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***HOLY WAR AND THE HOME FRONT:
The Crusading Culture of
Berry, France in the
Eleventh Through Thirteenth
Centuries***

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This is an original, work completed over the last three years at Edinburgh University.

ABBREVIATIONS

AHR. American Historical Review

Bull. de Litt. Bulletin de Littérature Ecclesiastique

C. d'A. & d'H. du B. Cahiers d'Archæologie et d'Histoire du Berry

DHGE. Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastiques. (Son Eminence, le Cardinal A. Baudrillart, & Continué par A. De Meyer, & É. Van Cauwenbergh, eds.) (Paris: 1938) All citings are from Vol.10

History of the Crusades. A History of the Crusades. (K.M. Setton, ed.) 6 vols. (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison: 1969-1989)

JMH. Journal of Medieval History

JW&CI. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute

Outremer. Kezar, B.D.; Mayer, H.E. & Smail, R.C. eds. (Jerusalem: 1982)

RHC Occ. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Historiens Occidentaux. 5 vols. (Paris: 1844-1895)

RHGF. Recueil des Historiens de Gaules et de la France. (M. Bouquet, *et al* eds.) 24 vols. (Paris: 1738-1904)

Two Worlds. A Meeting of Two Worlds. (V.P. Goss, ed.) (Kalamazoo, Michigan: 1986)

The Ampersand (&) is used to denote "and," "et," or "und" only in the titles listed in the endnotes and bibliography.

Chapter 1: Culture, Cultural History, and Berry

Le Berry, in the geographical centre of France, developed its own "crusading culture" that both affected the ideas of the people living there and effected new institutions and traditions in that society pertaining to the crusades. This culture evolved through the symbiotic influences of, for example, pilgrimage, church-building and crusade preaching. The interplay of such forces and events made itself felt throughout Latin Christendom, and sometimes Berry did not differ greatly from other areas. Often, however, it built churches, hosted councils or witnessed popular movements that marked it from these other regions. Both the ubiquitous and the specific manifestations of the crusading culture in central France are worth studying because culture is as much about the mundane as it is about the extraordinary. Culture is built upon "the very material of our daily lives, the bricks and mortar of our most commonplace understandings, feelings and responses."¹ The term "cultural history" is not used here as a nebulous incantation to allow the inclusion of any possible shred of evidence, but rather to define the diverse manifestations of the crusade as found in central France from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries.

The term "holy war" in the title is used to denote those expeditions which contemporaries felt were justified by divine sanction and which usually had some component of the older theme of pilgrimage. Norman Housley defines the "'pluralist' school of crusade historians" as those who, building upon the work of Jonathan Riley-Smith, argue that popular movements and those not immediately directed toward Jerusalem still were understood by most contemporaries as crusades and should be called as such today.² I have enrolled in this school because contemporary references to participants from Berry in the Albigensian crusades describe them as taking part in an *iter* or *peregrinatio*, and Rome offered a full indulgence for them until 1213.³

Most crusade histories tend to focus on the expeditions themselves as they leave the west, and on their activities in the Levant, Iberia or other theatres of war. When they look at the society that supported them, these studies usually talk only of the general themes that may^{have} had some degree of influence on the participants. The "home front" here refers to central France, of course, but it also suggests themes

besides the wars themselves. While I am aware that the term is anachronistic, I believe it is a valid one because it connotes the very things I want to present: Berry's inhabitants, their responses and their institutions.⁴ Crusading was certainly a social undertaking--"social" in the sense that it required various people, working in their own fields of expertise, to come together in a concerted effort.⁵ Being such a monumental enterprise, it would have had a profound effect on the people who took the cross, on the people who stayed at home and on future generations who could look back upon an evolving relationship with their predecessors, their customs and their participation in the crusades themselves.

The available information pertaining to Berry's crusading culture includes both the traditional staple of written sources and the iconography of its artifacts and buildings. There is no contemporary narrative for the area, although many chronicles from surrounding districts like the Limousin, Anjou or Burgundy discuss, often at length, events in Berry. Also, many indigenous charters and cartularies, which refer to crusaders, have survived. The crusades and their participants also left art historical, archaeological and iconographic evidence. Such evidence proves especially valuable, considering the fact that we are dealing with a largely illiterate society. Images were understood as giving substance and meaning both to the historical and the theological lessons conveyed through them.⁶ Iconography was perhaps a less self-conscious reflection of the views of the people who designed the images. It attempted to convey cultural attitudes which went "beyond the intellectual and the bookish...It referred also to everyday feelings and lived experiences."⁷

Berry itself is located south of the Loire River and the city of Orléans (map 2). Its eastern border is the Loire itself, and the region is bisected by the River Cher. Bourges is the largest city, being both the capital and the seat of the archbishop. It is situated at the confluence of three tributaries which flow into the Cher: l'Yèvre, l'Auron and la Creuse.⁸ With the governmental reforms of the nineteenth century, Berry was divided among the Départements du Cher (which today administers most of what was then Le Berry), du Bourbonnais, Indre-et-Loire, the western two-thirds of the Département de l'Indre and the eastern end of Loir-et-Cher. Some of the other major towns in the area include Châteauroux and its neighboring monastery Déols,

south-west of Bourges; Vierzon, to the north-west; Sancerre on the fringes of the wine-producing territory of northeastern Berry; and Orval and Châteaumeillant, each due south (map 1)⁹.

Useful Models of Regional Studies Written in English

Historians have only recently begun to study local cultures found within medieval Latin Christendom in relation to the crusade,¹⁰ although other themes have been studied in this way.¹¹ The examples presented below plus, it is hoped, this investigation will show how important this field of inquiry is. In an article published in 1986, James Brundage outlined what he felt to be the way forward in crusading historiography by arguing for systematic studies of regional prosopography, propaganda and recruitment.¹² This would give us, he continues, both insight into the degree of participation at the local level and materials concerning the preparation necessary to join an expedition. Many historians have responded to his challenge, publishing just these sorts of territorial analyses. English-speaking crusade historians have responded much more quickly and fully to the call than have the French. Both these groups of academics, nevertheless, have presented studies that offer useful guidelines and methods which may be brought to this examination. Let us look first at crusading and regional histories that offer paradigms for the study of Berry before, in the next section, we look at some of those histories written specifically about Berry.

Just a year before the publication of Brundage's essay, Alan Macquarrie wrote *Scotland and the Crusades*, a study of the participants, their chroniclers and even the legends surrounding the crusading history of the Scottish nation through the fifteenth century.¹³ He uses chronicles written not only within Scotland but also beyond its borders to explore what influences fostered support for these armed pilgrimages. His willingness to include sources outside his region supports my doing the same in relation to Le Berry because, as mentioned above, there are no local narrative accounts. While he finds much in the history of Scottish participation that dovetails with the history of other nations, Macquarrie also finds events and circumstances peculiar to their crusading culture. For example, Scottish crusaders tended to be

drawn from what he terms "the 'barbaric' society": commoners, farmers and clansmen and women. The kings and great lords of Scotland did not participate to the same extent as those in France or the Holy Roman Empire. Neither did popular preaching seem to have much influence in the north.¹⁴ Still, many of the clans had strong pilgrimage traditions, and Scottish prelates were present at the Council of Lyon in 1245,¹⁵ suggesting that the crusade had made many inroads, both high and low, into their culture.

