

Actions and Receptions of the Knights Templar
from 1118-1192

By Neil Wu

A thesis submitted to the Department of History for honors

Duke University

Durham, North Carolina

Under the advisement of Dr. Mary J. Morrow

April 15, 2019

Abstract

In 1118, a quasi-monastic military order known as the Knights Templar was founded in the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem. Church leaders saw this organization as an opportunity to inspire the religiosity of the crusading movement. In 1129, their aspirations were expressed through the Latin Rule of the Knights Templar, a document that regulated the Templars' conduct. The Latin Rule's rigid guidelines prescribed a lifestyle that combined elements of monasticism and knighthood. The Church hoped that under the influence of this mandate, the Templars would promote an agenda of piety, religious duty, camaraderie with peers, and ferocity against the enemy. However, the Templars were quick to form their own interpretations of purpose. Previous scholarship has primarily focused on the late thirteenth century actions of the Knights Templar in order to determine what factors led to their eventual downfall in 1307. However, this thesis argues that even without considering these later actions of the Knights Templar, there is significant evidence from 1118-1192 alone that demonstrates how the order began forming their own interpretations of their purpose. Rather than living under strict adherence to the original mandates of the Latin Rule, what resulted was an organization that excelled in battle and utilized its military abilities to pursue their own financial and political agendas in the Holy Land. Many contemporaries took note of the Templars' choice of actions and of their apparent priorities. The contemporary reception was organized into two different camps. The first camp believed that the Templars served a necessary purpose in military matters, despite recognition that the order had harnessed a considerable amount of economic resources and political influence along the way. The other camp maintained a narrative in which the Knights Templar had grown greedy and corrupted, and that due to this degradation, they had outgrown their usefulness.

Acknowledgements

To Dr. Mary J. Morrow, for being such a great advisor. Thank you for approaching me during my junior year and for encouraging me to pursue a senior honors thesis. I can confidently say that the present study would not exist if it were not for your support. Your patience, down-to-earth feedback, and kindness has meant so much during the past several months.

To Dr. Jehangir Malegam, for your encouragement, guidance, and sense of humor during lengthy thesis seminar workshops. It was a very fortunate coincidence that my thesis seminar instructor would also be an expert in medieval history.

To the Duke University History Department for its generous funding and support for my summer travel and research.

To Duke University, for giving me a space to make lifelong friendships and beautiful memories.

To my fellow classmates, for reading drafts, giving feedback, and for all of the moral support. This was not an easy undertaking by any means, and as cliché as it sounds, it meant a lot to know that we were all in it together.

To my friends, for understanding why I was never free to hang out. Thank you for continuing to invite me anyway.

To Ashleigh, for your patience, love, and constant support.

To my family, for more than I can put into words. I am so fortunate to be in this current position, and none of this would be possible without the many sacrifices you have made for me.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One	19
Chapter Two.....	42
Chapter Three.....	61
Epilogue	81
Bibliography	85

Introduction

Setting the Scene

The origins of crusading and the ‘crusading spirit’

In 1094, Alexios I Komnenos of the Byzantine Empire asked Pope Urban II for assistance against an invasion of Seljuq Turks. In 1095, at the Council of Clermont, the pope called upon Christians to fulfill their duty to God by journeying through the Holy Land to repel this incursion. The pope’s fiery speech ignited what we now refer to as the First Crusade – a conflict that Jonathan Riley-Smith called “a type never experienced before and on a scale not known for six centuries.”¹ However, as Hans Mayer noted, the concept of a crusade was not created overnight. Rather, contemporaries thought of the crusades as “a logical extension of the pilgrimage” and even as “an armed pilgrimage which was granted special privileges by the Church and which was held to be specially meritorious.”² In fact, according to Mayer, “it would never have occurred to anyone to march out to conquer the Holy Land if men had not made pilgrimages there for century after century.”³ From a modern perspective, the concept of crusading stands very distinctly from the journeys of Christian pilgrims towards sacred sites in the Holy Land. However, from the contemporary perspective, such a distinction between going on pilgrimage and crusade was nonexistent.⁴

¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading, 1095-1130” in *Cross-Cultural Convergences in the Crusading Period*, eds. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 237-57.

² Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 14-15.

³ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 14-15.

⁴ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 15.

The desperation of the Muslim invasion provided Pope Urban II and other leaders of the Church with an opportunity to revitalize the religiosity and zeal of their followers. Their rhetoric emphasized the crusade campaigns as a religiously motivated endeavor. These efforts were largely driven by Urban II's novel presentation of "salvation by a sustained act of violence."⁵ Pope Urban II assured that anyone who perished while on crusade would be guaranteed an afterlife in heaven, regardless of their former sins. This created widespread appeal, as Urban II's rallying call was received by a diverse crowd within Latin Christendom, including clerics, knights, and commoners.⁶ Some 60,000 crusaders answered the call and assembled at Nicaea (Asia Minor) in 1097, many having traveled considerable distances from home.⁷

The First Crusade and the Crusader States

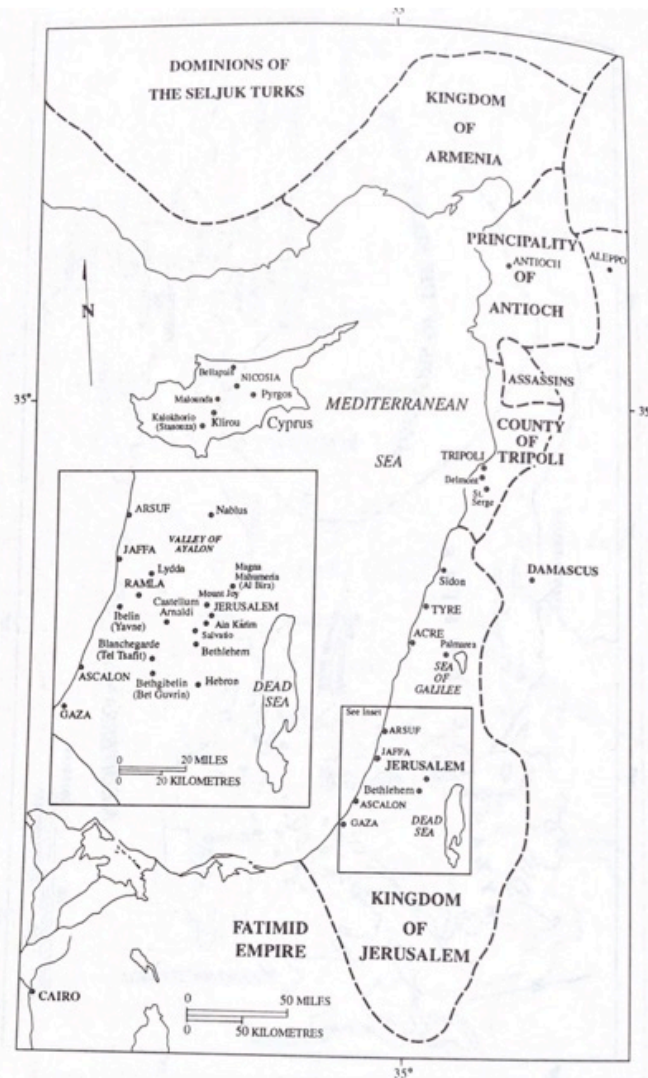
After three years of campaigning through the Holy Land, the crusaders eventually besieged the city of Jerusalem in 1099. The conquest of Jerusalem from the Egyptian Fatimid Caliphate ushered in the conclusion of the First Crusade. Having fulfilled their original goals, a great number of crusaders left Jerusalem by the end of the year. However, a handful of leaders from the crusading campaign remained in the Holy Land. In particular, Godfrey de Bouillon, a French duke, stayed in Jerusalem and eventually became its acting ruler. According to Mayer, "originally, Godfrey's lordship consisted of no more than Jerusalem, the port of Jaffa, and some towns, Lydda, Ramleh, Bethlehem, and St. Abraham (Hebron) which he fortified strongly." These crusader-ruled territories are presently known as the crusader states, which are also referred to as Outremer, or the Latin East. While Jerusalem was the biggest conquest of the First

⁵ John France, "Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade" in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 5-20.

⁶ Riley-Smith, "Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading, 1095-1130," 237-57.

⁷ France, "Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade," 5-20.

Crusade, Godfrey was not the first to establish a crusader state in the Holy Land. His younger brother, Baldwin of Boulogne, had captured Edessa in 1098, where he remained as the leader. Under his control, the County of Edessa became the first crusader state. The Principality of Antioch was established soon thereafter as another crusader state. The County of Tripoli was the fourth crusader state, founded last in 1102.⁸



Map 4. The Latin East at the time of the Second Crusade

9

⁸ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 61.

⁹ Michael Gervers, *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), xviii.

There are certainly an overwhelming number of names, dates, and events that are associated with the history of the crusaders in Outremer. However, this thesis focuses in particular on Jerusalem. Godfrey, the aforementioned ruler of the settlement at Jerusalem, died in 1100. He was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin of Boulogne, who officially established the Kingdom of Jerusalem later that year. With this act, he became the King Baldwin I of Jerusalem.¹⁰ By the early twelfth century, the crusader states had established their own complex political and economic systems. It was from this context that the Order of the Knights Templar was founded in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1118. The Knights Templar was formed by a group of crusaders who pledged to live under the commitment of a combined monastic and warrior lifestyle.¹¹ In 1129, Church officials met at the Council of Troyes and bestowed an official Latin Rule upon the Knights Templar. As its title implies, this document gave rigid rules that dictated the ideal behaviors for members of the Knights Templar. The Latin Rule was created in cooperation between Templar founder Hugh de Paynes and ecclesiastical officials.¹² Most notably, the Knights Templar had the support of Bernard of Clairvaux at the Council of Troyes. Bernard was a highly influential French abbot who was an iconic figure within the Cistercian monastic order. Shortly after the Council of Troyes, he praised the Knights Templar as “a new knighthood” in a letter to Hugh de Paynes.¹³

¹⁰ Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980).

Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

¹¹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, eds. Emily Atwater Babcock and August Charles Krey (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), Book 7.

¹² *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. Judith Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1992).

¹³ Bernard of Clairvaux, “In Praise of New Knighthood,” in *Templars: Selected Sources*, by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 125.

Note: this is a translated version of Bernard’s letter to the Templars, found within Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate’s compilation of Templar-related primary sources.

Intermission

Before delving further into the historical context of this thesis, refer back to the Council of Clermont, where Pope Urban II advocated for the First Crusade. Within his rhetoric, the pope presented a certain set of values and expectations for prospective crusaders – I refer to this set of values as the “crusading spirit.” The crusading spirit reflected the aspirations of Church authorities, such as Pope Urban II, for how crusaders should act while on their crusade. These aspirations included religious zeal, loyalty to the Church, fellowship with other Christians, and ferocity in combat against infidels.¹⁴

As previously mentioned, the Order of the Knights Templar earned the initial respect and admiration of ecclesiastical authorities like Bernard of Clairvaux. Via their acceptance of the Latin Rule, the members of the Knights Templar had already subscribed to a highly idealized set of expectations for their conduct. The tenets of the Latin Rule embodied many of the crusading spirit values and thus, the order’s members earned their initial status as paragons because of their strong initial dedication to live according to these guidelines. At the time of their foundation, the Knights Templar became the closest entity that Church authorities had to a posterchild.¹⁵

Yet, almost 200 years later, in October of 1307 the Templars were rounded up and arrested in France. The claims against them included heresy, sodomy, and avarice – charges that overwhelmingly contradicted the values of their initial foundation. Once they were found guilty, the Templars were sentenced to death and many were burned at the stake. Outside of France, the papacy ordered secular authorities to hunt down the Templars and bring them to justice. With the

¹⁴ For more on these principals, see Chapter 1.

¹⁵ For ecclesiastical praise for the Templars, see Chapter 1.

wrath of the papacy in full stride, the Order of the Knights Templar itself was dissolved shortly thereafter.¹⁶

Many scholars have recognized that the Knights Templar did not make an overnight jump from being the Church's posterchild to being deemed as heretics. Helen Nicholson, Malcolm Barber, and Alan Forey have studied the Knights Templar in great depth, beginning from their foundation in 1118 and all the way past their trials in 1307. However, much of their emphasis lies within the thirteenth century, closer to the date of the Templars' final demise.¹⁷ While there is certainly ample evidence of the Templars' errant behaviors in these later years of the organization, I take a different approach. In my thesis, I assert that the Knights Templar began forming their own interpretations of their Latin Rule during their first century of existence.

Although the Knights Templar was relatively small organization within a massive crusading movement, ecclesiastical authorities hoped that they would set an example for other crusaders. The Latin Rule established strict guidelines for ideal behavior that reflected the aspirations of the Church. However, the actions of the Knights Templar during the twelfth century revealed that they promptly formed their own identity in the Holy Land. Their interests did not necessarily revolve around the religious motivations of crusading, but rather, the Templars branched out into military, economic, and political actions. The written records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries demonstrated that contemporaries had formed varying opinions regarding the Templars' conduct. Some felt that the military triumphs of the Knights Templar warranted their pursuit of economic and political actions. On the other hand, there were other contemporaries who felt that the Knights Templar had grown out of control and that despite

¹⁶ Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

¹⁷ For examples, see Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*; Alan Forey, *The Military Orders*; Helen J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights* in the Bibliography.

whatever contributions the Templars were making on the battlefield, it was not justification for what these critics saw as major grievances.

The Second Crusade (1145-1149)

Resuming our overview of the historical context for this study, in 1144, the Zengi Turks launched an attack that resulted in the capture of the County of Edessa. Edessa was one of the crusader states in the Latin East, and its capture by Muslim forces represented a renewed, and more importantly, organized threat to Christian settlements in the Holy Land.¹⁸ In response, Pope Eugene III launched the Second Crusade with the assistance of Bernard of Clairvaux; the same Bernard who had supported the Knights Templar at the Council of Troyes. In 1144, shortly after the attack on Edessa, Bernard took Eugene's appeal for a second crusade and gave it a markedly aggressive and urgent tone throughout a series of fiery sermons.¹⁹ These sermons helped rally the participation of King Louis VII of France and King Conrad III of Germany in the Second Crusade.

Unfortunately, this campaign was a catastrophic failure for the crusaders on almost every front. Conrad III and the other German nobles were routed in Anatolia, and even when Louis VII arrived from France, the crusaders were easily foiled in their attempted siege of Damascus in 1148. The failures in both planning and execution of the Second Crusade were attributed to a lack of coordination between the crusaders that was caused by internal dysfunction.²⁰ On the

¹⁸ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 96.

¹⁹ Joseph Francois Michaud, *Michaud's History of the Crusades*, trans. W. Robson (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 329-381.

²⁰ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 107.

contrary, their Muslim opposition was strongly united under the leadership and cunning of Nur al-Din.²¹

The Holy Land After the Second Crusade

Although the second major crusader campaign was a colossal failure, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was able to prosper under the leadership of King Baldwin III, whose reign had begun in 1143, just a year prior to the fall of Edessa and the beginning of the Second Crusade. One of Baldwin III's accomplishments was the capture of Ascalon, an Egyptian stronghold. This conquest extended the Kingdom of Jerusalem southward and strengthened the positions along the coastline. Similarly, Ascalon was the last Fatimid fortress in Palestine. However, the expansions under Baldwin III brought the crusader states further at odds with Nur al-Din and Muslim forces on both the north and south borders. When Baldwin III died in 1163, his brother, Amalric I succeeded him as King of Jerusalem.²²

On the Muslim side, Nur al-Din was still the overlord of the Muslim forces and Shikuh was one of his deputies. Nur al-Din ordered Shirkuh and his nephew, Saladin, to serve him in Egypt. As Mayer noted, Saladin "was to be the most terrible opponent that the Franks had to face."²³ Saladin built up his own military organization and infrastructure in Egypt and began making his own political moves. Although Saladin was still subservient to Nur al-Din, "in practice Saladin was sultan of Egypt."²⁴ In 1171, Saladin abolished the Fatimid dynasty and brought Egypt under his own rule, starting the Ayyubid dynasty. Saladin eventually came to a

²¹ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 105.

²² Mayer, *The Crusades*, 118.

²³ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 123. Saladin (and many other Muslim contemporaries) used "Frank" as a term that generally referred to crusaders from Western Europe.

²⁴ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 124.

conflict of power with Nur al-Din, but when the latter died in 1174, Saladin was able to rapidly increase his holdings. By the end of the same year, Saladin was recognized as overlord of both Egypt and Syria.²⁵ While Saladin still spent the next several years in opposition with the crusaders, he focused on consolidating his position within Muslim politics. This goal was so important to Saladin that he signed a four-year truce with the crusaders in 1185. During this time, Saladin was able to finalize a large army via important alliances and his own merits as a leader.²⁶

While Saladin had been establishing his dominance amongst the Muslim forces, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had experienced a few changes in leadership. King Amalric I died in 1174 and was succeeded by his son, Baldwin IV. In 1183 he appointed his nephew, Baldwin V, as co-king. Unfortunately, both kings were victims of illness; Baldwin IV died in 1185 and was followed by his co-king just a year later, in 1186. Baldwin IV's brother-in-law, Guy, succeeded the throne to the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1186. Shortly thereafter, a crusader named Reynald of Châtillon broke the truce between Saladin and the crusaders in 1187 by attacking a Muslim caravan that was travelling from Damascus to Egypt.²⁷ This led to an outbreak of war between Saladin's Muslim forces and the crusaders in the Holy Land. The Templars were readily involved in these skirmishes because their main strongholds were positioned near the action. One of the first major battles was the Battle of Hattin, where Saladin and the Muslims emerged as the clear victors. Saladin pressed his advantage by conquering Acre and a number of other crusader state strongholds. Eventually, in October 1187, Saladin captured Jerusalem.²⁸

²⁵ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 126.

