem eorum velut aurum in fornace probaret”; note: ‘illis’ in the Latin refers to God through one of the earlier sentences and the translators have acknowledged this and written out God in the translation instead of ‘He’.} similarly, Jesus was
also mentioned in an active role in the passage following the one where God was given
agency. The use of agency emphasised the God-given agenda of the crusades and the quoted
phrase from Quia Maior proclaimed that the crusades, unquestionably, was a possibility
granted by God for all Christians to remedy their sins and do penance. In other cases where
agency was used, it was used with biblical quotations and regarded that which God had done
in the past. Such an example can be found in the *Audita Tremendi* where God’s choice to take on flesh in Christ for the salvation of man is mentioned.¹⁶⁵ The most common way to reference God, Christ or the apostles, however, in the papal letters was in a passive form. In those cases, it was used to legitimise and grant authority to the claims or commands which had been made.

The differences between the six letters analysed in this study can be explained by a multiple of factors. Political changes in Europe, the reformation of the Christian church, changes in the curia, the situation in the Holy Land and more. And it is likely that all of these factors and many more played a role. What can be seen through the analysis of these papal letters, stretching from 1145 to 1215, however, is that the papacy during this time developed to claim greater authority over the secular realm, and that the papacy, as the head of the crusading movement, developed significant influence over both the people and the rulers of the Christian west.

4. Sammanfattning

Denna uppsats undersöker användningen av makt i påvliga brev under perioden 1145–1215. För att utföra denna analys har en adaptation av Foucaults begrepp och idéer använts. Eftersom Foucaults idéer huvudsakligen har använts med modernt material så har vissa avvägningar varit nödvändiga för att anpassa teorierna för medeltida material. I uppsatsen används flitigt hans idéer om diskurs, makt och kunskap, strategiska positioner samt idén om pastoral makt. Genom analysen har maktbruk i de påvliga breven uppenbarats och hur påvedömet har använt positionen som huvud för den katolska kyrkan för att skapa en auktoritet och legitimitet i breven.

Uppsatsen bestrider ett påstående gjort av historiker som Thomas Smith och Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt som menar att den påvliga kurian var passiv, svag, obestämd samt reaktiv snarare än proaktiv under perioden som studeras.166 I de breven som undersökt här har den föregripande sidan av kurian och påvedömet framgått tydligt och endast ett av breven som skrivits har uppenbart uppkommit i respons till en petition gjord av sekulära ledare.


Samma påve lanserade ett nytt brev två år senare, Divini Dispensatione. Detta brev ämnade att, i hast, lansa det efterfrågade baltiska korståget med syftet att främja kristendomen i de norra delarna av Europa. Brevet var skrivit i respons till en efterfrågan bland kristna sekulära ledare som önskade att ta del av korstågen men inte hade möjlighet eller vilja att kriga så långt bort hemifrån, korståget fick stöd av Eugenes gamla mentor, abboten Bernard av Clairvaux som också var personen som förde fram förfrågan till påven. Brevet framhävde strävan att föra korståg i norr som en tredje front för det heliga kriget som redan var på gång i det heliga landet samt i Spanien. Det nya korståget skulle åtnjuta samma spirituella och materiella fördelar som korstågen i heliga landet (någonting som hans efterföljare sedan drog tillbaka) men krav ställdes också på de involverade ledarna som inkluderade regler vars syfte var att förhindra de kristna regenterna i norr från att utnyttja korståget för deras egen vinning.

Divini Dispensatione utmärker sig från de andra breven genom den märkbara bristen på eklektisk motivering och legitimering. Fonnesberg-Schmidt ställer frågan om den bristen kan ha varit ett brott mot kyrklig kanon men om man istället, som Villads Jensen argumenterar för, anser att synen på de icke-kristna var som en sjukdom som behövde bekämpas, så krävdes egentligen ingen annan motivering än att främja kristendomen. Förlusten av Jerusalem tog hårt på de kristna, och staden som symbol för korstågen gjorde förlusten ännu hårdare. I Audita Tremendi fick därför händelsen en central plats både i form av legitimering och som motivering för det tredje korståget. Gregory VIII påvisade händelsens profetiska natur genom användning av bibelcitat tillsammans med en kort återberättelse av de historiska händelserna från 1187. Förekomsten av en teologisk inledning var vanligt i de påvliga breven, men i Gregory VIII:s brev så bestod denna sektion av en större del av hela brevet. Syftet med denna sektion var att legitimera och motivera de följande påbuden som gjordes i breven. Resultatet av att ha en väldigt lång inledning, med både legitimering genom apostoliskt arv, bibliska citat samt behovet av att återföra Jerusalem till de kristna var att de beslutet och påbud som Gregory åkallade blev väldigt slagkraftiga. Andra korstågets misslyckande och förlusten av Jerusalem skapade en oförmånlig situation där det skulle ha varit svårt att övertyga de kristna undersåtarna till ytterligare ett korståg, men resultatet av Gregorys Audita Tremendi var trots detta att bara ett par år senare så marscherade ytterligare en kristen armé mot det heliga landet.
Post Miserabile, skriven 1198 av påve Innocent III, var också producerad under en svår tid för påvedömet. Politiska och moraliska strider bland de kristna kungadömena var många och Innocent påkallar i sitt brev en förtvivlan, över att alla ägnar så mycket tid åt sina egna eländen att ingen längre ägnar en tanke åt Kristi lidelse. I Post Miserabile kan vi se en upptrappning av ett hårt språk och kritik riktat emot engagemanget bland de kristna regenterna. Ett av passagen i brevet är skrivet som utifrån ett muslimskt perspektiv, vilket tillåt författaren att fritt smutskasta inte bara de kristna regenterna utan även den kristna religionen. Syftet var att provocera, och att sedan själv ta ställning emot dessa ohyggliga ‘muslimska’ uttalanden.