C.J. Tyerman's book, *England and the Crusades (1095-1588)* also makes the point that popular preaching did not seem to have the same impact anywhere on the British isles that it did in Berry or elsewhere on the continent. Not until Hugh de Payens made a tour of the country in the early 1130's, drumming up support for his new Templar foundation, did England witness a general recruitment campaign. This does not mean that contacts with the east, especially through pilgrimage and relic-trading, are not in evidence.¹⁶ England's first great show of support was during the Third Crusade led by Richard the Lionheart.¹⁷ Still, Tyerman presents a prosopographical list of participants, starting from the First Crusade. In Scotland and England there were many parallels between their support for the crusade and that found on the continent, but the cultural idiosyncracies in both nations are certainly noteworthy for the historian, and the idiosyncracies in the crusading culture of Berry will be explored as well.

The crusades were first preached on the fringes of Capetian France, and the vitality of the crusading movement depended predominantly on French noble and, later, royal support.¹⁸ The numbers who left Gaul to fight in the Holy Land, the Midi or even Italy were so great, and the effects the crusade had on the various institutions were so notable, that it should be no surprise that a single national study like Macquarrie's or Tyerman's has not been written for the whole of France. Nevertheless, some English historians have presented research on French regions. Not all their work focuses on the crusades, but the following two books offer guidelines for the study of Berry.

Sword, Miter, and Cloister--Nobility and the Church in Burgundy (980-1198), written by Constance Bouchard in 1987, studies the notable role the laity played in

the reform movements in central-eastern France.¹⁹ While lay lords played such an important part in the reformation or refoundation of houses, especially Cluniac, in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, their enthusiasm in these endeavors did not wane with the advent of the crusades. In fact, sales or, more especially, gift-giving *in elemosinam* of worldly possessions to ecclesiastical foundations became expected preliminaries for many departing pilgrims.²⁰ When studying the society of Berry, we shall see that gifts were given to local establishments before people departed, but that gift-giving had an equally important effect when these pilgrim/crusaders returned from their expeditions. In other words, expectations could make an impact on the society before the voyage, and experiences on the crusade also influenced that culture, as those who returned shared the stories and spoils of holy war.

With a sharper focus on the First Crusade than Bouchard's book, Marcus Bull's doctoral dissertation for the University of London, *Knightly Piety in Southwestern France (ca970-1130) and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*, turns to the Limousin, just south of Berry.²¹ Of particular interest for this study is his analysis of the Peace Movement. Dr. Bull argues quite forcefully that the ideals of the peace as promulgated at councils like Charroux (989) or Limoges (1031) were those of the high nobility, both lay and ecclesiastical, who were trying to keep their own power structure intact.²² The responsibilities for keeping the peace were taken by them and not by the lesser nobility. The interval of some fifty years between the later peace councils and the First Crusade, and the fact that contemporary crusade chroniclers present widely varied versions concerning Pope Urban II's references to the peace, "reveals that Peace ideas were, at most, peripheral" to the early crusades.²³

It will be argued here, however, that ties with the peace movement of the earlier eleventh century were somewhat stronger in Berry than in the Limousin,²⁴ and that the rhetoric of the peace is particularly noticeable in the early thirteenth century and the crusade against the Albigensians. In both regions there is a gap of several years that should not be ignored,²⁵ thus the caveat suggested by Dr. Bull concerning this interval must also be applied to the history of Berry. Burgundy, the Limousin and Berry each saw many of their inhabitants go on the crusades, so we must try to

elucidate what was particular to Berry while keeping an eye on events in neighboring areas for the sake of context.

Neither Bouchard nor Bull discusses relevant art historical evidence, however. This is particularly disappointing, or perhaps surprising, in Professor Bouchard's book, because she does include many photos of the remaining artifacts from the third church of Cluny (destroyed during the French Revolution) and some of its sister houses. Unfortunately the iconography is not analyzed within the text itself. The images of Christ, His saints and their patrons may have been a crucial medium through which the ideas of the relationships between the laity and the monastery were conveyed. Linking iconography to specific historical events can admittedly be difficult, for rarely do contemporaries discuss these links. When they do, modern historians sometimes argue that the men who composed the commentaries did not appreciate the technological necessity of, for example, the number of columns required to support the apse of a church. A second crucial problem is the interference caused by intervening restorations that have made interpretation without a contemporary text quite difficult.²⁶ We can find, nevertheless, iconographic evidence both of pre-crusading themes and of the crusades themselves in Berry, even as we keep in mind the limitations just discussed.

Regional Studies of Berry in French Historiography

We must now scan some of the regional studies of the region in question to find what they may offer for a history of the crusades. The French have had a strong tradition of studying local and cultural history in both scholarly and more popular styles. Le Berry is less populated than areas like the Ile-de-France or the Rhône River valley, yet it supports many publications pertaining to its history, art history, and archæology. They cover issues from prehistorical settlements through post-World War Two reconstruction. The most encompassing title is a journal called *Les Cahiers d'Archæologie et d'Histoire du Berry*. The historiography for the Middle Ages, however, does present a noticeable lacuna where the crusades are concerned. Perhaps trying to emulate the Annales School which had a great deal of influence in the middle third of this century, many studies tend to concentrate on issues like municipal

institutions, "feudal" government, or economic, agrarian and trade developments.²⁷

The oldest published work available concerning central France is Cathrinot's *Recueil de Diverse Pieces Servans à l'Histoire du Berry et de Bourges*, printed in the late seventeenth century.²⁸ It is a collection of topics and brief essays apparently written throughout his life. Unfortunately, it does not offer a useful bibliography and is of minimal use to anyone, save perhaps the ecclesiastical historian or the genealogist. It is not a unified, rigorous investigation, as it moves haphazardly through time and often repeats points in a number of essays. Little evidence concerning the crusades is presented, and since he does not note his sources, it is impossible to examine his findings.

More expansive works pertaining to Berry also tend to mention crusades only in passing, despite the influences they had in the region's culture. A four-volume work by Thaumassière, also written in the seventeenth century and still often cited by historians,²⁹ is particularly interested in the origins of noble families and the roles played by them, especially from the Hundred-Years War. He often mentions crusaders who were the ancestors of these families, although he usually does not go into great detail. His study is often cited, but, admittedly, is occasionally criticized, usually concerning dates. It is nonetheless invaluable because the author had access to documents that were destroyed when a fire gutted the Archives Départemental du Cher in 1864. Unfortunately, his references to these documents are not rigorously consistent, so subsequent historians can only surmise to which of these lost documents he referred. His focus concentrates mostly on Valois Berry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Jean, Duc du Berry in the first third of the fifteenth century, and his court seem to be the most popular subject for medievalists working on central France. Such a perspective is indicative of much ^{of} the secondary material concerning Berry, which give a sympathetic, but often rapid, survey of the crusades.