²⁶ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 126.

²⁷ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 130.

²⁸ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 132.

The Third Crusade (1187-1192)

The Christians were faced with a dire situation. The vast majority of the crusader states had fallen to the mighty army of Saladin, with the exception of a few notable cities: Tripoli, Antioch, and Tyre.²⁹ The conquest of Jerusalem reflected an “undoing” of the crusaders’ success in the First Crusade. Thus, the Christians felt pressured to respond in likeness, forming what is presently referred to as the Third Crusade. Pope Gregory VIII “gave decisive momentum to the preaching of the crusade” and many European kings responded to the call.³⁰ King Richard I of England, known also as Richard the Lionheart, was one of the first and most notable of these leaders to take up the crusading campaign. King Philip II of France also answered the call to lead crusader armies through the Third Crusade.³¹ During this period of crusader campaigns, the armies of King Richard I and King Philip II fought alongside fellow crusaders from Europe and the armies of the crusader states, led by those such as King Guy of Jerusalem. Ultimately, the crusaders were unable to reconquer Jerusalem from Saladin. However, Richard was largely credited with the successful restoration of Christian rulership in much of Outremer. In 1192, Richard and Saladin signed a truce, which marked the end of the Third Crusade.³²

Chronology of Primary Sources

A variety of contemporary accounts recorded the actions of the Templars and the chronology of this primary source base can now be asserted within the broader historical context that was described in the previous section.

²⁹ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 132.

³⁰ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 132.

³¹ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 142-143.

³² Mayer, *The Crusades*, 146.

Pilgrim Sources

The earliest historical account referenced in this study came from Saewulf, a pilgrim who likely came from Britain. However, according to his records, his pilgrimage journey began from the port of Apulia in Italy, in 1101.³³ This was just a couple years after the conquest of Jerusalem at the end of the First Crusade. The early date of Saewulf's journey makes it one of two accounts referenced by this thesis that predated the foundation of Knights Templar. However, his records are significant to this study because he described the dangers that pilgrims faced along their journey. Saewulf noted that many of the treacherous elements of his travels came from natural features, such as rugged terrain and extreme weather. However, he also noted that Muslims showed a great deal of hostility towards Christian pilgrims.³⁴ The threat that Muslim combatants posed to Christian pilgrims was one of the central reasons behind the foundation of the Knights Templar. When the order was founded in 1119, part of their approval was based on a pledge to protect pilgrims in the Holy Land.

Saewulf's account is not the only pilgrim source that verifies the existence of this situation, as many of his observations are corroborated by Daniel the Abbot. Daniel was a Russian pilgrim who traveled to the Holy Land a few years later, beginning in 1106. He came from a region of Russia that was north of Kiev, and as his title suggests, he served as an abbot in his homeland. While recording his journey from Russia to the Holy Land, Daniel recorded that Christian pilgrims travelling in the Holy Land continued to face threats from Muslim forces.³⁵ Thus, although Saewulf and the abbot Daniel recorded their histories before the foundation of the

³³ Saewulf, "A Reliable Account of the Situation of Jerusalem," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, ed. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan (London: Routledge, 2016), 94-117.

³⁴ Saewulf, "A Reliable Account of the Situation of Jerusalem," 100.

³⁵ Daniel the Abbot, "THE LIFE AND JOURNEY OF DANIEL, ABBOT OF THE RUSSIAN LAND," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, ed. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan (London: Routledge, 2016), 120-171.

Knights Templar, they demonstrated that there was a genuine need to protect Christian pilgrims from Muslim threats in the Holy Land.

However, not all of the pilgrim accounts from this study came from the early twelfth century. Theoderic was a German monk who recorded his experiences in 1169, just a few years before the death of Nur al-Din and the full-fledged rise of Saladin. In his recollections, he witnessed firsthand the role that the Knights Templar played in the protection of pilgrims, as well as their maintenance of various holy sites, such as the Sheep Pool in Jerusalem.³⁶

The Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi

The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* was a chronicle that addressed the events of the Third Crusade, written and compiled from the perspective of the crusaders. Helen Nicholson translated this chronicle as part of the “Crusade Texts in Translation” series and she noted that the authorship of the *Itinerarium* is a complicated matter. Nicholson referenced the previous scholarship of William Stubbs and Hans Meyer and argued that although the *Itinerarium* includes lots of diverse content, it is hard to pinpoint the exact sources that it came from. In summary, these scholars have broken the modern manifestation of the *Itinerarium* into 2 entities: “IP1” and “IP2.”³⁷ The IP1 is considered the closest to the original text in Book 1. According to Nicholson’s analysis, the author of the IP1 was most likely a crusader, and more specifically, an Englishman.³⁸ However, the question is, was this crusader involved with the Knights Templar in any way? This is a line of analysis that is more important to this thesis, as the content of the chronicle could be either strongly skewed in favor of, or against, the order and its

³⁶ Theoderic, “Pilgrimage Account of Theoderic,” in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, ed. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan (London: Routledge, 2016), 274-314.

³⁷ Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. William Stubbs (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1997).

³⁸ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 9.

members. I agree with Nicholson's assessment that the writer was likely quite removed from the Knights Templar. This is based on a few particular occasions that the *Itinerarium* does not record. First of all, the chronicle does not mention the Templars' role in the defense of Tyre during 1187-1188, nor does it mention their significant participation in the defense at Tortosa and Safad. These were notable events for the Knights Templar, and yet they are not mentioned in the *Itinerarium*. Furthermore, the writer of the IP1 goes as far as to make a blatant mistake in recording the proper date for the release of the Templar master, Gerard de Ridefort.³⁹ This evidence is drawn from the content of the chronicle itself and indicates that the author was not strongly affiliated with the Knights Templar.

According to Stubbs and Mayer, the IP2 is thought to be the work of one Richard de Templo, of the Augustinian priory of the Holy Trinity in London from 1222-1249.⁴⁰ It is unclear whether "de Templo" was just a coincidental surname. However, the evidence present in the content of the *Itinerarium* seems to indicate that Ricard de Templo, again, likely did not have any strong relationship with the Knights Templar. Nicholson noted that Ricard never showcased any insider knowledge of the Order, nor did he correct any of the aforementioned errors of IP1.⁴¹ Rather, Richard de Templo used the IP1 as a starting point, as it was very influential and widespread during its time.⁴² Richard de Templo also relied on works of his contemporary historians to create the *Itinerarium*. In particular, Ambroise is commonly referenced.⁴³

The last important issue surrounding the authorship of the *Itinerarium* that I would like to discuss is the date when Richard de Templo compiled the IP1 and IP2. Mayer proposed the time

³⁹ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 9.

⁴⁰ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 7.

⁴¹ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 7.

⁴² Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 12.

⁴³ Helen Nicholson's foreword to the *Itinerarium* continues to go into much depth regarding the individual sources that can be parsed from the chronicle.

range of 1217-1222.⁴⁴ The front bookend of this date is based on Richard de Templo's glowing attitude towards King Philip II of France. In the third book, the author referred to Philip as "the most powerful and prestigious of Christian kings,"⁴⁵ which is a viewpoint that most likely would become valid only after 1216, when Philip had successfully conquered Normandy, Anjou, Brittany, and wrestled the Holy Roman Empire and England for power. On the other hand, the back bookend of 1222 is supported by the *Libellus*, another chronicle that referenced the contents of the IP2. *Libellus* was written in 1222, in a similar time frame as the Latin Continuation of William of Tyre, and thus, for it to reference the IP2, the latter must have been completed by that time.⁴⁶ In the end, what does this time frame of 1217-1222 suggest? Nicholson argues that because the chronicle was compiled and finished so many years after the conclusion of the Third Crusade, it no longer represents the contemporary opinions towards the events of the Third Crusade, but rather, it speaks to the paradigm of the "next generation."⁴⁷ This point is crucial to keep in mind, as it shapes the kinds of conclusions that can be made about the opinions and motivations of the author in documenting these events. The *Itinerarium* was written after the fact, in the early thirteenth century. Thus, the opinions from this chronicle would reflect the longer-lasting legacy of the actions, as opposed to just the immediate reception.

The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir

Ibn al-Athir was born in 1160 and served the Zengi dynasty. As an Arab historian, his chronicle provided a narrative from the Muslim perspective from 1146-1193. This period covered the ending of the Second Crusade and continued through the conclusion of the Third

⁴⁴ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 11.

⁴⁵ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 224.

⁴⁶ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 12.

⁴⁷ Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 11.

Crusade in 1192. The chronicle of Ibn al-Athir provided a more well-rounded understanding of the Knights Templars' actions and how they were perceived, not only by fellow crusaders, but by their Muslim rivals.⁴⁸

Walter Map and *De Nugis Curialium*

Walter Map was born around 1130 on the border of England and Wales. He eventually came to serve as a royal clerk of King Henry II of England. The *De Nugis Curialium*, or “Courtiers’ Trifles,” is Walter Map’s only existing work. Most likely, Walter Map composed this work in the early 1180s. Unlike many chronicles of this century, the *De Nugis Curialium* was not written as “a series of fragments thrown together,” but rather, it was largely composed as a single volume.⁴⁹ It is worth noting that the *De Nugis Curialium* was written as an artistic literary work, as it showcased Walter Map’s skills as a storyteller in a variety of manners. For example, certain portions of the book were written in a satirical manner. However, “there is indeed some straight reporting in the book,” but due to the satirical and playful nature of certain portions of the *De Nugis Curialium*, it is important to cross-reference Walter Map’s accounts with those of more well-grounded contemporaries.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fil-Tarikh*, ed. and trans. Donald Sidney Richards (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 1-4.

Ibn al-Athir’s chronicle has been translated and broken into 3 parts as part of the “Crusade Texts in Translation” series. In particular, I am focused on the second part, which looks at the events from 1146-1193, named the “Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin.”

⁴⁹ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Christopher Brooke and Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors and trans. Montague Rhodes James (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

⁵⁰ Map, *De Nugis Curialium*. Introduction.

Chapter Outlines

The first chapter will examine the concept of the crusading spirit and the foundation of the Knights Templar after the conclusion of the First Crusade. The chapter begins by breaking down Pope Urban II's speech and identifies the values that formed the crusading spirit. As alluded to previously, these values included: religious zeal, loyalty to church, ferocity in combat against infidels, and fellowship with other Christians. The latter portion of the chapter examines the Knights Templar. The central primary source that is referenced in this section of the chapter is the Latin Rule of the Knights Templar, which was issued in 1129 at the Council of Troyes. As its title suggests, the Latin Rule outlined the rules and expectations for the Knights Templars' behavior and conduct. The contents of this Rule were regulated by the council of ecclesiastic and secular leaders that assembled at the council in 1129.⁵¹ The values of the crusading spirit can be seen as embedded layers within the rules and statutes of the Knights Templar. Thus, the rule not only enumerated the guidelines that were imposed upon the Templars, but it also demonstrated the aspirations of that Church authorities like Bernard of Clairvaux. Lastly, the first chapter looks at contemporary praise for the Knights Templar that came from the papacy and other ecclesiastic leaders. These individuals hoped that the Templars would reinforce the tenets of the crusading spirit, and therefore, assert the aspirations and mandates of the Church during the crusades.

The second chapter will concentrate on the actions of the Knights Templar from the year that they were founded (1118) until the conclusion of the Third Crusade (1192). The Knights Templar acted in a wide variety of manners and the chapter looks at the Templars in several different capacities: as a religious organization, as soldiers, as entrepreneurs, and as a political

⁵¹ Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, *The Templars: Selected Sources* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 31.

entity. As a religious organization, the Knights Templar protected pilgrims in the Holy Land on several occasions and were supposedly involved in the maintenance of certain holy sites around Jerusalem. As soldiers, the Knights Templar were greatly respected by their peers in combat. Their fellow crusaders looked to them for guidance and prowess in combat. Similarly, their Muslim foes both respected and resented them for the courage and effectiveness they showed on the battlefield. As entrepreneurs, the Knights Templar found unique methods of accumulating economic gains through their operations in the Holy Land. For example, the Knights Templar reaped financial benefits from their relationship with secular powers like King Richard of England and King Guy of Jerusalem. The Knights Templar participated in an exchange of the island Cyprus, which they owned. In this transaction, the Templars played the role of a bank.⁵² In tandem with their roles as entrepreneurs and soldiers, the Knights Templar also acted as somewhat of a political entity within the Holy Land. During the action of the Third Crusade, the Templars were occasionally involved in negotiations with Muslim forces.⁵³ However, they were involved in more traditional examples of politics as well. For example, the Knights Templar played a role in Richard I of England's attempt to wed his sister, Joan of Sicily, with Saladin's brother, Al-Adil, as part of a politically-motivated marriage.⁵⁴

The Church hoped that the Templars would go into the Holy Land as paragons of the crusading spirit and inspire other crusaders to act in Christian valor. However, based on the Templars' actions from 1118-1192 that are presented in the second chapter, it is apparent that the order was quick to create its own identity. Rather than viewing the Knights Templar's choice of actions as "right" or "wrong," the second chapter examines the Templars' decisions as their own

⁵² Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 315. See footnote 73. See Edbury (1994), "The Templars in Cyprus," p. 190.

⁵³ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 389.

⁵⁴ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 392.

interpretations of the Latin Rule, and more broadly, of their purpose in the crusading movement. In other words, the second chapter will show that the Knights Templar created their own path.

The third chapter examines the reactions of contemporaries towards the Templars' actions and groups their reception into two different "camps." The first camp was characterized by a narrative wherein the Templars' excellence in military matters reflected a continued need for their organization. Because of the necessity for strong fighters, this camp was able to overlook the order's pursuit of economic resources and political influence. On the other hand, another group of contemporaries believed that the Knights Templar had become corrupted by greed, and that through this degradation, they had outgrown their usefulness.

Chapter One

The Foundation of the Templars: Exemplars of the Crusading Spirit

The Concept of ‘Crusading Spirit’: Influences from the First Crusade

In the year 1095, Pope Urban II delivered a compelling speech to a large crowd of peers at the Council of Clermont. In this speech, the pope alerted his audience that the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, had requested aid from his Western Christian allies in the wake of an invasion by the Seljuq Turks.¹ Urban II emphasized that this conflict would eventually grow into a threat against all of Christendom if left unchecked. At this pivotal moment, Pope Urban II formalized his call for a campaign that would eventually be known as the First Crusade:

I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, it meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.²

In order to highlight the gravity of the situation, Urban II described the Muslims as “pagans,” “barbarians,” and “a despised and base race, which worships demons” who sought to “conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ.”³ To provide motivation for people to join the Crusade, the pope promised that under his

¹ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 9.

² Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech,” in Bongars, Jacques, “*Gesta Dei per Francos*,” quoted in *A Source Book for Medieval History*, ed. and trans. Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Scribners, 1905), 513-17.

Note: this version was accessed from the Fordham’s Internet Medieval Source Book. Jacques Bongars collected works of French writers from the crusades and in 1611, published them in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. The *Gesta Dei per Francos* was translated and included within the Source Book for Medieval History. Thus, this is a translated version of Fulcher of Chartres’ account of Pope Urban II’s speech at the Council of Clermont, as it was compiled by Jacques Bongars.

³ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

authority, “all who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins.”⁴ Conversely, Urban II foreshadowed the possible punishments that might await those who did not heed the crusading call, pondering “with what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion!”⁵

However, the pope did not begin his speech with the call to crusade, nor did he initiate the dialogue with any mention of Muslims, infidels, or pagans. Rather, he started by reminding his Christian audience of their duties towards God. Urban asserted that a servant of God should act like a shepherd, always remaining “faithful” and “zealous,” in protection of Christendom. Any failure to protect the “flock” would result in loss of “the reward laid up for you with God” – in other words, losing heaven and instead becoming “overwhelmed in hell, the abode of death.”⁶ It was through this “sermon” that the pope created a rallying cry based upon the religious fervor and piety of his audience. Similarly, the sermon reasserted the authority of the church over Christendom, uniting its jurisdiction with the will of God: “If you wish to be the friends of God, gladly do the things which you know will please Him. You must especially let all matters that pertain to the church be controlled by the law of the church.”⁷

The Christian ideals advocated within Urban’s sermon at the Council of Clermont contributed towards the foundation of a “crusading spirit” – a phrase which encapsulates the behaviors and attitudes that crusaders were expected to maintain throughout their “journey” with “God as their guide”.⁸ First and foremost, the crusaders were expected to make themselves right

⁴ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

⁵ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

with God, by following the commands of the Church. This reflected the desirable quality for faithfulness within the crusading spirit. Similarly, those who wanted to join the crusades were asked to recall lessons from the Bible and act accordingly. For example, Urban reminded the prospective crusaders that those who were self-centered and that neglected to give proper thanks to God would be sent to hell, as would those who were greedy and failed to properly use the resources at their disposal.⁹ To reinforce this rhetoric, Urban referenced the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus from Luke 16:19. This story from the Bible told of a rich man who had lived in luxury throughout his life but wasted it on fleeting desires. The rich man was sent to hell when he died, but Lazarus, a beggar, was sent to heaven upon his death. When the rich man complained about his agony in hell, he was reminded that although he possessed great wealth while alive, it had no bearing on what would happen after death. On the other hand, the beggar suffered poverty during his life but was never guilty of wasting what he had, and thus was blessed with the reward of heaven after he passed.¹⁰ Thus, by using lessons from the Christian faith, Urban demonstrated that selflessness and humility were crucial tenets of the crusading spirit.