Likt Post Miserabile så visar författaren en stor skicklighet i användandet av bibliska citat i brevet som inledde planeringen av det femte korståget, Quia Maior. Den stora närvaron av bibliska citat samt hur väl inbäddade de är med resten av brevets innehåll gör att brevet får en stark auktoritet som nyttjas genom att erbjudas tolkningar på de bibliska citaten som återges. I detta brevet börjar gränserna mellan det spirituella och det materiella lösas upp. Där de tidigare breven för det mesta håll sig till spirituella aspekter som erbjudandet av spirituella fördelar, hot om exkommunikation, samt religiösa idéer såsom Kristi lidelse så börjar Innocent istället porträtta Gud som en sekulär regent och tillskriver det gudomliga agens med syftet att framhäva den av Gud generöst givna möjligheten att göra botgöring genom korstågen.

Muhammed kallades av Innocent för en pseudo-profet och hela den muslimska religionen porträtterades som en djävulskult vars dagar snart var räknade. Quia Maior var skrivet med strikta och härda ordalag. Både hedningar och kristna vart utsatta för kritik, samma kritik och hot som riktades mot dem som agerade mot kyrkan riktades även mot dem som var passiva och inte gjorde tillräckligt för korstågen.

Det makttbruket som dyker upp i Ad Liberandam skillde sig alltså från alla de tidigare påvliga breven. Det påvliga inflytandet över religiösa aspekter kan tydligt ses i alla breven men det uttryckta inflytandet över det sekulära var ganska svagt. I Ad Liberandam går det att se att det påvliga inflytandet ökade och det stärkta inflytandet manifesteras i direkta beslut angående vad som vanligtvis var sekulära angelägenheter.

Den textuella analysen som har utförts på materialet har frammanat många aspekter av makttbruk framförallt inom det spirituella men också inom den sekulära sfären. Användningen av Foucauldianska begrepp såsom pastoral makt och strategiska positioner samt idéer om skapandet av individer och relationen mellan kunskap och makt har skapat ett teoretiskt ramverk inom vilket analysen av de påvliga breven har kunnat genomföras. Hur makttbruk kunde se ut inom den religiösa diskursen under medeltiden har därmed också kunnat synliggöras.
5. References

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Appendix

Divini dispensatione


[og man bemærker, at den rigtige form er divini med i til slut, fordi det lægger sig til consilii, og ikke divina med a, som man oftest ser det, for det lægger sig ikke til dispensatione]

[1147] 11. April. Troyes

Biskop Eugenius, Guds slavers slave, til alle Guds troende, hilsen og apostolisk velsignelse.

Med guddommelig råds forordning er det sket, tror vi, at en sådan mængde af troende fra verdens forskellige egne væbner sig til kamp mod de vantr, og at næsten hele de kristnes verden røres til et sådant prisværdigt værk. Mellem andre fyrster og mægtige forbereder også de konger, som hersker over andre folkeslag <må være: ikke kristne>, sig på at befri den orientalske kirke efter at have taget det livgivende korsets tegn, og de gør sig klar til at kæmpe mægtigt med Guds hjælp mod de fjender af Kristi kors, som grusomt dræber vore brødre ved Edessa og mange andre steder i de egne på grund af vore synder.

Spaniernes konge væbner sig mægtige mod saracenerne i de egne, og han har allerede ved Guds nåde ofte sejret over dem. Nogle af Jer ønsker at blive delagtige i et sådant helligt arbejde og belønnning og vil gå mod slaverne og andre hedningen, som bor i nord, og med Herrens hjælp underkaste dem den kristne religion. Vi har lagt vægt på jeres hengivenhed, og derfor giver vi med den almægtige Guds og den hellige apostelfyrste Peters autoritet, som er os tilstået af Gud, den samme syndernes forladelse, som vor forgænger lykkelig ihukommelse pave Urban indstiftede til dem, som drog mod Jerusalem, til alle dem, som ikke har taget Jerusalemkorset og har besluttet at holde ud i den færd, der, som det er forordnet, er påbegyndt af hengivenhed. Og vi forbyder med samme autoritet og under bandlysningsstraf, at nogen modtager penge eller anden løsesum fra disse hedninge, for at lade dem forblive i deres vantr, hvis de kunne underlægge dem kristendommen. Desuden, da vi ved, at det vil være til hjælp, at i har en religiøs, vidende og uddannet person blandt jeg, som sørger for jeres fred og ro og bevarer enheden iblandt jer og opmuntrer jer til at fremmed den kristne religion, providerer vi vor ærværdige bror A<nselm>, biskop af Havelberg, en
religiøs, vidende og uddannet mand, til jer og overdrager ham denne omsorg. Derfor befaler vi jer med apostolsk skrivelse, at i af ærbødighed for den hellige Peter og vor og jer alles frelse elsker ham og ærer ham og ydmygt adlyder hans helsebringende råd og tilskyndelser og befalinger, så at Gud deraf æres, og så at enhed og broderlig kærlighed med Herren som indstifter og med hans godkendende iver må bevares iblandt jer. Og vi bestemmer, at de, som tager korset til en sådan hellige færd, og deres ejendomme skal være under vor og den hellige Peters beskyttelse. Givet i området Troyes [Trecensi], den tredje idus april, i den herre pave Eugenius 3.s pontifikats 3. År.