The most published historian of this region since the Second World War is Guy Devailly. His interests are largely intra-regional and focus on the disintegration of political hegemony of the later Carolingians and early Capetians. His works include both essays and books largely concerned with Berry from the time of the early

Capetians.³⁰ His survey of this history, *Le Berry du Xe au Milieu du XIIIe Siècles*, discusses the crusades in detail only twice. The first section concerns the sale of the territory by the vice-count to the King, Philip I, which occurred sometime at the turn of the eleventh century, to fund the former's participation on the First Crusade. The second refers to the councils held in the cathedral in Bourges in the mid-1220's concerning the Albigensian Crusade. Devailly seems to view these events as an external, almost incidental, force imposed on Berry from without. This thesis will explore evidence used by these, and other historians for other purposes,³¹ to show that the crusade had its own internal dynamics within central France and that contemporaries did not see it as a foreign influence. Such a task has also required the study of material which, in itself, would not seem to offer evidence pertaining to the crusade.³² With these resources I hope to analyze the familial, institutional and artistic factors that had an influence on the culture, both sacred and secular,³³ in central France as it pertained to the crusades of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.

Methodology and Purpose

Defining the scope of this thesis should help clarify both what is to be presented, and what is not going to be analyzed to any real depth. Concerning the latter, the military expeditions of the crusaders from Berry are not going to be reviewed much at all because the sources rarely expound upon the endeavors of specific crusaders. There are a few notable exceptions, and it should be clear when they are presented, and why I have included them. Also, it would be difficult to link the effects on the home front with the campaigns themselves. Similarly, this is not a study of the economics of either the crusades or of Berry. As shall be discussed, even the sum for which Berry was bought by the Capetian king is under some dispute. Charters marking a gift or sale from a prospective crusader rarely mention the amount of money going to him. Many of the sources are inconsistent or silent about both of these subjects, so there is little upon which to build. Neither is there an attempt to explain any *Berrieur's* specific incentive for going on crusade. No attempts will be made to weigh one manifestation of crusading culture against another. It would prove

impossible to ascertain whether this preacher or that council was the decisive factor that motivated anyone to take up the pilgrim's staff or the crusader's cross. Contemporary sources rarely offer any hint of motivation. When they do, it must be remembered that these sources were written by churchmen stressing the devotional or salvatory reasons behind people's actions--whether true for these people or not. Nevertheless, many modern studies present possible motives and goals for the characters under scrutiny,³⁴ and there is no reason the same can not be attempted here.

We must keep in mind that social influences from outside Berry had some effect on the crusading culture within it. Yet we must also be careful not to ask too much of the source material. A striking example of this issue would be the Courtenay family, from whom came Peter and his son Robert, each of whom inherited the crown of the Latin Empire of Constantinople early in the thirteenth century. This family held lands as *seigneurs* of Meun-sur-Yvres and Celles-en-Berry.³⁵ It would seem quite probable that they took with them some vassals from these holdings when they went on crusade. The crusading history of the Courtenay family is, of course, quite important, and their participation must have had an effect on the inhabitants of their holdings in Berry. Yet including such examples as this without sufficient pertinent material would greatly enlarge, and distort, the thesis.

Also, many of the events and cultural influences studied in reference to Berry would have been found to one degree or another in other areas of Europe as well. Simply comparing events here with other areas of the Latin west seems both banal and inappropriate. There are, however, important and singular councils, artifacts and institutions within central France to which attention will be drawn. The thesis begins with the strengthening family ties between the local ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Together they guaranteed the strength of the peace movement in the 1030's. We will then turn to the pilgrimages of certain lords of Berry in the 1020's and the subsequent foundation of Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre sometime in the 1030's-40's. These pilgrimages are the first ones mentioned pertaining to Berry that can be documented, and the foundation of the church at Neuvy is especially important as it brings the image of Jerusalem to south-central France.

The division into chapters pertaining to the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries is a necessary, if obviously arbitrary, construct. The First Crusade itself straddles the first two centuries. It was preached in the autumn of 1095, but crusaders left for the Holy Land as late as 1101 after the capture of Jerusalem. Still, such a chapter organization is not without its uses. In the early eleventh century we see the first references to the local aristocracy taking part in pilgrimages and in church-building. In the early twelfth century, Berry was absorbed into the Capetian hegemony, and it supported the crusades of Louis VII and his son Philip Augustus. The thirteenth century saw crusading reach its maturity, but it also suffered its greatest setbacks. In 1204 the setting up of a Latin Kingdom in Constantinople seemed to be a good omen for recapturing Jerusalem lost some seventeen years before. And yet within this century every Latin stronghold in Outremer and Byzantium was lost. The crusades to the Languedoc enjoyed more success at this time, militarily if not necessarily in converting the Cathars to Catholicism. Berry played the pivotal role in these expeditions. For example, in 1225 a council held in the cathedral in Bourges decided to continue the crusade against Raymond VII of Toulouse and the Albigensians of the Languedoc.

By continuing the study through the thirteenth century, we can include the crusades of King Louis IX (d. 1270) and the loss of Acre (1291), which was the last base from which expeditions could disembark. With its loss a whole new structure of war in Outremer had to be devised.³⁶ It must be noted, however, that the crusades proceeded well beyond the turn of the fourteenth century, and central France continued to send out participants. A notable example of a crusader from Berry in the late middle ages is Jacques Coeur. Born the son of a local fur merchant in the early fifteenth century and himself a successful trader in the Orient, Jacques became the financier of Charles VII of France. His opulence, including a palace in Bourges, was portrayed by jealous courtiers as a threat to Charles, who banished him in 1453 after two years imprisonment for what seem to have been trumped up charges of embezzlement, and, interestingly, trading with the Saracens in Asia Minor.³⁷ Perhaps to clear his family's reputation, he joined a naval crusade to the islands of the Aegean. This campaign was part of a flurry of activity that was stirred by the loss

of Constantinople also in 1453. Nicholas VI promulgated *Etsi Ecclesia Christi* to muster Latin armies and Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy was the first to respond with enthusiasm.³⁸ Jacques's sea-trading experience would have been quite valuable for the enterprise. He was killed fairly early in the excursion, however, on Chios in 1456.³⁹

The home front continued to be effected by crusade imagery and ideas long after the loss of Jerusalem. In the later fourteenth century, the romance *Lion de Bourges* was written by an unknown author.⁴⁰ This epic telescopes about five centuries of mythic, patriotic and crusading history into just over 34,000 lines of poetry. The characters include Eudes Arpin, his wife, their son who was stolen and raised by (and is hence named after) a lion, and a ubiquitous *Blanc Chevalier* who saves Lion from his most difficult situations. Charlemagne and some of his entourage who fought at Roncevaux, and Kings Henri I and Louis (unspecified) also have roles to play (Besides the chronological impossibilities, Arpin and his wife did not have children; see Chapter 2 below). The theatres of operation encompass Iberia (with much of the action taking place at the émir's court in Toledo), Outremer, Cyprus, Rome, Paris and, of course, Bourges. The work revolves around such time-honored themes as the fighting of giants and in tournaments, a magic castle, and the confusion of bastard sons and unknowingly incestuous relationships. The challenge to sound a magic *oliphant*, which only the true successor to the heritage of Berry can do, is the climax of the story. We shall return to it toward the end of the final chapter to see what it represents in terms of a crusading culture.