The crusaders were similarly instructed that proper behavior included camaraderie and fellowship with their co-religionists. The pope expressed his clear disdain for in-fighting between Christians during his speech, saying, “Let those who have been accustomed unjustly to wage private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels.”¹¹ Urban spoke directly to the attendees of the Council of Clermont who came from positions of power, instructing them to enforce this rule and “correct those who are subject to you.”¹² However, the crusading spirit

⁹ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

¹⁰ Luke 16:19 NIV.

¹¹ Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

¹² Fulcher of Chartres, “Pope Urban II Speech.”

advocated for more than mere peace between Christians. Jonathan Riley-Smith addressed the extent of fellowship between crusaders as a part of his book titled, “Crusading as an Act of Love.”¹³ Riley-Smith argued that the crusaders “expressed their love of God” in the way that they became “followers of Christ” and “soldiers of Christ” that “joined an expedition out of love for him.”¹⁴ Riley-Smith mentioned that the tradition wherein crusaders would sew a cross onto their garments was not only “a symbol of his vow to crusade,” but a direct response to Christ’s statement in Luke 14:27: “Whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me cannot be my disciple.”¹⁵ By taking ownership of the religious duty that is symbolized in Luke 14:27, the crusaders also pledged to promote camaraderie amongst their ranks. While Riley-Smith has done fascinating work on this matter, I would venture a step further to say that these values were only part of a vision that papal leaders such as Urban II had for the crusading spirit.

The Lasting Concept of ‘Crusading Spirit’: Examples from the Second Crusade

Not yet 50 years after the conclusion of the First Crusade, a second major crusade campaign was launched in 1147.¹⁶ The Second Crusade (1147-1149) was sparked by the loss of the aforementioned County of Edessa to the Muslims in 1144.¹⁷ This event came as a shock and point of frustration for leaders within Christendom. Within the rhetoric that promoted the Second Crusade, the concept behind crusading spirit was both continued and reinforced. By the end of 1145, Pope Eugene III had issued a papal bull entitled *Quantum praedecessores*, where he stated

¹³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Crusading as an Act of Love,” in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 31-50.

¹⁴ Riley-Smith, “Crusading as an Act of Love.”

¹⁵ Luke 14:27 NIV.

¹⁶ For more historical context, see pages 1-10.

¹⁷ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book XIV.

his case for another crusade campaign. The papal bull was addressed to Louis VII of France, in hopes that he would initiate the movement by pledging his support for what would be known as the Second Crusade. In his appeal, Eugene III paid homage to the events of the First Crusade, honoring the previous crusaders whom had been “inflamed by the ardour of love.”¹⁸ He buttressed his claims by referencing the recent Muslim attack and capture of Edessa. The Pope noted that the “greatest proof of nobility and probity” in this circumstance would be to “bravely defend” the accomplishments of those that participated in the First Crusade. Alternatively, to ignore the present call to crusade would diminish the valor and sacrifice of their predecessors.¹⁹

Much as the late Pope Urban II had done, Eugene III invoked the concept of a crusading spirit within his own rhetoric. Pope Eugene III reinforced piety and faithful service as core tenets of the crusading spirit. For example, the pope reminded the recipients of the papal bull that crusaders should follow the lead of saints like Matthias, who was willing to “expose himself with his sons and relations to death” and “leave whatever he possessed in the world” in order to “manfully triumph over his foes.”²⁰ Similarly, in *Quantum praedecessores*, Pope Eugene III appealed for the crusaders to abandon their desire for worldly gains while on campaign. This focus built upon Urban II’s exhortation from the Council of Clermont for crusaders to remember the importance of humility. To this point, Eugene III instructed that “those who war for the Lord should by no means prepare themselves with precious garments, nor with provision for their

¹⁸ Pope Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*, in “*Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*,” by Michael Doeberl, quoted in *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, ed. and trans. by Ernest F. Henderson (London: George Bell and Sons, 1910), 333-336.

Note: Michael Doeberl was a German scholar who collected German works from 768-1250, *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*. This work included Pope Eugene III’s summon to the Second Crusade. It is translated and printed within Ernest Henderson’s *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. The work was accessed through Fordham’s Source Book for Medieval History.

¹⁹ Pope Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*.

²⁰ Pope Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*.

personal appearance, nor with dogs or hawks, other things which portend licentiousness.”²¹ In return for such sacrifices, Eugene pledged to renew Urban’s promise to grant remission of sins to those who participated in the crusade.²²

The crusading spirit was not only reinforced through the papal bull *Quantum praedecessores*. In 1144, Pope Eugene III commissioned Bernard of Clairvaux to preach sermons that would inspire Christians to support a second crusade. Bernard was a well-known French abbot and influential figure within Christendom, who had played a major role in the reform of the Benedictine monastic order and subsequent foundation of the Cistercian monastic order.²³ As mentioned previously in the introduction, and as will be expanded upon later, he also played a role in the foundation of the Knights Templar.

Through his sermons, Bernard of Clairvaux took the pope’s appeal for a second crusade and gave it a markedly aggressive and urgent tone. Bernard referred to their present situation as “a period of chastisement and ruin,” wherein the Muslims were starting to take back territories, such as Edessa, from the Christian crusader states.²⁴ Bernard also expanded upon the animosity and hatred that many of his co-religionists felt for the Muslims. Building off of Pope Eugene III’s description of the Muslims as “infidels” and “pagans” that “threaten the church of God and the whole of Christianity”²⁵, he asked for his listeners to imagine that “the enemy had invaded your cities, your castles, your lands; had ravished your wives and your daughters, and profaned your temples” and then questioned whether any of them would not “fly to arms.”²⁶ This disdain towards the Muslim enemies was a tenet of the crusading spirit that originated as early as Pope

²¹ Pope Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*.

²² Pope Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*.

²³ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 96-97.

²⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, “Why Another Crusade?” in *Michaud’s History of the Crusades*, ed. Joseph Francois Michaud and trans. W. Robson (New York: AMS Press, 1973), 329-381.

²⁵ Pope Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*.

²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, “Why Another Crusade?”

Urban II's speech at Clermont. Bernard's particular appeal for violence was built upon the animosity that had undoubtedly grown since then, due to all of the fighting from the First Crusade. At one point, Bernard commanded his listeners to "let a holy rage animate you in the fight" and to "let the Christian world resound with these words of the prophet, 'Cursed be he who does not stain his sword with blood!'"²⁷

On the other hand, when Bernard of Clairvaux wanted to invoke the crusading ideal of fellowship between Christians, he referred to his co-religionists as "brethren" and "family of Jesus Christ."²⁸ He implored his fellow Christians to remember the sacrifice of Jesus, stating that, "He who gave His life for you, today demands yours in return."²⁹

Pope Eugene III and Bernard of Clairvaux delivered their arguments just about 50 years after Pope Urban II gave his speech at Clermont. Furthermore, they advocated for a campaign that would require a completely different strategy in order to succeed. Yet, the underlying themes of their rhetoric continued to reinforce the crusading spirit as an embodiment of the mentalities, attitudes, and behaviors that the crusaders were expected to have during their campaign.

In summation of the aforementioned examples, the crusading spirit can be outlined by several distinct ideals. First, a crusader must have a willingness to serve God, on multiple levels. Not only should one obey God's commandments as any faithful Christian would be expected to, but as crusaders, they were expected to leave their homes and journey to the Holy Land. This was based off of another principle of the crusading spirit, which was a desire to be free of sin and inherit the reward of heaven. The crusaders were instructed to promote this Christian lifestyle while crusading, maintaining a sense of camaraderie and fellowship with their co-religionists.

²⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, "Why Another Crusade?"

²⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, "Why Another Crusade?"

²⁹ Bernard of Clairvaux, "Why Another Crusade?"

When it came to combat, those on crusade were expected to recall the evil deeds and wretchedness of their enemies, and to give their lives for God, if need be.

The Importance of the Crusades and the Crusading Spirit

The First Crusade was unprecedented, not just in terms of its large-scale military undertakings, but also in terms of its novelty within Church history. As Marcus Bull noted, it was the combination of “ecclesiastical, specifically papal, authorization of a war for the liberation or defense of the church; the granting of spiritual and temporal privileges to participants; and the taking of vows” that made the First Crusade “the earliest example of a new form of meritorious violence.”³⁰ For both the First and Second Crusades, the papacy promised the remission of sins for anyone who participated in the crusade. This meant that even an individual who had committed sin all their life and was guilty of heinous crimes would be promised a reward in heaven, if they perished while on crusade. This was a significant moment in the history of the Church: Pope Urban’s promise from his speech at the Council of Clermont was the first time such a “plenary,” or complete, indulgence had been offered by the papacy.³¹

But why make such a grand effort to motivate people to go on crusade? The Crusades presented a unique opportunity for the Church to bolster its position at the conclusion of a rather turbulent century. The East-West Schism, sometimes known as the “Great Schism,” had resulted in the withdrawal of Eastern Christians (Greek/Eastern Orthodox) from the Catholic Church in 1054.³² Even after the schism, the Church continued to feel the tides of change and other sources

³⁰ Marcus Bull, “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade,” *History* 78, no. 254 (1993): 353–72.

³¹ Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), 3.

³² Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (London, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1951-1954).

of division. In particular, Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV of the Holy Roman Empire quarreled over the connected issues of simony and investiture. Henry IV claimed that as a monarch, it was his right to appoint his own local church officials. On the other hand, Pope Gregory VII asserted that this was a power reserved for the papacy, which should be seen as universal and above all else on earth.³³ This division reflected the Church's weakening grasp on secular leaders and the commitment of its followers.

An important question still remains: how does the crusade, and perhaps more importantly, the crusading spirit fit into this historical context? The growing Muslim presence in Asia Minor threatened the vitality of the Eastern frontier of Christianity. When the Byzantine emperor, Alexois I Komnenos, asked for Pope Urban II's assistance against Muslim incursions, this created an opportunity for the papacy to unite Christians against a common enemy.³⁴ However, I take this argument one step further. Indeed, scholars such as Marcus Bull have noted the challenges towards the Catholic Church as motivating factors for the crusade. I argue further, that the values of the crusading spirit were specific points of emphasis for the papacy and other leaders within Christendom. The crusade would create large-scale movement to unite Christians, regardless of whether they were from the West or East, or whether they believed it was the monarch's right to appoint local church officials. However, leaders within the Church relied on the crusading spirit to instill and revitalize values of commitment and piety on the individual level.

The exhortation to adopt the crusading spirit was not be the first time the Church attempted to create change on the individual level. Earlier in the eleventh century, the Church

³³ Joseph McSorley, *An Outline History of The Church by Centuries: From St. Peter to Pius XII* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1949), 290.

³⁴ Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 99.

made a similar attempt through the Peace and Truce of God movement.³⁵ The Peace of God “mobilized support through councils and relic-gatherings, and used oaths and threats of spiritual punishment as a means to protect ecclesiastical property and vulnerable categories of persons.”³⁶ This was an effort from the church “to invest lords and knights with an ethical code.”³⁷

Pope Urban’s Speech: Better Understanding the Sources

There are several different recorded accounts of Pope Urban II’s speech at the Council of Clermont. According to the British historian H.E.J. Cowdrey, the most commonly cited versions were by “Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent, and William of Malmesbury.”³⁸ Cowdrey noted that “the four earliest wrote as though they had been present at Clermont.”³⁹ Thus far, I have been citing examples from Fulcher of Chartres, a French chronicler and priest who participated in the First Crusade. Fulcher’s journey in the crusade began in 1096 with the army of Duke Robert of Normandy, Count Robert of Flanders, and Count Stephen of Blois and Chartres.⁴⁰ Following the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, Fulcher began a life in Jerusalem and served Baldwin of Edessa, who would eventually become King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1100.

³⁵ Bull, “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade.”

³⁶ Bull, “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade.”

³⁷ Bull, “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade.”

³⁸ H.E.J. Cowdrey, “Pope Urban II’s Preaching of the First Crusade,” in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 15-30.

³⁹ Cowdrey, “Pope Urban II’s Preaching of the First Crusade.”

⁴⁰ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan and ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 8.

Note: this is a translated edition of Fulcher’s “A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem,” published as its own volume.

In many ways, Fulcher's account of Pope Urban's speech was the most comprehensive and complete source. As Harold Fink noted, "the work of Fulcher, in view of ... his learning and his zeal of accuracy, is of unusual importance."⁴¹ Fulcher's "zeal of accuracy" is apparent at several times throughout his chronicle, first appearing within his prologue, where he wrote that "I have recounted in style homely but truthful."⁴² Later within his chronicles, Fulcher showed a healthy amount of skepticism. In one situation, he demonstrated this when reporting the number of soldiers that had died after battle. He recognized that "often when different sorts of writers speak falsely the cause of such falsity is really adulation...Hence it is very plain that such is the shamelessness of lying that they will exaggerate the number of the enemy slain and minimize or omit entirely the losses of their friends."⁴³ Fulcher was often aware of his own limitations as an eyewitness, as he admitted his reliance on other sources on several occasions: "because these things happened far from us we were with difficulty able to learn with any certainty of the affair. Nevertheless as exactly as I was able I have written down what other have told me."⁴⁴ Lastly, scholars have usually been able to cross-reference Fulcher's statements and records with those of other contemporaries, adding further confidence in his accounts.⁴⁵

Returning to Fulcher's account of Pope Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont, scholars have divided convictions on whether or not Fulcher was present as an eyewitness. Some believed that the account's intimate recollection and thorough detailing of the Council of Clermont were indicators that Fulcher himself was present.⁴⁶ However, within his chronicle, Fulcher's account of Urban's speech was directly followed by a statement that he will address

⁴¹ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 5.

⁴² Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 57.

⁴³ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 280.

⁴⁴ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 254.

⁴⁵ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 42.

⁴⁶ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 5.

the journey to Jerusalem and its glorious success.⁴⁷ The tight proximity of these entries, despite their sizable gap in chronology, suggests a high likelihood that Fulcher's account of Pope Urban II's speech was written after the fact – most likely following the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099.

What are the implications of Fulcher's account being written in hindsight?⁴⁸ If Fulcher was not present at the Council of Clermont in 1095, then he compiled his account around 1099-1100, during the time he spent in Jerusalem while serving Baldwin I. Thus, rather than discussing whether Fulcher was able to record the exact words of Urban II, the importance falls upon Fulcher's mindset and surrounding contexts while he was compiling his texts in Jerusalem.

Fulcher was a devout and pious man, even before joining the First Crusade. This was evidenced throughout his numerous references to the Bible and his title as a "chaplain" of Baldwin I. To this point, Harold Fink agreed that "there can be little doubt of his clerical status."⁴⁹ While Fulcher apparently did not partake in any fighting during the crusade, he continued to follow his peers around, addressing religious matters. Even after the successful conquest of Jerusalem, Fulcher remained in the Latin East as a close advisor to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem.⁵⁰ While these events were several years after Urban II's speech and the matter at hand, they were only within a year or two of when he likely composed his edition of the speech. Thus, the context surrounding his time of writing is exceedingly relevant to the way in which we can interpret this source.

Fulcher was writing the beginning of his chronicle, including the account of Urban's speech, directly following the massive triumph of the crusaders at Jerusalem. Further, at the time of composition, he was also travelling with the entourage of Baldwin; the eventual first king of

⁴⁷ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 18-19.

⁴⁸ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 18-19.

⁴⁹ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 7.

⁵⁰ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 130.

Jerusalem. This was a dedicated and pious group of Christians, as Fulcher noted that “a Pisan archbishop named Daimbert” and “a certain bishop from Apulia” accompanied Baldwin on his journey to Jerusalem. The company that surrounded Fulcher while he was writing influenced him to spare no detail, or possibly, embellishment, when describing Pope Urban II’s vision for a crusading spirit. What implications does this have on our perception of the crusading spirit from these sources? While we might never know the exact words that Urban used during his speech at Clermont, the existence of a crusading spirit is clearly discernable from Fulcher’s account, demonstrating that pious individuals such as Fulcher had support and faith in the concept of crusading spirit.