A solely thematic presentation (i.e. sections on Councils, Prosopography, Iconography etc.) would give too fragmented a picture. It should be kept in mind that continuity as well as crisis made the people receptive to the notions of armed pilgrimage, and a chronological presentation seems the best way to convey the evolution. Carl Erdmann argued that the origins of the crusades must in no small part be found in the anxieties felt in late-Classical/early-Christian society as the Church struggled to impose order on an imperfect world.⁴¹ E.O. Blake presents a model that places the origin of the idea after the events of 1095-1101, in the earliest historiography of the crusade.⁴² But what makes Urban's sermon at Clermont crucial

for crusade historians is that it was the first appeal to fight for the Church which was widely accepted throughout much of the Latin west and in many social classes.⁴³ Contemporaries would not have accepted it, or indeed understood it, unless Urban could appeal both to images and thoughts with which they were familiar, and to the crises that contemporaries felt were effecting the holiest city of Jerusalem at that particular time.⁴⁴

The Presentation of Places, People and Evidence Within This Study

I shall employ the standard French transcriptions of the place names and most of the people. For example the region is called both *Berry* and *Le Berry* by historians. While I usually refer to it simply as "Berry," I more rarely will call it "Le Berry," but never "the Berry." The medieval Christian name Odo is usually altered to Eudes in the literature, and I have done the same with the notable exception of Odo of Deuil, a chronicler of the Second Crusade. Likewise, the name of the cathedral shall always be referred to as St. Étienne, while the saint himself will be anglicized to St. Stephen. So too will Philippe become Philip. A few other French names have been kept, however, when their place names are included. Thus I will keep Pierre de la Châtre, while writing Peter the Hermit. When "Church" is capitalized, I mean the Latin Catholic church itself, as opposed to specific churches or the Byzantine Orthodox church. Where places or these churches are discussed, I have endeavored to put both the contemporary medieval name and the modern equivalent in order to make it more convenient for the reader to find them on the maps included in the end pages.

As for extracts from primary and secondary sources, I have tried to keep the latter to a minimum, and usually no more than a phrase. This policy has been harder to adhere to with citations from primary sources. If they refer specifically to Berry or to the crusade in relation to Berry, I have kept them in the body of the work. Those citations that are more unwieldy or do not pertain to the specific point of discussion, but which are useful for the context, are included in the notes, which are to be found at the end of each chapter. Finally, concerning the notes and the bibliography only, centuries in all titles are numbered with Roman numerals in the

modern style; therefore the "eleventh" becomes "the XIth Century" in English titles and "le XIe Siècle" in French ones.

The Historical Context of Berry Before the Eleventh and After the Thirteenth Centuries

Avaricum, as the region was called in classical times, was brought under Roman control in the middle of the last century B.C., and Bourges, or Biturgis/Biturgia, was declared the first city of Roman Aquitaine. When the popes replaced the emperors as the leaders of Rome, the archbishop of Bourges tenaciously defended his claim to be the primate of the churches of Aquitaine,⁴⁵ and his city was the administrative "capital" (if such a term is appropriate for early medieval governmental structure). The cathedral was dedicated to the proto-martyr St. Stephen (St. Étienne) in the early third century. The legends surrounding Stephen linked him both with Christ's first apostles during his own lifetime and as the first martyr of the faith.⁴⁶ Stephen's relics were thought to have been brought by Leodacius, a Roman senator who settled there and offered some of his land to build a chapel dedicated to the saint. However, it was St. Martin of Tours who is given credit for eradicating paganism, often violently, from his neighboring diocese of Bourges during the late fourth century.⁴⁷ Catholic Christianity, nonetheless, had to be re-established by Irish monks who, about two hundred years later, came to preach to the mostly Arian Christians there.⁴⁸ Traditionally, St. Ursin is considered the first bishop of the diocese, presiding over the gallic church in the middle of the third century.⁴⁹

Another facet of the early church in Berry is worth mentioning: Sometime in the mid-fourth century, Simplicus was appointed the bishop of Bourges by the bishop of Clermont. He, and his successors, would also be "proclaimed" by the people of Bourges as "Defensor civitatis"--Simplicus himself was elected to defend the city against Visigothic raids which must have been growing more common.⁵⁰ This shows simply that the episcopacy, at least in central France, had played some role in civil defence and peace-keeping well before the break up of Carolingian unity in the later ninth century, when historians generally argue this role developed. No evidence has been found to suggest continuity between Simplicus's example and those of the

archbishops under the Capetians, but it does show that the notion of a churchman leading the struggle for peace is not new in the tenth century.⁵¹

Perhaps due to its many streams and rich soil, or its pivotal location on the plains between northwestern Europe and the Mediterranean seaports of southeastern France, Berry was often fought for until well into the fifteenth century. The Visigoths first absorbed it into the Kingdom of the Franks in 478. Warriors from Poitou to the west conquered it for a brief period, but Pepin the Short reclaimed the area for royal Gaul early in the 760's.⁵² Into the later-twelfth century, the River Cher became the front line in the struggles between Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus before their strained accord to go on what would be called the Third Crusade.⁵³ During the Hundred Years' War, Charles VII made Bourges his capital. Indeed the fortunes of war demanded that he hold his coronation there before Jean d'Arc could give him safe conduct to Rheims, the ancient site of the crowning of Frankish kings.⁵⁴ The English would belittle him as "the little King of Bourges,"⁵⁵ but, as will be discussed, he was not the first king to hold his coronation in this city.

Despite periodic Norman and Hungarian raids in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, Berry had become stable enough politically to be an hereditary *comté*, or county. However, dynastic and familial vicissitudes of marriage alliances and deaths meant that by the tenth century, its leaders had become only vice-counts or *vicomtes* under, at least nominally, the counts of Poitiers established to the west.⁵⁶ It was indeed the last vice-count, Eudes Arpin, who sold his holdings to King Philip I at the turn of the twelfth century to support his own participation in the First Crusade. However, there were earlier institutions and events in Berry to which we must now turn. Remembering that continuity was at least as important as new contingencies for the crusading culture of Berry, let us begin with the early eleventh century, where we can observe some of the strengthening ties between the local nobility and the local churches, and both these orders' ties to Jerusalem, which, in both spiritual and military terms, was the goal of Eudes and other early crusaders.

Notes for Chapter 1

1. Crew, D. "The Constitution of 'Working Class Culture' as a Historical Object: Britain and Germany 1870-1914" Paper given at the SSRC Research Seminar in Modern German Social History (University of East Anglia: July 1980). I am indebted to Mr. Patrick Earnshaw, who is currently reading for an M.A. from this University, for bringing this material to my attention.
2. Housley, N. *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580*. (Oxford Univ.: 1992) pp.2-5.
3. See Chapter 4 below.
4. Strayer, J.R. "The Future of Medieval History," *Medievalia & Humanistica*. (2: 1971) p.186 discusses the need for local histories that offer specific examples that may or may not support the standard generalizations.
5. Tyerman, C.J. *England and the Crusades (1095-1588)*. (University of Chicago: 1988) p.71. See also Goldschmidt, W. "The Biological Constant" reprinted in *Cultural and Social Anthropology*. (P.B. Hammond, ed.) (New York: 1964) who defines (p.8) "culture as a learned pattern of actions, beliefs, and feelings shared by a community, and society as a system of interactions and organized relations among its members..." This study is not an attempt to define "culture" per se, so the debate about its definition will be left at this cursory level. There is an extensive bibliography in both cultural and anthropological studies, of course, which are well beyond the purview of this thesis. For an example of the (sometimes snobbishly overstated) debate between Anthropology and History, see W.H. McNeill's "Patterns of European History" in *Europe as a Cultural Area*, (J. Cuisenier, ed.) (The Hague: 1979) pp.7-94. Prof. McNeill claims that the essay was written (p.8) "for historians rather than for ethnologists and anthropologists." However, most of the disagreement and debate raised about the paper focus on "the lack of historicism that is shown among Western anthropologists and ethnologists, and in particular McNeill's lack of comprehension of the path followed by European politics." (p. 92).
6. Hahn, C. "Purification, Sacred Action and the Vision of God" *Viewing Medieval Narratives*, *Word & Image*. (5, 1: 1989) p.72. See also Abbot Suger's understanding of iconography in Panofsky, E. (ed.) *Abbot Suger & the Abbey Church of St. Denis*. (Princeton Univ.: 1946, repr. 1979) pp.63 & 65.
7. Eco, U. *Art & Beauty in the Middle Ages*. (H. Bredin, trans.) (Yale Univ.: 1986) (original, Florence: 1959) p.1.
8. De Gaffier, B. "Un Miracle Inédit de St. Sulpice de Bourges: Les Noms des Trois Rivières," *Analecta Bollandiana*. (99: 1981) pp.251-57.
9. See also *RHGF*. vol.23, pp.665-69, which gives a rundown of the aristocratic landholdings in the "Feoda Balliliæ Bituricensis et Feoda quæ tenetur Bituris" and "Feoda moventia de Exolduno." Family names are given, but they are not distinguished as crusaders, prelates or the like.
10. In the next two notes, works translated into English are omitted, as are those which pertain specifically to Berry. Barber, M.C. "The Social Context of the Templars," *TRHS*. (34: 1984) pp.27-46.; Blake, E.O. & Morris, C. "A Hermit Goes to War: Peter & the Origins of the First Crusade," *Studies in Church History*. (22: 1985) pp.79-108.; Cardini, F. "The Crusades & 'The Presence of Jerusalem' in Medieval Florence," *Outremer*. pp.332-46.; Cowdrey, H.E.J. "Martyrdom & the First Crusade," *Crusade & Settlement*. (P.W. Edbury, ed.) (University College, Cardiff: 1985) pp.46-56.; Dickson, M.G. "The Flagellants of 1260 & the Crusade," *JMH*. (15: 1989) pp.227-67; "The Advent of the 'Pastores'," *Revue Belge de Philologie & d'Histoire*. (66: 1988) pp.249-67; and "Stephen of Cloyes, Philip Augustus & the Children's Crusade of 1212," *Journeys Towards God--Pilgrimage & Crusade*. (B.N. Sargent-Baur, ed.) (Kalamazoo: 1992) pp.83-105.; Duncalf, P. "The Peasants' Crusade," *AHR*. (26: 1920-21) pp.440-53.; Riley-Smith, J. "The First Crusade & St. Peter," *Outremer*. pp.41-63; and "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History*. (65: 1980) pp.177-92.

11. Adler, A. "The Pelerinage de Charlemagne in New Light on St. Denis," *Speculum*. (22: 1947) pp.550-61.; Bachrach, B.S. "The Northern Origins of the Peace Movement at Le Puy (975)," *Reflections Historiques*. (14: 1987) pp.405-21.; Baker, D. "Popular Piety in the Lodevois in the Early Twelfth Century: the Case of Pons de Leras," *Studies in Church History*. (15: 1978) pp.39-48.; Barber, M. "Catharism and the Occitan Nobility: the Lordships of Cabaret, Minerve & Termes," *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*. (forthcoming).; Bisson, T.N. "The Organized Peace in Southern France & Catalonia (1140-1233)," *AHR*. (82: 1977) pp.291-311.; Bouchard, C.B. "Laymen & Church Reform," *JMH*. (5: 1979) pp. 1-10.; Evans, *Art in Medieval France, and Life in Medieval France*. (Oxford Univ.: 1925).; Landes, R. "The Dynamics of Heresy & Reform in Limoges: the Study of Popular Participation in the Peace of God (994-1033)," *Reflections Historiques*. (14: 1987) pp.467-511.; Morris, C. "'Equestris Ordo'--Chivalry as a Vocation in the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History*. (15: 1978) pp.87-96.; Stoddard, W.S. *Art and Architecture in Medieval France*. (New York: 1972).; Trotter, D.A. *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades*. (Geneva: 1988). There are various collections of sources like Herstein, S.R., *World Bibliographical Series, Vol.13: France*. (Oxford: 1980) or Crosby, E.U.; Bishko, J.; and Kellogg, R.L. *Medieval Studies: A Bibliographical Guide*. (New York: 1983) which should be consulted. The latter has a particularly helpful organization, as it is subdivided into subjects and nations.
12. Brundage, J.A. "The Crusades: Past Achievements and Future Agenda," *Two Worlds*. p.450.
13. Macquarrie, A. *Scotland and the Crusades*. (Edinburgh: 1985).
14. *Ibid.*, p.18 for the quote and p.128 for the lack of popular preaching along the lines of Peter the Hermit in the First Crusade or Radulf in the Second.
15. *Ibid.*, pp.10-11 and p.47.
16. Tyerman, p.23.
17. *Ibid.*, p.58.
18. Evans, J. *Life in Medieval France*. rev.ed. (London: 1956) p.101.
19. Bouchard, C.B. *Sword, Mitre, and Cloister--Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198*. (Cornell Univ.: 1987).
20. *Ibid.*, Chapter 8, esp. pp.197-99.
21. Bull, M. *Knightly Piety in Southwestern France (ca970-1130) and the Lay Response to the First Crusade*. (Ph.D. dissertation; publication forthcoming from Oxford Univ. Press). Page numbers listed in this thesis are taken from a bound copy of the dissertation and may differ from the published version.
22. *Ibid.*, pp.71-5. Both he and Bouchard present the family links between the lay nobility and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These links are not challenged in any of the titles consulted for this thesis.
23. *Ibid.*, p.99.
24. A point readily conceded by Dr. Bull on p.76. If so, it does nothing to enfeeble his arguments concerning the Peace Movement as understood in his region.
25. Vermeesch, A. *Essai Sur Les Origines et La Signification de La Commune Dans Le Nord de La France (XI et XII Siècles)*. (Heule: 1966) pp.41-2.
26. See, for an example of the first problem, Kidson, P. "Panofsky, Abbot Suger and St. Denis," *JW&CI* (50: 1987) pp.1-18, which argues that Panofsky, and later Sumner McKnight Crosby, accept too readily the iconography of the abbey as outlined by Suger in both *De Consecratione* and *De Administratione*. Kidson presents a strong case that Suger was