Introducing the Knights Templar

For the leaders of Christendom during the First and Second Crusades, the crusading spirit described the mentalities, attitudes, and behaviors that all crusaders were expected to adopt during their campaign in the Holy Land. In 1118, just nine years after the crusaders’ conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, the Christian leaders of the Latin East were introduced to a group of crusaders called the Knights Templar. These individuals were united by a desire to live and die by the ideals and tenets of the crusading spirit. It was because of this motivation and dedication that the members of the Knights Templar were praised by ecclesiastical authorities as paragons and exemplars of the crusading spirit.

The Knights Templar were created from within the context of the crusader states: in particular, the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The order was founded in 1118 by “noblemen of knightly

rank,” “pious,” and “devoted to God.”⁵¹ These knights, known as the Templars, “placed themselves in the hands of the lord patriarch,” referring to Warmund of Picquigny, the Patriarch of Jerusalem at the time.⁵² The order of the Knights Templar was a unique organization because the members were knights, yet they pledged themselves “for the service of Christ” and vowed to “live perpetually in the manner of regular canons in chastity, and obedience, without personal belongings,” as a monk would.⁵³ Thus, to speak in general terms, the Templars were knights that vowed to serve Christ based on a pseudo-monastic lifestyle. Not only were the Templars accepted by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and his bishops, but Baldwin II, the King of Jerusalem, granted the Templars recognition and a temporary home in his palace.⁵⁴ In return, the Templars pledged to maintain the safety of pilgrims and citizens as they traveled along the roads and highways surrounding Jerusalem.

The Latin Rule of the Templars

In 1129, Hugh de Payens, the leader and founder of the Knights Templar, represented his order before the Council of Troyes. During this council, The Latin Rule of the Templars⁵⁵ was given to the fledgling Knights Templar by representatives of the papacy. As noted earlier, the Knights Templar organization existed prior to the Council of Troyes. However, their recognition at this point was rather contained within the area surrounding Jerusalem. Thus, the reception of an official rule represented papal interest in the Templars. The ensuing Latin Rule of the

⁵¹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, XII Book 7.

⁵² The Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem was a high-ranking bishop who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

⁵³ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, XII Book 7.

⁵⁴ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, XII Book 7.

⁵⁵ Sometimes referred to as the Primitive Rule of the Templars, or shortened to just the “Latin Rule”

Templars was based off of Hugh de Payens' descriptions of "the customs which he and his companions had followed until that time."⁵⁶ Malcolm Barber asserted that the Latin Rule was "drafted in the light of extensive discussion among the ecclesiastics and secular present."⁵⁷ The Latin Rule described the expectations and lifestyles that surrounded membership in the Templar organization, which were aligned with the ideals of the crusading spirit.

To reiterate, the crusading spirit encapsulated several values that were viewed as ideal for the crusaders – the most important was a willingness to serve God by obeying his commandments and carrying out his will by journeying to the Holy Land as warriors. Another component of the crusading spirit was an attitude of piety which included the desire to be free of sin and inherit the reward of heaven after death. The crusaders were encouraged to promote fellowship with their co-religionists, and hatred for their enemies. When it came to combat, the crusaders were expected to give their lives for God, if need be.

With that said, how exactly did the Latin Rule of the Knights Templar demonstrate that their organization was founded as an embodiment of the crusading spirit? To begin, the Latin Rule established a clear emphasis on religious discipline and a monastic-based Christian lifestyle. This is in fact, the very first rule: "We speak firstly to all those who secretly despise their own will and desire with a pure heart to serve the sovereign king as a knight and with studious care desire to wear, and wear permanently, the very noble armour of obedience."⁵⁸ The second rule echoed a similar sentiment, stating:

Above all things, whosoever would be a knight of Christ, choosing such holy orders, you in your profession of faith must unite pure diligence and firm perseverance, which is so worthy and so holy, and is known to be so noble, that if it is preserved untainted for ever, you will deserve to keep company with the martyrs who gave their souls for Jesus Christ.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁵⁷ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁵⁸ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁵⁹ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

Thus, the Latin Rule placed great importance on the crusading ideal of dedicated religious faithfulness. As Jonathan Riley-Smith described in “Crusading as an Act of Love,” this level of dedication to God was the ideal paradigm for seeing the crusader as foremost a Christian warrior and follower of Christ. However, the Rule of the Templars took things further, often drawing comparisons to monastic orders. For example, one rule stated: “promise to despise the deceitful world in perpetual love of God, and scorn the temptations of your body: sustained by the food of God and watered and instructed in the commandments of Our Lord.”⁶⁰ Malcolm Barber emphasized the monastic aspect of the Latin Rule of the Templars, as he noted that “it attracted wide interest in monastic circles, especially among the Cistercians and Victorines.”⁶¹

When Pope Urban II, Pope Eugene III, and Bernard of Clairvaux attempted to rally support for the Crusades, they promised that any deaths resulting from the crusade campaigns would be rewarded with the remission of sins and the ultimate prize of heaven. The Latin Rule took this message to heart, fully embracing the prospect of entering a fight to the death, on behalf of their God:

Moreover, you should profess your faith with a pure heart night and day that you may be compared in this respect to the wisest of all the prophets, who said: *Calicem salutaris accipiam*. That is to say: 'I will take the cup of salvation.' Which means: 'I will avenge the death of Jesus Christ by my death. For just as Jesus Christ gave his body for me, I am prepared in the same way to give my soul for my brothers.' This is a suitable offering; a living sacrifice and very pleasing to God.⁶²

Thus, the Rule of the Templars demonstrated that the foundation of the Templars was firmly based on the crusading ideals of serving God and desiring the remission of sins in order to inherit the reward of heaven.

⁶⁰ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁶¹ Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, 31.

⁶² Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

Furthermore, the Latin Rule showcased the crusading ideal which desired fellowship between crusaders, being brothers in Christ. As mentioned before, Jonathan Riley-Smith noted this aspect of “Christian love” in his work, and I venture further to say that these principles are clearly manifested in the Latin Rule of the Knights Templar: “We command by pious counsel that ageing and weak brothers be honoured with diligence and given consideration according to their frailty.”⁶³ Even in death, the Templars were instructed to honor one another: “When any brother passes from life to death...we command you to sing mass for his soul with a pure heart... all the brothers who are present where the body lies and serve for a fixed term should say one hundred paternosters during the next seven days.”⁶⁴

The Templars were given specific instructions in the event that they were sent overseas as part of their duties. Due to the fact that they would be interacting with individuals outside of their order, the Rule instructed:

Brothers who are sent throughout divers countries of the world should endeavour to keep the commandments of the Rule according to their ability and live without reproach with regard to meat and wine, etc. so that they may receive a good report from outsiders and not sully by deed or word the precepts of the Order, and so that they may set an example of good works and wisdom.⁶⁵

Thus, this tenet demonstrated the importance for the Templars to exemplify the principles of Christian fellowship, regardless of whether it was towards fellow order members or outsiders and strangers. This echoed the Christian ideals of Matthew 5:14-16: “You are the light of the world. A town built on a hill cannot be hidden. Neither do people light a lamp and put it under a bowl. Instead they put it on its stand, and it gives light to everyone in the house. In the same way, let

⁶³ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁶⁴ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁶⁵ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

your light shine before others, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father in heaven.”⁶⁶

Another aspect of the crusading spirit that was recognized by the Latin Rule of the Templars was ferocity in combat towards the infidel. Once again considering the sermons of Urban, Eugene, and Bernard of Clairvaux, the crusaders had no issue identifying their enemies as infidels, pagans, and barbarians. In fact, the crusaders were instructed to strike down on the enemies of Christendom given any possible opportunity, letting “a holy rage animate you in the fight.”⁶⁷ This sentiment was incorporated into the rule, stating that “you especially are charged with the duty of giving your souls for your brothers, as did Jesus Christ, and of defending the land from the unbelieving pagans who are the enemies of the son of the Virgin Mary.”⁶⁸

This tenet led to a point of confusion for many, as it was admittedly difficult to reconcile the combination of monastic and warrior lifestyles. However, as Riley-Smith noted in “Crusading as an Act of Love,” when it came to the ethics of violence, the crusaders saw a key difference between “hatred seeking vengeance,” which Christ denounced, and violence for “the suppression of heresy”. Supporters of the crusades cited examples such as “the prophet Elijah killing on authority from God” and “St. Paul delivering a sinner over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh, so that his spirit might be saved” in 1 Corinthians Chapter 5.⁶⁹ Thus, the crusaders saw their violence as a completely justified action – after all, the Pope and other religious figures like Bernard of Clairvaux had instructed for them to drive back the infidels. Once more, the Rule of the Templars exemplified this sentiment of the crusading spirit: “This kind of new order we believe was born out of the Holy Scriptures and divine providence in the Holy Land of the East.

⁶⁶ Matthew 5:14-16 NIV.

⁶⁷ Bernard of Clairvaux, “Why Another Crusade?”

⁶⁸ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁶⁹ Riley-Smith, “Crusading as an Act of Love.”

That is to say that this armed company of knights may kill the enemies of the cross without sinning.”⁷⁰ This rule addressed the potential ambiguity and frankly, paradox, that surrounded the unique combination of monastic and warrior lifestyles of the Knights Templar. Further, it demonstrated that the Templars were instructed to embrace the ideality for crusaders to be fierce in their combat against the infidel.

Contemporary Praise for the Knights Templar

Thus, the Latin Rule of the Templars demonstrated many of the ideals of the crusading spirit that were established by papal advocates of the crusades. For this, many ecclesiastical contemporaries gave praise to the Order in hopes that the Templars would continue on as paragons of the crusading spirit.

One of the most ardent supporters of the Knights Templar was none other than Bernard of Clairvaux, who was noted earlier in this chapter for his sermons in 1144 that advocated for the Second Crusade. However, Bernard had taken an interest in the Knights Templar years before that time. In fact, Bernard was one of the abbots that presided at the Council of Troyes in 1129, where the Knights Templar received their Latin Rule. Malcolm Barber noted Bernard’s influential role as a “rising star of the contemporary Church,” citing his involvement as “the most prominent member of the Cistercian Order” and “making his reputation with a series of outstanding treatises and commentaries on the spiritual life.”⁷¹ Furthermore, Barber noted that “he must have been a major influence on the framing of the Latin Rule,” citing the overt respect that Templars had for Bernard’s Cistercian order of monasticism.

⁷⁰ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

⁷¹ Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, 7.

Looking beyond Barber's observations, it certainly follows that Bernard of Clairvaux had much to gain from a relationship with the Knights Templar. Much as Bernard was an up-and-coming figure in the Church, the Knights Templar was a growing organization that began to command increasing amounts of power through papal recognition. For Bernard to align himself with such a successful organization reflected an investment in his own success within the Church. Indeed, just about two years following the Council of Troyes, "at the request of the Templar master Hugh de Paynes," Bernard composed a letter entitled "In Praise of New Knighthood."⁷² The letter began by addressing the Knights Templar as "Knights of Christ." Regarding the trait of piety from the crusading spirit, Bernard praised the order for their "new sort of knighthood."⁷³ This referenced their duality of monastic and warrior lifestyles, which Bernard equates to "clothing the body with the breastplate of iron and the mind with the breastplate of the faith," which references 1 Thessalonians 5:8 from the Bible.⁷⁴ The letter continued on in this manner, with Bernard mentioning certain aspects of life for the Knights Templar and then drawing parallels to Christian ideals that were reflected in the Bible. Among his topics of praise were religious zeal, military activities, discipline, humble and minimalistic lifestyle, and fellowship.⁷⁵ Thus, the letter demonstrated the kinds of aspirations that ecclesiastical authorities had for the Templars.

Aside from Bernard of Clairvaux, the papacy itself expressed optimism that the Knights Templar would be living examples of the crusading spirit. In 1139, Pope Innocent II issued the

⁷² Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, 8.

⁷³ Bernard of Clairvaux, "In Praise of New Knighthood."

Note: this is a translated version of Bernard's letter to the Templars, found within Malcolm Barber's compilation of Templar-related primary sources.

⁷⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, "In Praise of New Knighthood." Also, see 1 Thessalonians 5:8 NIV.

⁷⁵ For notes on religious zeal, see: In Praise of New Knighthood, Section I and V. For notes on military activities, see: In Praise of New Knighthood, Section I and III. For notes on lifestyle, discipline, and fellowship, see: In Praise of New Knighthood, Section IV.

papal bull *Omne datum optimum*, a statement which officially declared the Knights Templar as “defenders of the Catholic Church and attackers of the enemies of Christ.”⁷⁶ The document started out with praise for the Templars’ embodiment of Christian ideals: “like true Israelites and the most disciplined fighters of the divine battle, kindled by the flame of true charity, by your deeds you fulfil the words of the Gospel which says: ‘Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.’”⁷⁷ The papacy recognized that with the strict Rule of the Templars, the order had the opportunity to serve as ideal crusaders.

Pope Innocent II was not alone in his encouragement of the Knights Templar – just years later, in 1144, Pope Celestine II referred to the Templars as “new Maccabees in this time of Grace, renouncing earthly desires and possessions, bearing his cross, are followers of Christ.”⁷⁸

Continued Importance of the Crusading Spirit and the Knights Templar

Chapter Recap

Pope Urban II delivered a strong initial message through his speech at the Council of Clermont in 1095, where he declared the need for pious Christians to take up arms against the encroaching Muslims. Within his exhortation, Urban emphasized piety, religious duty, fellowship, and fierceness against the enemy. Although he did not refer to these values as the “crusading spirit,” the concept certainly gained traction and solidified throughout the course of

⁷⁶ Pope Innocent II, “*Omne datum optimum*,” in *Templars: Selected Sources*, by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 60.

Note: this is a translated version of Pope Innocent II’s papal bull entitled *Omne datum optimum*, found within the same Malcolm Barber compilation.

⁷⁷ Pope Innocent II, “*Omne datum optimum*.” Also, see Matthew 7:13-14 NIV.

⁷⁸ Riley-Smith, “Crusading as an Act of Love.”

the First Crusade. Moreover, the Church saw the crusading spirit as an opportunity to increase piety and adherence of Christians, on an individual level.

Following the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, a group of crusaders formed a military order known as the Knights Templar. The members of this order vowed to fight as warriors while adhering to monastic principles outside of combat. The unique duality of the Templar lifestyle reflected the Church's call for them to embody the values presented by Pope Urban II prior to the First Crusade. In other words, the founding Latin Rule of the Templar perpetuated the crusading spirit, allowing it to persist even after the conquest of Jerusalem. The papacy showered the Knights Templar with praise, hoping that the Templars would become somewhat of a "posterchild" for proper Christian behavior during the crusades.

In 1144, Muslim forces retaliated by retaking lands that now belonged to the County of Edessa, one of the crusader states that was founded after the First Crusade. The shocking nature of this attack provided an opportunity for Christian leaders to advocate for a Second Crusade. Bernard of Clairvaux joined Pope Eugene III to rally support for this campaign. Collectively, their rhetoric reinforced the values of the crusading spirit that had been established by Pope Urban II and embodied by the Knights Templar.

The papacy, along with other influential Church figures like Bernard of Clairvaux, hoped for successful traction of the crusading spirit. The values embodied by this concept served as a model framework for how a proper Christian should think and act. In other words, Church leaders hoped that Christians who had heard to the crusading call would experience a rejuvenation of their religiosity, through the pervasive mechanism of the crusading spirit.

Moving Forward

The next chapter examines the various actions of the Knights Templar following their foundation in 1118 until the end of the Third Crusade, in 1192. While Church leaders may have wanted the Knights Templar to live as paragons of the crusading spirit, the second chapter addresses the choices that the Templars made for themselves. In reality, the order became involved in a diverse set of matters, be they religious, militaristic, economic, or political in nature. Through their choices to pursue such actions, the Templars effectively chose to follow their own path; one that was ultimately different from what the Church had hoped for.

Chapter Two

The Actions of the Knights Templar

This chapter examines the actions of the Knights Templar in the years following their initial “birth” in 1118, up until the end of the Third Crusade in 1192. Their conduct is organized by the roles that they played as a religious organization, as soldiers, as entrepreneurs, and as a political entity. The Latin Rule of the Templars provided strict, but limited rules that were meant to dictate their actions. However, the adherence to these guidelines was subject to different interpretations. Thus, rather than thinking of each individual action as being either “deviant” or “compliant” according to the original mandate of the Latin Rule, this chapter takes a different approach. The Templars’ actions during the first century of their existence reflected their interpretation of the Latin Rule’s guidelines, and ultimately, they reflected the order’s purpose in the Holy Land. Furthermore, the Templars’ choices of behaviors suggested certain areas of emphasis that had been established between their foundation and the conclusion of the Third Crusade.

The Knights Templar as a Religious Organization

Protection of Pilgrims

One of the major reasons for the foundation of the Knights Templar was the need to protect pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land. A large-scale attack on pilgrims travelling from Jerusalem to the Jordan occurred on Easter of 1119. This was a catalyzing event that revealed the

pilgrims' dire need for protection.¹ As Martin Hoch wrote, this attack was indicative of the widespread threat that was posed by the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt, a "thorn in the flesh of the crusaders' kingdom."² In particular, the area of Ascalon was especially treacherous to the pilgrims because of its strategic location and proximity to Jaffa (Joppa) and Jerusalem. Hoch noted that Ascalon was "used primarily as a staging base for hit-and-run operations by its garrison."³ According to contemporary accounts, this route from Joppa to Jerusalem was one of the primary routes for pilgrims in the Latin Kingdom. Thus, it follows that it was also one of the most frequent targets of these raids.⁴

Around 1101, a merchant named Saewulf departed from Apulia, Italy to visit the Holy Land.⁵ Similarly, the Abbot Daniel, also known as Daniel of Kiev, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land from Russia around 1106.⁶ The accounts of Saewulf and Daniel both pre-dated the foundation of the Knights Templar. Thus, they did not necessarily reveal that the Templars engaged in the protection of pilgrims. However, their records demonstrated the kinds of treacherous conditions that pilgrims faced on their journey. It was from this context that the Knights Templar would eventually be founded.

Indeed, Saewulf noted that for pilgrims, the journey from Joppa to Jerusalem was "very dangerous too, because the Saracens, who are continually plotting an ambush against the Christians, were hiding in the caves of the hills and among rocky caverns."⁷ Similarly, Daniel the Abbot recorded that "nearby is the town of Ascalon from which Saracens sally forth and kill

¹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), Book 12 Chapter 33, 712-713.

² Praver, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*, 21.

³ Smail, R. C., *The Crusaders; in Syria and the Holy Land*, (New York: Praeger, 1973), 84.

⁴ Foucher de Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, Book 2 Chapter 37.

⁵ Wilkinson, John, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan, eds., *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185* (London: Routledge, 2016), 6-7.

⁶ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 9-10.

⁷ Saewulf, "A Reliable Account of the Situation of Jerusalem," 100.

travelers on those roads. There is a great fear too going up from that place into the hills.”⁸ Thus, we return back to the original point. The dangerous circumstances of pilgrimage travel and the continual threat of Ascalonite raids created a need for protection, and the Knights Templar was founded to meet this need. Indeed, William of Tyre noted that the protection of pilgrims against “ambushes set up by highwaymen (latrones) in addition to those of raiders (incursantes)” was critical to the original mission of the Knights Templar.⁹

As pointed out previously, the accounts of Saewulf and Daniel the Abbot pre-dated the creation of the Knights Templar. Thus, they suggested that there was a need for crusaders who were willing to defend pilgrims along their journey. Thus, a different set of sources is needed to determine whether the Templars actually rose up to answer this call. To this end, the accounts of Theoderic suggested that Templars did indeed engage in the protection of pilgrims.

Theoderic was a German monk who began his pilgrimage to the Holy Land around 1169.¹⁰ He noted that the Knights Templar rendered protective services in the area around the Golgotha (Cavalry), the site where Jesus was crucified, outside of Jerusalem: “the Templars have put into use all the fields and vineyards, and set up military posts and well defended camps throughout the whole region against the pagans.”¹¹ However, the Knights Templar did not limit their fortifications to the small area directly surrounding Jerusalem. Theoderic wrote that the Templars “occupied many towers and large houses” in a plain known to him as the “Garden of Abraham” with a breadth that “stretches down the Jordan,” and “its length to the Dead Sea.”¹²

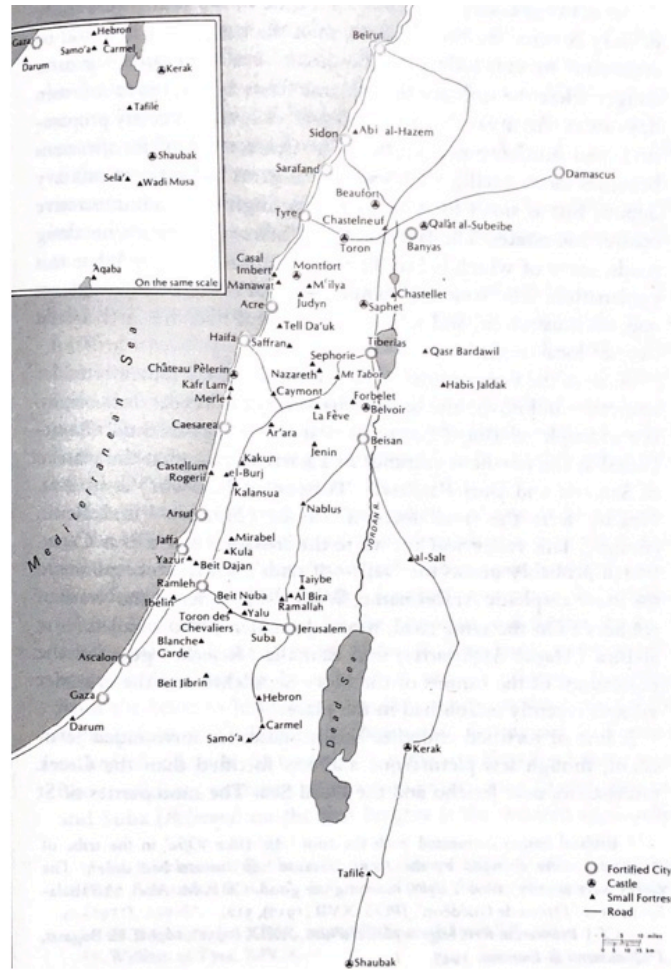
⁸ Daniel the Abbot, “THE LIFE AND JOURNEY OF DANIEL, ABBOT OF THE RUSSIAN LAND,” 126.

⁹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 12 Chapter 7.

¹⁰ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 22.

¹¹ Theoderic, “Pilgrimage Account of Theoderic,” 287-288.

¹² Theoderic, “Pilgrimage Account of Theoderic,” 303.



13

Specifically, Theoderic noted that the Templars occupied this location and used “violent attacks,” “in order to give safe conduct to the pilgrims going along the Jordan through Gentile country, and to provide them with protection against any Saracen damage that they might suffer in their way down, on their return, or by staying the night there.”¹⁴

The Templars attempted to protect pilgrims from naturally occurring dangers as well. As Theoderic wrote, in a mountainous region near Caesarea, the Templars manned a castle, “which

¹³ Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom*.

¹⁴ Theoderic, “Pilgrimage Account of Theoderic,” 303.

assists people who are far out at sea to recognize the mainland.”¹⁵ Thus, not only was the pilgrimage a dangerous task due to hostile forces, but the path was fraught with treacherous conditions – even if they occurred by nature. In summary, Theoderic’s account demonstrated that the Templars protected pilgrims from an array of threats, suggesting that they were invested in the general well-being and safety of their travelling peers.

Outside of primary sources that recorded specific instances where the Knights Templar intervened in the defense of pilgrims, other contemporary sources provided indirect support that there was an urgent need for the Knights Templar to serve as somewhat of a militia force within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Indeed, Jerusalem was in dire need of soldiers after many of the crusaders returned home to Europe after the conquest of the city in 1099. At one point, the kingdom had no standing army and relied on levying a militia from male residents. King Baldwin II even faced insubordination from his vassals at one point, due to his inability to rally sufficient men-at-arms. Thus, when the Knights Templar assembled in 1118 as a dedicated and elite unit of warriors, Baldwin was quick to welcome their presence.¹⁶ The contemporary chronicler Ernoul noted that the king was overjoyed by the foundation of the Knights Templar. This sentiment aligns with the accounts of William of Tyre who wrote that King Baldwin II gave the Knights Templar rooms in his palace and valuable real estate land within the city of Jerusalem. These holdings included the “Aqsa Mosque on the site of the Temple of Solomon” and “the Canons of the Dome of the Rock” for the knights’ workshops.¹⁷

The French Rule of the Knights Templar also indicated that they played a role in the protection of pilgrims throughout the Holy Land. The French Rule was written circa 1140 and it

¹⁵ Theoderic, “Pilgrimage Account of Theoderic,” 309.

¹⁶ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 12 Chapter 7.

¹⁷ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 12 Chapter 7.

consisted of “additions made in order to take account of the developing functions of the Templars,” effectively expanding upon the original Latin Rule which had become “inadequate as a means of encompassing the activities of a military order.”¹⁸

Within the text of the French Rule, the military guidelines for making camp and marching were influenced by the necessity of moving efficiently and defensively when accompanying pilgrims. Brothers of the Knights Templar were given specific guidelines on how to make camp in the French Rule. Specific brothers were instructed to “pitch their tents round the chapel and outside the ropes,” forming a defensive perimeter and making themselves the first defense against any potential intruders.¹⁹ Furthermore, the specification of having the chapel in the center of their camp would most readily guarantee the safety of pilgrims that wanted to pray during the downtime.

Under the French Rule, brothers were not permitted to wander outside the audible range of the alarm or bell. A specific crier of orders was tasked with communicating any orders or alarms to the camp inhabitants: “if the alarm is raised in the camp, those who are near the shout should answer to the call “with their shields and lances.” Conversely, those further away were instructed to “go to the chapel to hear the orders that are issued.” If an alarm was raised outside the camp, “they should not leave without permission, not even for a lion or a wild beast.”²⁰ Thus, the French Rule established the camps of the Knights Templar as a clear defensive formation that focused on staying in close-quarters, rather than as an offensive or forward-facing formation. These guidelines were heavily influenced by the pilgrim-protecting activities of the Knights Templar.

¹⁸ Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, 67.

¹⁹ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

²⁰ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

Most notably, the brethren were instructed to invite in “any worthy man who should be honoured who comes to his camp or passes before his lodgings.”²¹ In addition to encouraging hospitality towards allies, this rule was created with respect to the nature of a pilgrimage – specifically, if any other journeyers were to come across a Knights Templar camp, they would be welcomed and brought in along with others.

When marching, the French Rule established strict guidelines for maintaining a defensive column of movement. The brothers were given a specific place within the column, instructed not to “move from their places unless the Marshal has the order called or commands it.”²² In the event that a brother had to speak with the Marshal, “when he has spoken to him, he should return to his place.”²³ During periods of movement, the brothers were instructed to “keep silent except for any important task.”²⁴ This was not only a matter of discipline, but a defensive strategy that reduced the amount of noise and increased the odds of noticing disturbances or lurking dangers. Many of the rules for marching were similar to those given for establishing camp. For instance, “no brother should leave his troop to water his horses or for anything else, without permission.”²⁵ The usage of alarms was employed in almost the same manner, with those near the cry being instructed to “take up their shields and lances,” while those further away should “go towards the Marshal to hear his command.”²⁶ In addition to a generally defensive formation while marching, the French Rule contained safeguards against ambushes. One rule specified the need for reconnaissance patrols, which consisted of Templars that scouted further ahead of the main line in order to identify any upcoming threats or obstacles.²⁷ Thus, many of the rules for marching

²¹ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

²² Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

²³ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

²⁴ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

²⁵ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

²⁶ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

²⁷ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

were safeguards that were employed to protect pilgrims. The clear and almost exaggerated usage of defensive formations and countermeasures indicated a concern with possible threats on their own position, rather than a preoccupation with objectives in the distance. The creation of these guidelines as an addendum to the Latin Rule indirectly supports the notion that the Knights Templar were active in their protection of pilgrims.

Maintenance of Holy Sites

Looking at the actions of the Knights Templar as a religious organization, so far, we have seen their role in the protection of pilgrims. Let us return to the accounts of pilgrims that traveled to the Holy Land during the twelfth century. The “Second Guide,” as scholars modernly refer to it, was “a guide-book which has been signed by a pilgrim.”²⁸ The content from this guidebook indicated that the Knights Templar were involved with the maintenance of religious sanctity for various holy sites along the pilgrimage. Namely, the Templars were interested in Way of the Cross. This portion of the pilgrimage commemorated the journey of Jesus to the place of his crucifixion.²⁹ The original motivation for this commemorative procession came from Matthew 16:24: “If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me.”³⁰ Through this portion of the pilgrimage, travelers would visit the sites where Jesus underwent his trials, prior to his crucifixion. According to contemporary accounts, the Knights Templar maintained these sites, as well as the Sheep Pool.³¹ This was the site where Jesus cured a paralyzed man in the fifth chapter of The Gospel of John.³² Furthermore, the Templars

²⁸ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 6.

²⁹ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 240.

³⁰ Matthew 16:24 KJV

³¹ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 240.

³² John 5 KJV

contributed towards the religious motivations of pilgrims by rebuilding a dome-like structure which they named the “Throne of Jesus.” Similarly, the “Sorrowful Gate” allowed entry into the city of Jerusalem and more specifically, into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This was thought to be the place of Jesus’ crucifixion, burial, and subsequent resurrection.³³ This might have been the most sacred site in the Holy Land, from the perspective of the pilgrims.

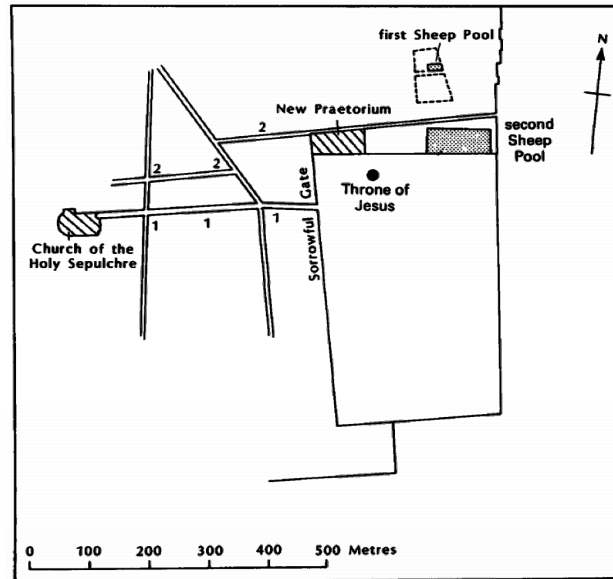


Fig. 19. The Templars' Way of the Cross

34

The Knights Templar as Soldiers

Combat against Muslims

The military activities of the Knights Templar were certainly not limited to defensive situations that came with protecting pilgrims. In fact, one clause within the Latin Rule stated that

³³ Matthew 27:33, 35, 59-60

³⁴ Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 77.

“this armed company of knights may kill the enemies of the cross without sinning.”³⁵

Accordingly, the Knights Templar certainly excelled in their military operations.

The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* was a chronicle that recorded many of the Knights Templars' military accomplishments during the Third Crusade. On several occasions, the *Itinerarium* noted that the Knights Templar were extremely valuable assets on the battlefield. In 1189, the crusaders laid siege to the city of Acre. The Knights Templar had established their encampment along with the rest of the crusader forces. However, the writer noted that “the perimeter of the walls was too long and the [crusader] army was too thinly spread for a complete blockade.” Because of this limitation, “the enemy was able to come and go freely.” Eventually, the Turks came out of the city to attack the crusader positions “from both sides.” The writer recalled that the Muslim forces “were easily able to break through our broken lines” and that many of the crusaders were forced to retreat. This is where the *Itinerarium* recorded the intervention of the Knights Templar, as they “came to their relief as they were falling back.”³⁶

The Knights Templar were also recognized for their ferocity in combat. In a skirmish during the siege of Acre on October 4 1189, the Templars attacked an enemy camp alongside King Guy of Jerusalem. According to the *Itinerarium*, the battle began in overwhelming favor for the crusaders, as the enemies “turned in flight, deserting their camp.” However, the tide turned when “a vast body of the enemy sallied out from part of the city which was not under siege.” At this moment, the Knights Templar rose to the occasion once more. The writer noted that “the Knights of the Temple, who are second to none in renown and devoted to slaughter, had

³⁵ Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*.

³⁶ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 75.

already charged through all the enemy lines.”³⁷ In the midst of the battling, Gerard de Ridefort, the master of the Templars, fell in battle. The writer praised his bravery and character, declaring that “the Lord conferred such great glory on him, giving him the laurel wreath which he had earned in so many battles and making him a fellow of the college of martyrs.”³⁸ The *Itinerarium* focused on the heroic nature of Gerard’s death: “when he saw his troops being slaughtered on all sides, and was urged by his companions to flee so that he would not perish, he replied: ‘Never! It would be shame and scandal for the Templars.’”³⁹ Whether or not this account is factually true, the writer believed that bravery and fearlessness were some of the qualities that the Knights Templar should be known for.

While the *Itinerarium* was written and compiled by crusaders, there were also examples where the Muslims demonstrated a certain degree of respect for the Templars’ performance in battle. However, the result of this recognition was sometimes quite detrimental to the Knights Templar. In the aftermath of the Battle of Hattin on July 4 1187, Saladin “ordered that all the Templars be beheaded.” The writer explained that “he decided to have them utterly exterminated because he knew that they surpassed all others in battle.”⁴⁰ However, the Knights Templar took their death sentence in earnest. “Among these knights of Christ a certain Templar named Nicholas had been so successful in persuading the rest to undergo death willingly” and that Nicholas “only just succeeded in obtaining the glory of martyrdom first – which was an honour he very much strove for.” The writer concluded by referring to these executed Templars as “holy martyrs” who had “a ray of celestial light shone down clearly on their bodies.”⁴¹

³⁷ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 78-79.

³⁸ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 78-79.

³⁹ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 78-79.

⁴⁰ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 34.

⁴¹ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 34.

The prestige of the Knights Templar could also be perceived through the marching formations of the crusader armies. As the *Itinerarium* noted, as the crusader army marched towards Caesarea in August of 1191, “the Templars formed the vanguard” – this meant that the Templars were in charge of leading the procession and therefore securing forward positions ahead of the main force. On the other hand, when “the Turks were constantly threatening and approaching from the flank,” the Templars were re-tasked to form the rearguard.⁴² Thus, the Templars were treated as an elite unit of fighters when embedded amongst the greater number of crusader forces.