matching Biblical numerology and cosmology to the structural requirements without understanding the limits of architectural technology of the mid-twelfth century. In reference to the problem of later restorations of varied quality, see Brown, E.A.R. and Cothren, M.W. "The Twelfth Century Crusading Window at St. Denis," *JW&CI* (49: 1986) pp.3-38, which shows the difficulties in explaining an iconographic programme when there is such as a lack of documentary evidence referring either to when the window was installed, or to its original layout. Mâle, É. *Religious Art in France--XIIIth Century*. Bollingen Series vol.2 (of 3) (Princeton Univ.: 1984) seems less critical about these restorations. All subsequent references to Mâle in this study are from vol.2.

27. In the periodical, *Annales*, from 1950 to 1988, covering 37 printed volumes, not one article is dedicated to the crusades. Other useful studies used in this study, although they may not specifically discuss events in Berry, include Delaruelle, E. "Essai Sur La Formation De L'Idée De Croisade," *Bull. de Litt.* (42: 1941) pp.25-45 & (45: 1944) pp.13-46; 73-90 & (54: 1953) pp.226-39 & (55: 1954) pp.50-63 (These are reprinted in *L'Idée de Croisade au Moyen Age*. (Turin: 1980). The subsequent notes will be to this edition with its own pagination.); and Jonin, P. "Le Climate de Croisade des Chansons De Geste," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*. (7: 1964) pp.279-88. Also see Duby, G. "The Origins of Knighthood," pp.158-70 and "The Laity and the Peace of God," pp.123-33 in *The Chivalrous Society*. (C. Postan, trans.) (London: 1977).; Graboïs, A. "De La Treve De Dieu A La Paix Du Roi--Etude Sur Les Transformations Du Mouvement De La Paix au XIIe Siècle," *Mélanges René Crozet*. (P. Gallais & Y-J. Riou, eds.) (Poitiers: 1966) pp.585-96.; Vogel, C. "Les Rites De La Penitence Publique Aux Xe-XIe Siècles," *Ibid.*, pp.137-44.; and Wolff, P. *Histoire du Languedoc*. (Toulouse: 1967).

28. Bourges: 1684.

29. Thaumassière, G. *Histoire du Berry*. (Bourges: 1689 & reprinted 1865).

30. "Comment les Capetiens Sont Devenus Maitres du Bourges", *C. d'A. & d'H. du B.* (5: 1966) pp.9-29.; *L'Occident du Xe Au Milieu du XIIIe Siècles*. (Paris: 1970).; *Le Berry du Xe Au Milieu du XIIIe Siècles*. (Paris: 1973).; *Le Diocèse de Bourges*. [From the Series *Histoire des Diocèses de France*. Jarry & Planque eds.] (Paris: 1973).; *Histoire du Berry*. (Toulouse: 1987)--this is a more popular presentation of *Le Berry* (1973).

31. See above concerning the damage done to the archives. Fortunately the archives of other départements contain copies of smaller collections, and many archivist-historians of the nineteenth century published many of the relevant documents as "Pièces Justificatives."

32. For example: Lacour, R. "La Circulation des Monnaies Féodales en Bas-Berry (XIe-XIIIe Siècles)," *Société d'Émulation du Bourbonnais*. (42: 1939) pp.26-35 offers clues of the local mints that produced the coins later to be found in Outremer.

33. Perhaps a better delineation would be educated/clerical and (functionally) illiterate/lay culture as "sacred and secular" suggests too modern a delineation. See Le Goff, J. "Introduction: Medieval Man," *The Medieval World*. (J. Le Goff ed. & L.G. Cochrane trans.) (London: 1990) pp.8-10.; and, concerning the widening gap between educated/clerical & illiterate/lay groups, Southern, R.W. *Western Society & the Church in the Middle Ages*. (New York: 1970) pp.36-41.

34. For a particularly relevant and parallel example, see Bouchard, pp.225-46.

35. Thaumassière, vol.1, pp.181-3 and Siberry, E. "The Crusading Counts of Nevers," *Nottingham Medieval Studies*. (34: 1990) pp.65-67.

36. Riley-Smith, J. (ed.) *The Atlas of the Crusades*. (London: 1991) pp.117 & 122. However, Siberry, E. *Criticism of Crusading (1095-1274)*. (Oxford: 1985) argues that the Second Council of Lyon saw at least as important a shift in crusade planning (pp.1 & 21). Also Housley begins his study of the later crusades from that council.

37. By participating in one of the tours of his chateau by the *Service du Département de l'Architecture*, one learns of such references to his voyages in the middle east as a Turkish steam bath and his hosting many Arabic-style banquets for his court. Much of this information can also be found in Evans, *Art*, which is more concerned with his palace as an artifact of the early French Renaissance than with his later life, which might have been effected by Berry's crusading traditions.

38. Housley, pp.100-105.

39. See Waugh, W.T. *A History of Europe from 1378-1494*. (London: 1932) pp.300-02 and Vale, M.G.A. *Charles VII* (London: 1974) pp.227-28.

40. Kibler, W.W.; Picherit, J-L.; and Fenster, T.S. (eds.) *Lion De Bourges*. (Geneva: 1980) in 2 vols. They describe it as "un des dernières chansons de geste." (intro., p.lxi) There are, however, a number of courtly love themes that allow me to call it a romance.

41. Erdmann, C. *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*. (M.W. Baldwin, trans.) (Princeton Univ.: 1977) pp.3-11.

42. "The Formation of the Crusade Idea," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. (31: 1970) pp.11-31.

43. Riley-Smith, J. *The Crusades: A Short History*. (Yale Univ.: 1987) p.8. Hereafter, it will be noted simply as Riley-Smith. See also *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*. (London: 1983) p.153.

44. See Cahen, C. "An Introduction to the First Crusade", *Past and Present*. (6: 1964) p.29, which argues succinctly that, indeed, there was no particular situation vis à vis the Muslims, which would have triggered the crusade in 1095 as opposed to, say, 1090 or 1100. Certainly, however, the people, if not the pope himself, must have believed there was a situation that demanded an immediate and forceful response at that time. Whether Jerusalem was Urban's stated goal for the crusade of 1095-1101 has been hotly debated (See, for examples, Erdmann, pp.329-31; Mayer, H.E. *The Crusades*. (J. Gillingham, trans.) 2e ed. (Oxford Univ: 1988) p.10; Blake, pp.14 & 18; and Riley-Smith, pp.6-8). However, as we shall see, Jerusalem had a special relevance to southern Berry from the eleventh century. Conversely, Berriours willingly accepted ecclesiastical exhortations to fight in other theatres, particularly the Midi in the thirteenth century.