In book four of the *Itinerarium*, the marching formations and tactics of King Richard I and the crusader army are outlined in fine detail. As part of this narrative, the writer noted that on September 7 1191, prior to the notable Battle of Arsuf, King Richard “established twelve squadrons, which were divided proportionally into five battalions.” As part of his orders, “the Templars commanded the first battalion of the army.”⁴³ In such a pivotal battle, King Richard and the other crusader forces clearly respected the warfighting abilities of the Knights Templar. King Richard I had spent much time in the company of the Knights Templar as his campaign progressed and he had become accustomed to their service in his army. On March 31 1192, French knights approached King Richard and requested a military escort to guarantee their safe travel toward Tyre. Richard “assigned a great number of companions to escort them on their journey, i.e. Templars.”⁴⁴ This sequence of events is almost reminiscent of a personal favor that the Templars render unto King Richard. Such circumstances would not be surprising, as the Templars had grown accustomed to service in his army for a few years at this point. However,

⁴² Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 240.

⁴³ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 246.

⁴⁴ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 295.

perhaps it was this kind of intimacy with King Richard that led to the Templars' eventual participation as bankers for Richard and other kings.

Maintenance of Fortresses and Strongholds

As another component of their role as a military organization, the Knights Templar were also awarded with the ownership of several prominent fortress strongholds in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Specifically, King Fulk constructed strongholds near Ascalon, Jaffa, and Jerusalem called the *Gegenburgen* (blockading fortresses). Fulk entrusted the Knights Templar with the maintenance and defense of these strongholds.⁴⁵ Their responsibilities were to: “check Ascalonite raids, to be nuclei of lordships and centers of colonization, and to serve as logistic and operational bases for attacks upon Ascalon.”⁴⁶ As noted previously, the award of these strongholds was in part made possible by the political entanglement between King Fulk and the Knights Templar. However, even before this alliance, Hugh de Paynes had experienced success in rallying support following the Council of Troyes. In England, France, and Spain, the Templars received “so many gifts of land, men and money that the Order was obliged to organize new provinces and preceptors.”⁴⁷ Hugh himself returned from Europe with “a great number of knights and men.”⁴⁸ Thus, the Knights Templar were active in building the strategic infrastructure of the crusaders both leading up to and during the Second Crusade. Even in 1191, the Knights Templar were still participating in the ownership and maintenances of key fortresses. The writer of the

⁴⁵ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 17 Chapter 12.

⁴⁶ Martin Hoch, “The Crusaders' Strategy Against Fatimid Ascalon and the 'Ascalon Project' of the Second Crusade,” in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 119-130.

⁴⁷ Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, “The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar,” in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 57-66.

⁴⁸ Bulst-Thiele, “The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar.”

Itinerarium noted that “the Templars rebuilt the Casal of the Plains; while the Turks constantly threatened them and harassed them however they could.”⁴⁹

The Knights Templar as Entrepreneurs

The chronicles of the twelfth century indicated that by the end of the Third Crusade in 1192, the Knights Templar had amassed large amounts of economic capital. These resources were primarily manifested in land wealth and financial prosperity.

According to contemporary historian William of Tyre, “[The Knights Templar] are said to have vast possessions, both on this side of the sea and beyond. There is not a province in the Christian world today which does not bestow some part of its possessions upon these brethren, and their property is reported to be equal to the riches of kings.”⁵⁰ Certainly, William acknowledged their exorbitant amounts of wealth and land holdings.

Similarly, Ibn al-Athir’s accounts of the Muslim capture of Acre in 1187 revealed that the Knights Templar possessed large amounts of worldly wealth:

All the fief revenues, the villages and such like that had belonged to the Templars there he gave to the Lawyer ‘Īsā. What was left that the Franks could not manage to carry away the Muslims plundered. There was so much that it was impossible to count it. They found there a great deal of gold, jewels, siglaton, fine linen textiles, sugar, weapons and goods of other sorts.⁵¹

The *Itinerarium* captured one of the most significant moments within the Knights Templars’ entrepreneurial and economic activities in the Holy Land. The author noted that the Knights Templar’s were involved in a significant transaction of land and currency between King

⁴⁹ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 268.

⁵⁰ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 12 Chapter 7.

⁵¹ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 325.

Richard of England and King Guy of Jerusalem. “King Richard, prompted by compassion and by King Guy’s good reputation, conferred on him for nothing the government of the island of Cyprus, although the Templars had previously bought it from the king. So the terms of the Templars’ purchase were exchanged and King Guy became emperor of the island of Cyprus.”⁵² Helen Nicholson noted that “The Templars had bought Cyprus from King Richard to ease his financial problems and increase their own landholdings and revenues...Guy apparently reimbursed the Templars 40,000 dinars which they had paid Richard for it.”⁵³

The Knights Templar as a Political Entity

Closely related to their economic and entrepreneurial activities, the Knights Templar also became involved in matters of politics both within the Holy Land and even back in Europe. From as early as their foundation in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Templars were seen as a beneficial ally. The political value of the Knights Templar was in part derived from the support they received from the papacy and other notable religious figures like Bernard of Clairvaux. The support of the papacy for the Knights Templar has been demonstrated on several occasions already, via the official Latin Rule and recognition for the military order at the Council of Troyes and the Council of Pisa. Similarly, Bernard of Clairvaux openly praised the Knights Templar through his speeches and sermons. However, Bernard’s open letter, “In Praise of New Knighthood”, is the most significant written primary source that documents his support for the Knights Templar.⁵⁴ Not only did Bernard have religious and political power of his own (evident

⁵² Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 315.

⁵³ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 315. See footnote 73. See Edbury (1994), “The Templars in Cyprus,” 190.

⁵⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, “In Praise of New Knighthood.”

in his sermons that convinced secular state leaders such as Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany to participate in the Second Crusade), but he also was the advisor to Pope Innocent.⁵⁵ Thus, an alliance with the Knights Templar came with the prospect of further connections with other political and religious authorities.

Similarly, Baldwin's successor, Fulk of Anjou, sought to strengthen his position in the Latin Kingdom with the help of the Knights Templar. Because the Knights Templar held such a great deal of physical presence in the Latin Kingdom, it would have been a very helpful partnership to have, much as it had benefited his father-in-law and predecessor, King Baldwin II. Indeed, Fulk contributed to the Order giving it an annuity. This allowed him to influence the upcoming election for next grand master of the Knights Templar. Fulk of Anjou endorsed and promoted Robert of Burgundy for the position, and he ultimately prevailed. Fulk and Robert had been acquainted previously and Robert stood to improve his station in life by holding a high rank such as grand master of the Knights Templar.⁵⁶ Thus, Robert was an ideal prospect for Fulk of Anjou to support, in order to earn the future loyalty of the Knights Templar. In return, Fulk and the Kingdom of Jerusalem continued to provide a hospitable environment for the Order, allowing them to continue developing. Holistically, the political activities of the Knights Templar were bi-directional interactions.

The Knights Templar were also involved in negotiations with Muslim forces, especially during the Third Crusade. For example, when crusaders moved to recapture Acre in 1189, Ibn al-Athir recorded that "the Franks then sent to Saladin to discuss the city's surrender." An emir named al-Mashtūb was "the most distinguished and the senior" who negotiated the surrender on

⁵⁵ Mayer, *The Crusades*, 97.

⁵⁶ Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974), 30.

behalf of the Muslims. Al-Mashtub “arranged with [the Franks] to surrender the city and for the defenders to leave with their property and their lives. In return for that he offered them 200,000 dinars, fifty prisoners of note, the return of the Holy Cross and 14,000 dinars for Marquis, lord of Tyre.”⁵⁷ This deal was agreed upon and the crusaders entered the city. However, once they had taken control, the crusaders “acted treacherously and seized the Muslims within and their goods. They imprisoned them and maintained that they were doing this to ensure that they received what they had been offered.”⁵⁸ Saladin became frustrated with the negotiation process and demanded that the Templars become a part of the negotiation and reconciliation process. Saladin sent a message back to the crusaders, stating “we shall give you this money, the prisoners and the Cross and give you hostages for what is outstanding and you can free our men. The Templars can guarantee the hostages and swear to keep faith with them.”⁵⁹ According to Ibn al-Athir, the crusaders would not swear to this deal, and “people understood then that [the Franks] meant treachery, that they would only release the army pages, the poor, the Kurds and those of no account, while detaining the emirs and the wealthy to demand ransoms from them.”⁶⁰ In the end, the two sides did not reach a resolution, and on August 20 1191, the two sides clashed in combat. The crusaders killed many of the prisoners and Saladin pulled out of the negotiation as well. Thus, despite the unfortunate conclusion, Ibn al-Athir’s account suggested that the Knights Templar came to play a role in politics and negotiation towards the latter portion of the Third Crusade.

Ibn al-Athir also noted that the Knights Templar played a role in politics that were considered more inter-crusader in nature. Ibn al-Athir wrote about King Richard of England’s

⁵⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 389.

⁵⁸ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 389.

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 389.

⁶⁰ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 389.

attempt, after the crusader recapture of Acre in 1191, to marry his sister Joan, to al-Adil, Saladin's brother. This was an attempt to form a joint rulership of the area surrounding Jerusalem. As Ibn al-Athir recorded, "Jerusalem and the coastal lands that the Muslims held should be al-Ādil's and Acre and what was in Frankish hands should be for the king's sister."⁶¹ However, his account interestingly stated that "the Templars would accept whatever was agreed upon," suggesting that the Order had a notable role to play in the acceptance of this treaty.⁶² Ultimately, the marriage did not happen because "the priests, bishops, and monks assembled before the king of England's sister and expressed their disapproval."⁶³ However, it is surprising that the Knights Templar played any kind of a role in such a non-militaristic political dealing. Moreover, it is unprecedented that they held such an important position in the passage of the treaty. This indicated that the Templars held a considerable amount of influence as a political entity.

Conclusion

As a religious organization, the Knights Templar was involved with the protection of pilgrims and the maintenance of various religious sites in the Holy Land. However, some of their most notable actions occurred within their capacity as soldiers. The Templars were highly regarded for their bravery and excellence in battle. They were respected not only by their fellow crusaders, but also by their enemies as well. It was this excellence in military matters that allowed the Knights Templar to expand their operations in other domains. Namely, the

⁶¹ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 392.

⁶² Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 392.

⁶³ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 392.

successful fulfillment of this wartime role allowed the Knights Templar to build economic capital and political power.

While the order might have been originally founded with the Church's hope that the Templars would reflect the Christian values of the crusading spirit, the Knights Templar chose their own priorities, as shown by their conduct from 1118-1192. Contemporaries that witnessed the choices of the Knights Templar were divided in their reception. The following chapter examines and organizes the reactions that contemporaries had to the actions of the Knights Templar.

Chapter Three

The Impact of the Templars on Crusading Spirit: Contemporary Reactions

Introduction

The Templars' actions from their foundation up until the end of the Third Crusade were greatly varied. In the domain of religious duties, the Knights Templar made its greatest contributions in the protection of pilgrims and the maintenance of holy sites near Jerusalem. However, they were not significantly involved in actions that would be considered "traditionally" religious. For example, the Knights Templar did not appear to be involved in religious conversions, nor were they involved with the pseudo-monastic duties that were specified by the Latin Rule. As soldiers, the Templars held a reputation that was recognized by both sides of the battlefield. In return for their military services, a niche role opened up for the Templars as "entrepreneurs" in the Holy Land. In their capacity as bankers, they collected large sums of currency and in some cases, real estate. Although there was a lack of precedent for such activities within the statutes of the Latin Rule, the Templars utilized their advantage within the military scene of the Holy Land as an opportunity to harness financial, and eventually, political power. Once again driven by its battlefield reputation, the Knights Templar was eventually respected as an entity of its own and the order became a notable player within the Latin East. The Templars soon found themselves at the "negotiating table" of crusades politics. By the end of the Third Crusade, their organization was capable of making deals with figures like Saladin and Richard I of England.

Thus, while the Knights Templar may have been initially founded with the Church's hope that they would become champions in maintaining the crusading spirit, within the first century of their existence, the Knights Templar had already adopted their own agenda. Their priorities were made apparent through their actions. The third chapter examines how contemporaries received these actions and subsequent choices.

A wide variety of contemporaries wrote about the Knights Templar: some of these accounts came from lay backgrounds, others came from secular leadership, and most often, the written records came from members of the clergy. Even on the opposite side of the battlefield, the Muslims had established their own opinions of the Knights Templar by the end of the twelfth century. This chapter organizes the opinions and viewpoints of these contemporary accounts into two main "camps." One narrative held that the Templars' battlefield accomplishments had earned them the right to expand their operations into the economic and political realms. The other camp of contemporaries recognized the contributions that the Knights Templar had made on behalf of the crusader cause; however, they felt that the Templars were guilty of certain grievances that far outweighed any good that they had done. Members of this camp asserted that the Knights Templar had brought these grievances on themselves by exchanging their religious principles for worldly sins – namely, avarice and lust for power. Both camps included viewpoints from notable chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that enjoyed prolific circulation throughout the Holy Land and Europe. Thus, the opinions held by these contemporaries had some degree of influence over popular understanding of the crusading movement. The third chapter looks at the reception of the Templars' actions through these avenues.

Pro-Templar Narrative: Focusing on the Positive Contributions of the Knights Templar

The first camp of contemporary opinions received the positive contributions of the Knights Templar in military matters with open arms. Their accounts represented a willingness to look past instances that members of the other camp considered signs of irreconcilable corruption and avarice.

The *Itinerarium* and Praise for Military Actions

The aforementioned *Itinerarium*¹ praised the bravery of the Knights Templar on many occasions. The chronicle suggested that the order's valor on the battlefield made them a worthy part of the crusader forces. In particular, the Knights Templar were noted for their role in the Battle of the Springs of Cresson in May 1187.² Saladin had assembled the Muslim forces and was marching on the Tiberias region of Palestine. During his advance, he came across Knights Templar forces that were led by the master of the Templars, Gerard de Ridefort. The writer noted that during the ensuing battle, "a handful of our people were surrounded by an immense army."³ An individual Templar, whom the *Itinerarium* identifies as a knight by the name of Jakelin de Manily, "brought all the enemy assault on himself through his outstanding courage. While the rest of his fellow knights had either been captured or killed, he bore all the force of the battle alone and shone out as a glorious champion for the law of his God."⁴ The *Itinerarium* expanded upon the heroic efforts of de Manily, noting that "when he saw so many thousands running towards him from all directions he strengthened his resolve and courageously undertook the

¹ See page 13 for discussion on authorship of the *Itinerarium*.

² Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 25.

³ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 25.

⁴ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 25.

battle, one man against all.”⁵ The *Itinerarium* noted that “his commendable courage won him his enemies’ approval,” as his foes “urged him to surrender,” but de Manily “ignored their urgings, for he was not afraid to die for Christ.” When the struggle finally came to an end, de Manily “sank to the ground and joyfully passed to heaven with the martyr’s crown, triumphant.”⁶

While the details of this account were likely embellished, the attention that was drawn by this incident did not cease after the conclusion of the battle. As it spread into popular legend, the bravery of the Knights Templar at the Battle of the Springs of Cresson became a well-known story amongst the communities that received it.⁷ Regarding the legacy of this glorious death in combat, the *Itinerarium* recorded that “the field in which they stood was completely reduced to dust and there was not a trace of the crop to be seen. It is said that there were some who sprinkled the body of the dead man with dust and placed the dust on their heads, believing that they would draw courage from the contact.”⁸ The influence of the Templars’ bravery at the Battle of the Springs Cresson continued even further, as the *Itinerarium* noted that “one person was moved with more fervor than the rest. He cut off the man’s genitals, and kept them safely for begetting children so that even when dead the man’s members – if such a thing were possible – would produce an heir with courage as great as his.”⁹ The dramatic details of this story demonstrated the kind of public attention and reputation that the Knights Templar garnered for themselves when it came to their ferocity and heroism in combat. The *Itinerarium* provides this vivid viewpoint that fell within a camp of contemporaries that saw the Knights Templar as a positive contribution towards the crusading movement.

⁵ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 25.

⁶ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 25.

⁷ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 26.

⁸ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 26.

⁹ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, 26.

Henry II's Approval of the Knights Templar

Henry II never went on a crusade himself, but instead provided monetary support to the Knights Templar as a “stand-in” for his personal participation.¹⁰ This act reinforced the pro-Knights Templar narrative, as it recognized and valued the Templars’ contributions to crusading movement. In this case, not only was Henry II able to overlook the order’s pursuits in the economic and political realms, but by contributing funds to them, he willfully facilitated the Templars’ growth in these areas. The *Itinerarium* corroborated these events, as the writer noted that “Henry II king of the English had accumulated a great deal of money with the Templars” and that Henry “had sent this money to Jerusalem over a period of many years for the support of the Holy Land. It is said that the sum amounted to 30,000 marks.”¹¹

King Louis VII's Approval of the Knights Templar

King Louis VII of France subscribed to the pro-Templar narrative when he recruited the order to aid his army in military matters. The contemporary historian Odo of Deuil accompanied King Louis VII on his journey to the Holy Land for the Second Crusade (1147-1149). According to Odo’s account, Louis VII requested for the Templars to train his men: “the king liked the example which [The Templars] set and was glad to imitate it, and he wanted the army to be influenced in that direction, for he knew that, even if extreme hunger should weaken them, unity of spirit would also strengthen them in their weakness.”¹² The King went so far in this strategy that “by common consent, therefore, it was decided that during this dangerous period all should

¹⁰ Hans Eberhard Mayer, “Henry II of England and the Holy Land,” *The English Historical Review* 97, no. 385 (1982): 721–39.

¹¹ Ricardus, *Itinerarium*, Book 1 Chapter 12.

¹² Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem = The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, trans. Virginia Gingerich Berry (New York: W.W. Norton, 1948), Book Seven, 125.

establish fraternity with the Templars” and that with “rich and poor taking oath that they would not flee the field and that they would obey in every respect the officers assigned them by the Templars.”¹³ This account fell within the pro-Templar opinions of contemporaries, as Louis VII admired the Knights Templar’s performance in battle and even trusted the Templars enough to embed them within his army.

Muslim Battlefield Perspectives of the Knights Templar

Ibn al-Athir was an Arab historian (born in 1160) who served the Zankid regime. Ibn al-Athir’s chronicle provides a narrative from the Muslim side of the crusades, which is crucial to a more well-rounded understanding of the Templars’ actions and how they were perceived. In particular, Ibn al-Athir showed respect for the Templars’ military abilities, which corroborated the aforementioned praises from the order’s peers.¹⁴

According to Ibn al-Athir, in May of 1187, Saladin put his son al-Afdal in command of a “good-sized detachment of his army” and sent them to the region of Acre to “plunder and destroy.” The crusaders “came out to confront them” and “there was a battle fit to turn black hair gray.” Ultimately, the Muslim forces were able to overwhelm the crusaders and Ibn al-Athir recalled that “it was a great triumph” because the Templars had been defeated.¹⁵ Apparently, Saladin admired the Templars’ notoriety as enemy combatants, as he referred to them as “the Franks’ firebrands.” Saladin offered “fifty Egyptian dinars” for every Templar prisoner and “victorious communiqués were sent to the lands to announce this news.”¹⁶ Furthermore, he ordered the execution of Templars “because they were the fiercest fighters of all the Franks.” In

¹³ Odo of Deuil, *The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, 125.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 319.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 324.

particular, however, Ibn al-Athir noted that Saladin was most sensitive to “their intense hostility to the Muslims.”¹⁷ Thus, although the Muslims were at odds with the Templars, they held a certain degree of respect for their prowess in battle. Thus, the accounts of Muslim opponents and co-religionist peers both contributed to the contemporary pro-Templar narrative that held a favorable view of the order’s military abilities.

Critical Reception: The Grievances of the Knights Templar

William of Tyre: Trading Religiosity for Greed

A familiar name from previous chapters, William of Tyre recorded the actions of the Knights Templar on multiple occasions. William was the archbishop of Tyre from 1175 to 1184 and he authored a chronicle that detailed the events that occurred within the Kingdom of Jerusalem throughout the twelfth century. William’s chronicle regularly mentioned the actions of the Knights Templar and presented a more holistic portrayal of their organization. While he acknowledged instances where the Templars acted in a manner that he saw as favorable, William was equally comfortable in sharing his criticisms of the Knights Templar.¹⁸

William of Tyre’s chronicle, translated as “A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea,” is commonly cited by scholars because of his detailed and well-preserved accounts. Not only does William record many events that occurred in the Holy Land during the twelfth century, but he also maintains a pulse on the political, religious, and economic climates of the time. In fact, Helen Nicholson referred to William as “the great historian of the Latin kingdom of

¹⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir*, 324.

¹⁸ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*.

Jerusalem.”¹⁹ Nicholson has also addressed William’s potential biases as a judge of the Templars’ actions, arguing that William was “writing for the edification of Christianity,” and therefore can be seen as a more traditional and critical third party.²⁰ Given William’s religious background and his concerns, one of his major criticisms for the Knights Templar was that they had become overly prideful and greedy – at the cost of their own religiosity. As Nicholson stated, “William believed that the military orders’ defiance of royal and/or patriarchal authority had brought great harm on the kingdom of Jerusalem and on Christendom. As religious men, the brothers were bound to obey the divinely-ordained authorities, but as they became wealthy, they had grown proud and rebellious.”²¹

Before continuing with William’s specific criticisms of the Knights Templar, it is important to note that the archbishop of Tyre was not inherently opposed to the concept of military orders like the Knights Templar. As Helen Nicholson noted, “[William] approved of the military orders, provided that they fulfilled their function effectively, and were obedient to their bishops.”²² For example, William of Tyre gave the Knights Templar credit for what he saw as proper conduct under the rule of Bertrand de Blanquefort, who served as the master of the Knights Templar from 1156 until his death in 1169. William referred to Bertrand as “a religious and god-fearing man” and asserted that under his leadership, the Templars had “many others whose names are unknown to us.”²³ Thus, although William was certainly not afraid to be critical of the Templars, he still recorded instances where he felt they deserved praise. This is what resulted in a more holistic account of their actions.

¹⁹ Helen J. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291* (New York: Leicester University Press, 1993), 35.

²⁰ Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, 35.

²¹ Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, 45.

²² Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, 45.

²³ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 18, Chapter 14.

With that said, there were two major events where William believed that the Knights Templar had traded their religiosity for greed and corruption. The first example goes back to 1154, with the death of a noble Egyptian named Abbas, who was slain by crusaders. William noted that after his death, the crusaders gathered his “immense riches” and “carried it away with them out of Egypt” and that “the booty was divided among them.”²⁴ William noted that, “among others who participated in that affair were many Knights Templars. These, by virtue of their numbers, carried off the largest portion of the plunder, including slaves.”²⁵ The archbishop of Tyre recorded that in the distribution of the spoils, the Templars received custody of Nasr, the son of Abbas. William recorded that while under the custody of the Knights Templar “[Nasr] professed an ardent desire to be reborn in Christ and had already learned the Roman letters and been instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith.” However, the Knights Templar ignored his willingness to convert to Christianity and “[Nasr] was sold by the Templars for sixty thousand pieces of gold to the Egyptians, who demanded him for the death penalty.”²⁶ The Knights Templar knowingly sold Nasr to his death. Furthermore, they demonstrated that they valued gold much more than the opportunity to convert a Muslim to the Christian faith. William was shocked by this turn of events, as the Knights Templar were initially founded as a Christian organization. Yet, William’s account suggested that the Templars’ treatment of Nasr demonstrated favoritism towards the route of material wealth.

The second event occurred in 1179, when William recorded a battle in which Saladin ambushed crusader forces in Sidon, slaughtering many and taking others prisoner. William believed that Eudes St. Amand, who was then the master of the Templars, was largely

²⁴ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 18 Chapter 9.

²⁵ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 18 Chapter 9.

²⁶ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 18 Chapter 9.

responsible for the crusader's crushing defeat. The chronicler stated that "many people laid at [Eudes'] door the loss and never-dying shame of this disaster. It is said that within the year he died a captive in a squalid prison, mourned by no one."²⁷ He referred to Eudes as "a wicked man, haughty and arrogant, in whose nostrils dwelt the spirit of fury, one who neither feared God nor revered man."²⁸ This statement referenced Job 27:3, replacing the actual wording from the verse, "dwelt the spirit of God," with "dwelt the spirit of fury."²⁹ Thus, William certainly made it clear that he did not approve of this master of the Templars, as he believed that Eudes went against the virtues that a Christian organization should stand for.

William's chronicle also suggested that the Knights Templar had stockpiled exorbitant amounts of wealth and land holdings, as he noted that the Templars had "vast possessions, both on this side of the sea and beyond."³⁰ The archbishop of Tyre went so far as to state that "there is not a province in the Christian world today which does not bestow some part of its possessions upon these brethren, and their property is reported to be equal to the riches of kings."³¹ To sum up his belief that the Order had traded their religiosity for greed, William stated that:

For a long time they kept intact their noble purpose and carried out their profession wisely enough. At length, however, they began to neglect 'humility, the guardian of all the virtues, which, voluntarily sitting in the lowest place, runs no risk of a fall.' They withdrew from the patriarch of Jerusalem, from whom they had received the establishment of their order and their first privileges, and refused him the obedience which their predecessors had shown him. To the churches of God also they became very troublesome, for they drew away from them their tithes and first fruits and unjustly disturbed their possessions.³²

²⁷ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 21 Chapter 29.

²⁸ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 21 Chapter 29.

²⁹ Job 27:3 KJV.

³⁰ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 12 Chapter 7.

³¹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 12 Chapter 7.

³² William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 12 Chapter 7.

Thus, William's strongly-held opinions on greed and avarice certainly spearheaded the narrative of critical reception that had been formed in light of the Templars' actions during the twelfth century.

Walter Map: Corroborating William's Claims of Avarice

Walter Map was a clergyman and historian who kept a chronicle during the twelfth century, known as the *De Nugis Curialium*, which is translated as "Courtiers' Trifles."³³ Walter Map suggested that although the Knights Templar "held God dear and the world cheap" upon their initial foundation, they were eventually corrupted by greed and the prospect of worldly gains, "as soon as that dearness grew cheap and wealth grew strong."³⁴ Thus, Walter Map shared a similar viewpoint towards the Knights Templar as William of Tyre, and Map's opinions contribute towards the counter-narrative that was unable to look past the grievances committed by the order. However, the two historians expressed their opinion in different manners. Walter and William wrote at different times and their compositional style also differed greatly. Whereas William wrote his chronicle with a more traditional historical approach, Walter Map used a rhetorical, almost poetic, medium to describe the Knights Templars' departure from humility and Christian virtue.

Indeed, Map used figurative language to argue that the accumulation of worldly riches inherently would lead to an unraveling of humility and religiosity: "every greedy man drives [humility] away, he loses the mistress of all virtues and calls up out of the pit of vices covetous pride. Many have tried, in concert, to get rid of the poverty of their order, and when that is driven

³³ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. For more background on Walter Map, visit pg. 15.

³⁴ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Chapter XIX.

off, humility flees too.”³⁵ Map argued that the Knights Templar went down this path when he stated that “the Templars follow after in whom the Lord is not.”³⁶

Not only was Walter Map unable to look past the Templars’ military actions that other contemporaries saw as overall beneficial, but he further argued that the order took advantage of their military accomplishments in order to pursue their greed:

Since, owing to their services, they are held dear by prelates and kings, and are high in honour, they take good care that the means of their exaltation shall not be wanting. If all the ends of the world remember themselves and are turned unto the Lord, as the prophet says, what will these do? If peace comes, what is to become of the sword? Once on a time they are said to have obviated peace in this way.³⁷

Map asserted that the Knights Templar exploited their role on the battlefield and perpetuated the conflict against the Muslims, in order to take advantage of the crusaders’ need for fighters. This presented a continued opportunity to continue profiting in both power and wealth. Map was shocked by the Templars’ ability to prolong the conflict, despite being so adept at combat, as previous examples from the *Itinerarium* and Ibn al-Athir have shown.³⁸ Looking back at the state of the crusade campaign, Map noted that “when we see that under their protection our boundaries in those parts are always being narrowed, and those of our enemies enlarged.”³⁹ It was Walter Map’s opinion that the Knights Templar should not have traded their religiosity for military prowess and financial gain. Map invoked the story of David’s victory over Goliath as an example where glory was won by the Lord and not through the sword, in order to demonstrate his claim that faithfulness and adherence to religious authority should have been the Templars’ priority.

³⁵ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Chapter XX.

³⁶ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Chapter XX.

³⁷ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Chapter XX.

³⁸ See Chapter 2 and previous section for Templars’ proficiency in military matters.

³⁹ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Chapter XX.

Walter Map supported his argument with actions as he reported the proceedings of the Third Lateran Council, which met in 1179 “under Pope Alexander III, the whole multitude of bishops, whom that Pope had brought together, with the abbots and clergy.”⁴⁰ According to Map, the ecclesiastic authorities at the council discussed the lack of modesty amongst members of the Knights Templar when it came to the acquisition of funds. In particular, Walter Map denounced the practice of requiring individuals to purchase admission into the Knights Templar, referring to such individuals as “poor creatures” who are “glad to give them as the price of their freedom.”⁴¹ Not only did Walter Map disapprove of the Knights Templars’ avarice, but he actually contributed to the contemporary discourse on this matter within the context of the Third Lateran Council in 1179.

John of Salisbury: The Treachery of the Knights Templar

John of Salisbury was an educated churchman who served Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury starting in 1147. As part of his duties as a secretary, John was exposed to many of the events and important figures of the twelfth century.⁴² This thesis references two of his works: his “philosophical memoir,” *Politcraticus* and his chronicle *Historia Pontificalis*. John wrote about the Knights Templar within both of these pieces. In *Politcraticus*, John refers to the Templars within a chapter on “hypocrites who endeavor to conceal the disgrace of ambition under the false pretext of religion.”⁴³ Specifically, John of Salisbury found it hypocritical to simultaneously regard the Knights Templar as both a military and religious organization. “For the Knights of the

⁴⁰ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Chapter XIX.

⁴¹ Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*. Chapter XIX.

⁴² John of Salisbury, *Politcraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. Cary J. Nederman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁴³ John of Salisbury, *Politcraticus*, Book 7 Chapter 21. 167-174.

Temple with the pope's approval claim for themselves the administration of the churches, they occupy them through surrogates, and they whose normal occupation is to shed human blood in a certain way presume to administer the blood of Christ."⁴⁴ John of Salisbury's clear disdain for the Knights Templar asserted him firmly within the critical narrative of the Knights Templar.

In *Historia Pontificalis*, John of Salisbury continued to demonstrate his disapproval and described the Knights Templar as greedy and even treasonous against their crusader comrades. These allegations came about in July 1148, during the crusaders' siege of Damascus during the Second Crusade. John wrote that as the crusaders "pitched camp before the city" and that they would have experienced great success "had they been as determined to press on as they were eager to join battle."⁴⁵ As the crusaders made preparations, John of Salisbury noted that "the kings were persuaded that the city could not be stormed from that side because the towers and fortifications were stronger there, and that it could more easily be captured from the other side, which was less heavily defended."⁴⁶ However, to the apparent surprise of John, "the next day they struck camp, apparently to move to the other side, but in reality preparing for retreat." John of Salisbury believed that "the most Christian king had been betrayed and deceived" and he was ready to "impute the treachery to the Templars."⁴⁷ It was from this account that many legends and stories were created about the bribery and treachery of the Templars at the Siege of Damascus in 1148.⁴⁸ Regardless of whether the Knights Templar were truly bribed by the Muslims, the pervasiveness of this account conveys the general distrust that many clerics and fellow Christians had for the Templars when it came to issues of greed.

⁴⁴ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, Book 7 Chapter 21. 167-174.

⁴⁵ John of Salisbury, *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), XXV, 57.

⁴⁶ John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, XXV, 57.

⁴⁷ John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, XXV, 57.

⁴⁸ Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, 81-86.

William of Tyre: Reckless Violence

William of Tyre had more than one criticism of the Knights Templar. In addition to his belief that the order had exchanged its religious virtues for avarice, William had great disdain for the Templars' propensity for reckless violence. The most notable example occurs in 1174 – however, as William himself did so, some background information must first be presented. The archbishop began this account by introducing the Assassins as a sect of Muslims that were notorious for their covert methods when eliminating specific high-profile figures. William wrote that “it is the custom of this people to choose their ruler, not by hereditary right, but by the prerogative of merit. This chief, when elected, they call the Old Man, disdaining a more dignified title. Their subjection and obedience to him is such that they regard nothing as too harsh or difficult and eagerly undertake even the most dangerous tasks at his command.”⁴⁹ The chief's followers were both dedicated and skilled in the craft of assassination:

For instance, if there happens to be a prince who has incurred the hatred or distrust of this people, the chief places a dagger in the hand of one or several of his followers; those thus designated hasten away at once, regardless of the consequences of the deed or the probability of personal escape. Zealously they labor for as long as may be necessary, until at last the favorable chance comes which enables them to carry out the mandate of the chief.⁵⁰

For such reasons, William and the crusaders respected and feared the Assassins.