45. Boyer, H. *Dictionnaire Topographique de Département du Cher*. (Paris: 1926) p.xiii. Many charters present a formula similar to "Dei gracia Biturgis Archiepiscopus, Aquitanie primas..." See also *DHGE*. col.179 and Balon, J. "L'Eglise de France au Haute Moyen Age Dans le Centre et l'Ouest et Spécialement a Bourges," *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*. (45: 1967) which is a rather deceptive title for it is concerned with the Church under the Carolingians. It should also be noted that Bourges was elevated to an Archbishopric under the Carolingians. Stancliffe, C. *St. Martin and His Hagiographer--History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus*. (Oxford: 1983) has a map of the Roman civil diocese of Aquitaine c.380-400 after her index. It lists Bourges as *Aquitania I* and Bordeaux as *Aquitania II*.

46. See Acts Chaps. 6 and 7. For what follows, *DHGE*. cols.179 and 196.

47. Stancliffe, Chap.23, esp. pp.329 & 335. I am indebted to Simon Coates for making me aware of this source, and the dating errors I had made before consulting it.

48. For the early history of the cult of St. Stephen, see Devailly, *Le Diocèse de Bourges*, p.9.; The missions of the Irish monks are discussed on p.12. St. Stephen fulfills two roles desired by those who founded the earliest churches and chapels, especially in France: he is both an apostle guaranteeing the tradition of succession for the episcopacy, and the first martyr recorded after the ministry of Christ had begun. The martyrdom of the Innocents [Matt. 2: 16-18] occurred, of course, before this.

49. *DHGE*. col.205.

50. *Ibid.*, col.196.

51. See Bachrach, B.S. "The Northern Origins of the Peace Movement at Le Puy in 975," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques*. (14: 1987) pp.405-21. and Duby, G. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. (A. Goldhammer, trans.) (Univ. of Chicago, Illinois: 1980) "Gerard of Cambrai and the Peace." This example of Simplicius seems to bring into question the article by Renna, [T. "The Ideal of Peace in the West 50-1150," *JMH*. (2: 1980) pp.143-62, esp. pp.145-49] where he argues that, from the death of Constantine until the later eighth century, the Church presented a model of a separate, non-worldly peace. "Episcopal spirituality seems unable to free itself from the spirituality of the cloister." (p.149)

52. Mésle, E. *Histoire De Bourges*. (Bourges: 1980) pp.92-3.

53. Among the chronicles in *RHGF*. vol.17 that relate these battles, see esp. Rigord de Gestis's "Philippus Augustus, Francorum Regis" pp.27ff and *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*. (M.P. Paris, ed.) (Paris: 1838) vol.4 pp.18-23, 51-68 and 91-138. Much of the rebuilding and fortifying of Bourges (of which two small towers and about 100 metres of the wall remain) under the authority of Philip II was in direct response to the threat of Richard invading from the south and west (i.e. English Aquitaine).

54. Funck-Brentano, F.C. *The Middle Ages*. (E. O'Neill, trans.) (London: 1922) p.519. For the sacerdotal claims of Frankish kings resulting from their being anointed and crowned at Rheims, see Bloch, M. *The Royal Touch--Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*. (J.E. Anderson, trans.) (London: 1961 & repr. 1973) pp.34ff.

55. Perroy, E. *The Hundred Years War*. (W.B. Wells, trans.) (London: 1951, original: 1945). See pp.259-65 for the "kingdom of Bourges" of the dauphin before his escort to Rheims, which is studied on pp.284-5. Jean Froissart describes the Black Prince of Wales entering "the rich and prosperous region of Berry" in 1355-56 [*Chronicles*. G. Brereton, ed. & trans. (Harmondsworth, England: 1968) pp.122-23].

56. Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, p.80. All his studies are particularly concerned with the disintegration of royal power in the ninth and tenth centuries. Berry, it appears, never had strong links to the later Carolingians, so it makes an ideal region for his interests.

Chapter 2: THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: The Imagery of Jerusalem, the Harbingers and the Heroes of the First Crusade

The roles that pre-crusading activities such as the peace movement or pilgrimage played in bringing about the First Crusade as preached by Pope Urban II in 1095 are often contested by medievalists,¹ yet the consensus remains that the crusade proper began at the Council of Clermont in November. What social context or iconographical framework made this appeal from Clermont popular with the people of Berry? Before focusing on the most important influences in their crusading culture, let us look at a couple of the broader historiographical arguments pertaining to issues that played a part in the culture of all of Latin Christendom, and which had an influence on the crusading culture of Berry as well.

While some of his arguments have raised much debate, even by his English editors, Carl Erdmann's study *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* is still an often cited source for those trying to come to grips with the social tensions that found some release at Clermont.² His work is a useful tool in this thesis because he highlights the continued presence of these tensions from the late classical to the medieval period, and he refers to the Peace League of Bourges as a pivotal institution in the evolution of crusading ideas. After Constantine legalized its existence, the Christian Church now was both of and in the world. St. Augustine was the leading light who tried to harmonize the admonition to turn the other cheek with the new coercive power the Church had at its disposal as it became tied with the state. Here is where, Erdmann continues, definitions of the *iustum bellum* and the *bellum Deo auctore* came into circulation for later crusade apologists and canon lawyers to build upon.³ To take but one issue,⁴ St. Augustine's notion that coercion could be used only against those who were within the Church but struggling against its authority (i.e. heretics) was expanded to include anyone who would not follow Christ, much less Rome. Also, while Augustine saw in this unfortunately coercive behavior only the justice or the authority to act, later canon lawyers saw participation in this conduct as meritorious and a symbol of Christian love. It was so, they argued, because as God punished wrongdoers, so should His instrument, the Church. This reasoning would be of

crucial importance to the thirteenth century archbishops of Bourges as they mustered armies for the Albigensian Crusade.

Another concern for the armed pilgrims was the notion of revenge against the enemies of Christ. The chroniclers of the First Crusade often tried to justify it as a defensive operation by putting words into Pope Urban's mouth about the need to regain Jesus's lost patrimony.⁵ To be sure, there were certain crises that might have fostered this notion of defending the eastern churches. For example the church of the Holy Sepulcher was destroyed by the caliph Hakim in 1009.⁶ This would have caused consternation in the west, no doubt, but it did not terminate the streams of pilgrims who made their way to the Levant. There was, indeed, a growth in the number of pilgrims from throughout Latin Christendom over the following half-century or so, including some lords from Berry. Pilgrimage to the Holy Land would have heightened their awareness of the need for revenge. A number of families in Berry developed this tradition, making them keenly aware of the fact that non-Christians were in possession of the holiest city in Christendom.

The difficulty for the theorists in the Church throughout the eleventh century was how to convey such discriminating notions to an illiterate laity. It is likely that more concrete issues had more immediate effect on the people of central France. One of those social issues that was a constant, though evolving, influence was the growing bond between the *Berrieurs* and their local churches. Members of each social order were often tied by blood, making them interested supporters in each other's causes. The Peace of God, led by the ecclesiastical order, enforced by the laity, was one of the clearest expressions of this interdependence.