However, William optimistically noted that “during our times [the Assassins] happened to choose as ruler over them a very eloquent man, of subtle and brilliant intelligence. Contrary to the habits of his ancestors, this man possessed the books of the Evangelists and the apostolic law.” Indeed, the chronicler noted that this new chief of the Assassins was quite interested in the Christian faith: “over these he pored continually and for some time had with much labor tried to

⁴⁹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵⁰ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

follow the marvelous precepts of Christ and also the apostolic doctrine.”⁵¹ Eventually, this leader of the Assassins decided to reject the ways of Islam, instead desiring a faith in Christianity. Moreover, he was willing to enforce this will on his followers: “He instructed his people also in the same way and made them cease observing the superstition of the prophet. He tore down the places of prayer which they had been accustomed to use, absolved them from fasting, and permitted the use of wine and pork.”⁵² According to William’s chronicle, this chief of the Assassins sent an envoy named Boaldelle (Abdullah) to extend a deal: “if the brethren of the Temple, who held certain fortresses adjacent to the lands of the Assassins, would remit the tribute of two thousand gold pieces which was paid to them yearly by his people and would thereafter observe brotherly kindness toward them, the race of the Assassins would embrace the faith of Christ and receive baptism.”⁵³

William wrote that King Amalric “received the envoy gladly and, being a man of good sense, agreed fully to the demands made.” Realizing that agreeing to the deal would mean that the Knights Templar would no longer receive their annual tribute from the Assassins, Amalric was “even prepared, it is said, to compensate the brethren from his own treasury for the two thousand gold pieces, the amount of the annual tribute which the Assassins asked to have remitted.”⁵⁴ Having completed the negotiations, Amalric sent the envoy back to his master, “under the escort of the guide and companion thus provided by the king [Amalric].” However, according to William, this is when the Knights Templar came into the picture:

Abdallah had already passed Tripoli and was about to enter his own land, when suddenly some of the Knights of the Temple rushed upon the party with drawn swords and killed the envoy. The latter, far from anticipating any such action, was pursuing his journey

⁵¹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵² William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵³ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵⁴ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

without caution, in full reliance upon the king's [Amalric's] safe conduct and the sincere good faith of our nation.⁵⁵

According to William, King Amalric had given his word to the Assassin envoy that they would have safe travels back home, and by acting recklessly, the Templars had sullied that reputation. Indeed, William noted that “by this crime, the knights brought upon themselves the charge of treason.”⁵⁶ Indeed, King Amalric and other political leaders reacted to the Templars’ action with fury: “The news of this atrocious deed roused the king to violent anger. Almost frenzied, he summoned the barons and, declaring that the outrage amounted to injury against himself, he demanded their advice as to the course of action to be adopted. The barons were of one mind that such wickedness should not be passed over.”⁵⁷ Similarly, religious leaders were angered because the passage of the negotiations could have resulted in an infamous sect of Assassins being converted into Christians: “Moreover, through this act the church in the Orient seemed likely to lose the increase so pleasing to God that had been already prepared for it.”⁵⁸

On behalf of Amalric, “two nobles, Seiher de Mamedunc and Godescalous [Godechaux] de Turout, were selected as special messengers to demand from the master of the Templars, Eudes de St. Amand, that satisfaction be rendered to the king and the entire realm for this sacrilegious outrage.”⁵⁹ The investigation had identified a Templar knight named “Walter du Maisnilio [Mesnil], a one-eyed man of evil repute, wholly lacking in discretion” as the “actual perpetrator of the crime,” although the deed “was done with the cognizance of the brethren.”⁶⁰ When the barons came to find and punish Walter du Mesnil, the Knights Templar made a

⁵⁵ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵⁶ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵⁷ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵⁸ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁵⁹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁶⁰ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

controversial decision, once more. Eudes de St. Amand, the master of the Knights Templar at the time, protected his brother from a more severe punishment and “sent word to the king by a messenger that he had enjoined a penance on the guilty brother and was about to send him to the pope. He forbade anyone, on the part of the pope, to lay violent hands upon the said brother.”⁶¹ This decision was controversial because it leveraged the Knights Templars’ unique papal protection. As the editor Emily Babcock noted, “as a religious order they [The Knights Templar] could, of course, plead benefit of clergy, as here, to gain immunity from secular jurisdiction.”⁶² Babcock aptly identified that this appeal to papal power and “treatment of ‘criminous clerks’ had been one of the chief subjects of the quarrel between Henry II and Thomas a Becket at almost the same period.”⁶³

However, in this instance, King Amalric did not respect the Templars’ attempt to dodge the situation. William noted that “The king went himself to Sidon on this matter and found the master with many of the other brethren, including the culprit himself. After consulting with those who had accompanied him thither, the king caused that man guilty of treason to be dragged forcibly from the house and had him sent in chains to Tyre, where he was cast into prison.”⁶⁴ King Amalric’s decision ran the risk of potentially butting heads with the papacy, and thus caused a great deal of stress and turmoil in Jerusalem, as William confirmed in his chronicle, “This outrage against the envoy came near plunging the whole kingdom into irreparable ruin.”⁶⁵ Interestingly enough, the conclusion to this event was rather anticlimactic, as William wrote that “in dealing with the brethren of the Temple he [King Amalric] exercised such moderation that

⁶¹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁶² William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 393.

⁶³ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 393.

⁶⁴ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁶⁵ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

the matter remained in abeyance even to the day of his death.”⁶⁶ Indeed, it was fortunate for the reputation of the Knights Templar that King Amalric died that same year, in 1174, which allowed the order to emerge largely unscathed – although William’s chronicle certainly ensured that this incident became a part of their legacy. William concluded his record of the incident stating, “It is said, however, that if he had recovered from that last illness, Amaury [Amalric] had intended to take up the matter with the kings and princes of the earth, through envoys of high degree, when it would have been given most careful consideration.”⁶⁷

Thus, William of Tyre argued that it through such recklessness, the Knights Templar created a huge controversy amongst their co-religionists. In turn, this created conflicts with King Amalric and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In fact, Nicholson noted that William’s story was told so many times that it became popularly told as a legend.⁶⁸ The story’s depiction of the Templars’ blind violence was one of the central voices behind the counter-narrative that criticized the actions of the Templars. These contemporaries were unwilling to allow the order’s military successes to justify its reckless violence, among other grievances.

William’s account of the Templars’ slaughter of the Assassin envoy was arguably the second “legend-like” entry of his twentieth book. The chronicler also told the story of Malih the Armenian, “a most wicked man” who at one point was a part of the Knights Templar.⁶⁹ However, he soon left the order and eventually became a renegade and a traitor to the Christians. According to William, Malih “formed an alliance with Nurredin and the Turks under a treaty such as is rarely made even between brothers.”⁷⁰ Malih turned against the Christians and ravaged

⁶⁶ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁶⁷ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 30.

⁶⁸ Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, 81-86.

⁶⁹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 26.

⁷⁰ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 26.

the lands of Antioch. William noted that Malih “having become, as it were, an infidel, he cast aside the law of God and did the Christians all the injury he could.”⁷¹ This story, although it was possibly embellished by its teller, demonstrated the kind of instability that some crusaders felt the Templars were capable of. Perhaps it was due to their reputation for avarice and quasi-mercenary obligations that made fellow crusaders suspicious of their true allegiances.

⁷¹ William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, Book 20 Chapter 26.

Epilogue

Scholars such as Helen Nicholson and Alan Forey have studied the Knights Templar and other crusader military orders in great detail. Collectively, their works have covered the entire chronology of the Templars; from foundation until demise in 1307. Academic scholarship on the Knights Templar has always been very cognizant of the role that deviant thirteenth century actions played in the eventual toppling of the military order. My thesis looked to the twelfth century instead and fell entirely within the chronological bookends of the first century of the Knights Templars' foundation, from 1118-1192. Even without consideration of the latter events of the Knights Templar, there is significant evidence that demonstrates how the Knights Templar began forming their own interpretations of their purpose, rather than living under strict adherence to their original mandates and Latin Rule. The result was an organization that excelled in battle and utilized its military skills to keep the pilgrimage aspect of crusading alive. At the same time, the Templars were able to pursue their own financial and political agendas in the Holy Land. Many contemporaries criticized the Knights Templar for their choices of actions and for their apparent priorities. Most notably, Walter Map argued that the Knights Templar leveraged their skill and prowess in combat in order to increase their own economic and political standings in the Holy Land. Other contemporary sources, such as the *Itinerarium*, believed that the Knights Templar had made sufficient contributions on the battlefield to justify their other pursuits. Considering both viewpoints, it was undeniable that the Templars' peers were divided in their opinions towards the order's actions within the twelfth century crusading movement.

Conclusion

Pope Urban II's speech sparked the beginning of the crusading movement in the eleventh century. The Pope called upon Christians to journey as warriors to the Holy Land in order to reclaim sacred lands. Part of Urban's exhortation to Christendom involved a call to act according to a specific set of values – something that I describe with the term “crusading spirit.” The crusading spirit embodies the expectations that the Church held for crusaders as they would travel within the Holy Land. The Pope wanted the crusaders to always prioritize the religious motivations for their mission. Those who participated were promised salvation and forgiveness of their sins if they were to perish during the crusade. Christians were expected to respect one another and maintain a high level of camaraderie. On the contrary, they were expected to view the Muslims and infidels as an enemy that deserved unrelenting hostility.

After the crusaders' success in the First Crusade with the conquest of Jerusalem, the Christians established their own kingdoms in the Holy Land that became known as the Latin East. It was within this setting that the military order of the Knights Templar was founded in 1118. This organization pledged to serve the Christian interests in the Holy Land, primarily through the protection of pilgrims. The Knights Templar gained members and influence in the crusader kingdoms of the Latin East and in 1129, the Knights Templar were given an official Latin Rule at the Council of Troyes. At this council, the Templars attracted the attention of the papacy and other ecclesiastic authorities, like Bernard of Clairvaux. The Latin Rule not only laid out the guidelines for the behavior and conduct of members, but it also served as a seal of approval from the Church. Through the Latin Rule, the Templars were instructed to live a humble lifestyle that combined elements of monasticism with war-related duties that reflected the crusaders' mission in the Holy Land. Thus, in many ways, the Knights Templar served as

somewhat of a posterchild for the Church. Under a strict interpretation of their foundational Latin Rule, their organization would have served as a positive example to other crusaders.

However, as with any other document, the Latin Rule of the Knights Templar was subject to interpretation. The Latin Rule consisted of a relatively rigid set of rules and there would be many situations that were not explicitly addressed. Thus, in these moments the Templars would have to form their own interpretations and act accordingly. The second chapter examined the actions of the Templars through the accounts of several primary sources. As soldiers, the Knights Templar earned a reputation with fellow crusaders as an elite fighting unit. Even their enemies respected the Templars' ferocity in combat. The Templars were much less active with their duties as a religious organization. Various pilgrim accounts recorded the order's role in protecting pilgrims and maintaining religious sites near Jerusalem. However, there was a lack of consistent evidence that mentioned the daily aspects of the Knights Templar's quasi-monastic lifestyle. The most unexpected facet of the Templars' actions was in their role as "entrepreneurs." The order had received generous donations from wealthy elites in Europe since their foundation in the early twelfth century, but as the Second Crusade began, they began to receive large sums of money from monarchs like Henry II of England. Part of their success was due to their aforementioned prowess on the battlefield. On the other hand, the Knights Templar were able to find other unique opportunities to garner financial resources: for example, through ownership of real estate like the island of Cyprus. After their success in military and economic matters, the order was soon recognized as a political entity of its own. The Knights Templar played a rather significant role in the politics of the Latin East on multiple occasions, and they were even recorded to have negotiated with opposing Muslim forces during the Third Crusade.

However, with such lofty goals established at their foundation, the Knights Templars' choice of actions triggered differing reactions from contemporaries. This thesis demonstrated that the opinions of these contemporaries were divided between two narratives. One saw the Knights Templar as an organization that was overall beneficial to the crusading movement, driven primarily by their excellence on the battlefield. On the other hand, another camp recognized the Templars' military merits, but was unable to look past a number of grievances that the order had committed in their pursuit of economic and political gains.

Thus, this thesis argued that the Knights Templar triggered divisions in reception from contemporaries far before their full dismantling in 1307 during the trial of the Templars. By the end of the twelfth century, their actions had already caused a split in opinions. This thesis also highlights the reasoning for division within contemporary receptions of the Templars' actions was largely based upon one larger fundamental question: contemporaries were divided by whether the "purity" of the crusading movement could coexist with the opportunities for economic and political gains in the Holy Land. As the Latin East soon grew into a robust political and economic landscape of its own, with its own rulers and systems, the Knights Templar were not alone in their decisions to pursue some of these opportunities. Further research should move beyond the Knights Templars, and perhaps beyond the military orders, in order to better understand the differing contemporary opinions on what kinds of conduct were considered "worthy" during the crusading movement.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Albert of Aachen. *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*. Edited and Translated by Susan B. Edgington. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.

Benjamin of Tudela. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary*. Edited by Marcus Nathan Adler. New York: Feldheim Publishers, 1907.

Bernard of Clairvaux. "In Praise of New Knighthood." In *The Templars: Selected Sources*, by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, 125. New York: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Bernard of Clairvaux. "Why Another Crusade?" In *Michaud's History of the Crusades*, edited by Joseph Francois Michaud and translated by W. Robson, 329-381. New York: AMS Press, 1973.

Daniel the Abbot. "THE LIFE AND JOURNEY OF DANIEL, ABBOT OF THE RUSSIAN LAND." In *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, edited by John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan, 120-171. London: Routledge, 2016.

Foucher de Chartres. *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*. Translated by Frances Rita Ryan and Edited by Harold S. Fink. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969.

Fulcher of Chartres. "Pope Urban II Speech." In Bongars, Jacques. "*Gesta Dei per Francos*," quoted in *A Source Book for Medieval History*, edited and translated by Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal, 513-17. New York: Scribners, 1905.

Ibn al-Athir. *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athir for the Crusading Period from Al-Kamil Fil-Tarikh*. Edited and Translated by Donald Sidney Richards. Burlington: Ashgate, 2006. 1-4.

John of Salisbury. *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*. Edited by Cary J. Nederman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

- John of Salisbury. *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*. Edited and Translated by Marjorie Chibnall. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Map, Walter. *De Nugis Curialium*. Edited by Christopher Brooke and Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors and Translated by Montague Rhodes James. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Odo of Deuil. *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem = The Journey of Louis VII to the East*. Translated by Virginia Gingerich Berry. New York: W.W. Norton, 1948.
- Pope Eugene III. *Quantum praedecessores*. In “*Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*,” by Doeberl, Michael quoted in *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, edited and translated by Ernest F. Henderson, 333-336. London: George Bell and Sons, 1910.
- Pope Innocent II. “*Omne datum optimum*.” In *Templars: Selected Sources*, by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, 60. New York: Manchester University Press, 2002.
- Ricardus, Canonicus Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensis. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. Edited by Helen J Nicholson and Translated by William Stubbs. Brookfield: Ashgate, 1997.
- Saewulf. “A Reliable Account of the Situation of Jerusalem.” In *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, edited by John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan, 94-117. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Theoderic. “Pilgrimage Account of Theoderic.” In *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, edited by John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan, 274-314. London: Routledge, 2016.
- The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*. Translated by Judith Upton-Ward. Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1992.
- William of Tyre. *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. Edited by Emily Atwater Babcock and August Charles Krey. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

Secondary Sources:

- Barber, Malcolm, and Keith Bate. *The Templars: Selected Sources*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2002.
- Barber, Malcolm. *The Trial of the Templars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Bull, Marcus. "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade." *History* 78, no. 254 (1993): 353–72.
- Bulst-Thiele, Marie Luise. *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974.
- Bulst-Thiele, Marie Luise. "The Influence of St. Bernard of Clairaux on the Formation of the Order of the Knights Templar." In *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, edited by Michael Gervers, 57-66. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.
- Cole, Penny J. *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991.
- Cowdrey, H.E.J. "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade." In *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, edited by Thomas F. Madden, 15-30. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Fink, Harold S. Introduction to *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*. Translated by Frances Rita Ryan and Edited by Harold S. Fink. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969.
- Forey, Alan. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1992.
- France, John. "Patronage and the Appeal of the First Crusade." In *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, edited by Jonathan Phillips, 5-20. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Gervers, Michael. *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, pg. xviii. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Hoch, Martin. "The Crusaders' Strategy Against Fatimid Ascalon and the 'Ascalon Project' of the Second Crusade." In *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, edited by Michael Gervers, 119-130. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Mayer, Hans Eberhard. "Henry II of England and the Holy Land." *The English Historical Review* 97, no. 385 (1982): 721-39.

Mayer, Hans Eberhard. *The Crusades*. Translated by John Gillingham. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

McSorley, Joseph. *An Outline History of The Church by Centuries: From St. Peter to Pius XII*. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1949.

Michaud, Joseph Francois. *Michaud's History of the Crusades*. Translated by W. Robson. New York: AMS Press, 1973.

Nicholson, Helen J. *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. Translated by William Stubbs. Brookfield: Ashgate, 1997.

Nicholson, Helen J. *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*. New York: Leicester University Press, 1993.

Prawer, Joshua. *Crusader Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Prawer, Joshua. *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*. New York: Praeger, 1972.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "Crusading as an Act of Love." In *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, edited by Thomas F. Madden, 31-50. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.

Riley-Smith, Jonathan. "Early Crusaders to the East and the Costs of Crusading, 1095-1130." In *Cross-Cultural Convergences in the Crusading Period*, edited by Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein, 237-57. New York: Peter Lang, 1995.

Runciman, Steven. *A History of the Crusades*. 3 vols. London, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 1951-1954.

Smail, R. C. *The Crusaders; in Syria and the Holy Land*. New York: Praeger, 1973.

Wilkinson, John, Joyce Hill, and William F. Ryan, eds. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*. London: Routledge, 2016.