The Peace of God and the Peace League of Bourges

The peace movement of the eleventh century should be understood as a development of the co-operation between the local lay middle aristocracy and their ecclesiastical counterparts to uphold social order.⁷ In the first half of the century, the development to which many crusade historians point when trying to link this campaign to the holy wars after 1095 is the *militia pacis*. Many of the trappings which were a part of the crusading movement can also be found in these militias, for example the

oath, over relics, or the inclusion of a banner blessed by the local bishop for the army to carry.⁸ The Peace League of Bourges is perhaps the clearest example of this institution.

The problem facing French society was that it did not have secular leadership capable of offering order or protection. The disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, which began as an authorized policy with the Treaty of Verdun in 843, soon created a situation in which royal power was divested to regional lords and counts, who in turn saw their powers usurped by the local nobility.⁹ This order was familial, not constitutional,¹⁰ and depended upon a Germanic sense of peace, implying only an absence of fighting within one's land holding or social group with little or no religious significance attached.¹¹ The Church, however, began to take an extremely active role in developing the peace councils with the aid and encouragement of some of the lay aristocracy.¹² This co-operation is not surprising since families had sons in both the local lay and ecclesiastical nobility. For example, Bishop Guy II of Le Puy, who sponsored what may have been the first Peace Council in 975, was the younger brother of Geoffroy Greymantle, Count of Anjou from 960 to 987--himself the sponsor of the reform of St. Aubin in Cormery.¹³ Even if a local lord could uphold an armistice within his fief, it was quite likely that he and his men would be fighting their noble neighbors in the next one,¹⁴ something that the Church would have been keen to subdue since it had no coercive force to protect its own holdings during these wars.

The Peace was essentially designed to protect the poor and unarmed in society, which theoretically included churchmen,¹⁵ from the "wild justice" of the lay feudal powers.¹⁶ This was achieved by an oath made by lay lords who would defend the poor against those who would not join in the pact. The oath is sometimes seen as a formative link between this movement and the crusades, something to which we shall turn when looking at the movement in Berry. Spiritual or penitential punishments were not the only weapons that many reformers had to wield against peace breakers. The peace council of the Bishop of Le Puy raised a loyal group of *miles* to extract oaths from those less willing, or those who abjured their earlier promise, to uphold the peace policy.¹⁷ Reformers tried to limit why one could fight with the debate over

iustum bellum, who one could fight via the *Pax Dei*, and when one could fight with the development of the *Treuga Dei*. The crusades could then be seen, in part, as an attempt to define where one could fight.¹⁸ The question of how much of an influence the Peace and Truce of God movements had has been reintroduced by Dr. Bull, whose thesis was noted in the introduction. Other crusade historians have tended to argue that there were indeed strong links, if for no other reason than the institutional peace was re-established in the canons of the Council of Clermont.¹⁹

Did the evolution of the *Pax Dei* as it manifested itself in Berry lay any strong foundations for the crusades proper? In 1031 the archbishop of Bourges, Aimon (or Aimo) de Bourbon,²⁰ held a peace council in his cathedral dedicated to St. Stephen. It was attended by Rencon of Clermont and Stephen II of Le Puy, among others of the French episcopacy. The presence of Bishop Stephen is perhaps significant, recalling his predecessor's council in 975. Much of the wording of the latter meeting follows the vocabulary used by the former.²¹ The greatest amount of available information concerning Aimon's council comes from the *Miraculorum Sancti Benedicti* written by succeeding generations of monks throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries at the monastery^{of} St. Benôit-sur-Loire, situated some eighty-five kilometers due north of Bourges.

Andrew, the author of books Four through Seven,²² chronicles the events of what has since been called the Peace League of Bourges as designed by Aimon: "pacem sub jurisjurandi sacramento in dioecesi".²³ In the sermon attributed to Aimon, he raises the association by rallying all males over fifteen years of age to unite and, if necessary, to fight the "persavores, incentores rapinarum, oppressores monachorum, sanctimonialium et clericorum, [and the] impugnatores." Aimon is ascribed by the author as specifically mentioning the castellans as the transgressors of the peace.²⁴ Andrew describes, at first, those who enroll in the undertaking as "ac si alterum Israeliticum populum."²⁵ The clergy are not omitted from the enterprise. They are expected to assist in the struggle with the carrying of banners and the offering of prayers for the combatants. Bachrach argues that the Peace League of Bourges is "the most obvious case" of the inclusion of those who should be thought of not as unarmed *per se*, but not being in the social class of *miles*. This militia in

Berry inflicted considerable damage upon Begny-sur-Craon and Châteauroux, therefore the League must have been outfitted with weaponry of some type. The events surrounding the rise and fall of the Peace League are recorded in Book Five, which opens with dire omens of an eclipse and blood red flames leaping from the sun. Andrew then goes directly into the story of the setting up of the League. The people who wished to join did so by taking an oath over the relics of St. Stephen in his cathedral.²⁶ Although these relics, like so many other artifacts, were lost during the French Revolution, one can still see from the eleventh century crypt the stonework grate that formed an opening to the medieval altar above. One may surmise that it was near this oculus that the faithful could view the reliquary and take their oath.²⁷

Andrew relates the only specific victory that seems to be recorded at "Beneciacum, castrum cujusdam Stefani," or Bengy-sur-Craon, some thirty kilometres east of Bourges.²⁸ In his opening to the fifth book, Andrew dates these events along with the heavenly portents to the late summer and autumn of 1038. Yet Devailly has shown that the archbishop was interested in the peace movement since his elevation in 1030. Aimon held his first peace council before one held in Limoges in November of 1031.²⁹ Limoges used a similar model of excommunicating transgressors, but made no attempt to muster a militia, popular or aristocratic, to uphold their statutes. Aimon's council also must have been known in Paris for sometime between 1034 and 1044 King Henry I of France demanded a follow-up meeting in the diocese of Bourges.³⁰

Andrew, *post factum*, shows his distrust in the League due to the way it upset the divine social order, turning the humble into aggressors--into a quasi-army.³¹ His misgivings are fully justified by the omens with which he opens the discussion of the events that led up to what has been called by modern historians as "the Battle of Cher" in 1038. The League was defeated outside the castle of Châteauroux held by Eudes of Déols as punishment for their violent transgressions in earlier battles such as that at Bengy-sur-Craon. Their pride had turned them, in the words of Andrew, into "genti Benjamineæ."³² Their defeat was caused by their going against the will of God and, for Andrew's didactic purposes, that of St. Benedict.³³ The unarmed people who had joined the League had, at first, placed their faithⁱⁿ Stephen and

Benedict, but as they had come instead to trust in their own power, the saints confounded their efforts. Carl Erdmann makes the most of this episode to show how the Church took critical and conscious strides toward the crusade proper throughout the eleventh century,³⁴ but is such a judgement warranted on the peace movement in general, or in relation to Berry in particular? Erdmann highlights the "Old Testament colors" in Andrew's vocabulary, suggesting that he had already come to terms with the idea of holy war.³⁵ In fact, however, Andrew condemns the Peace League's bellicosity, and he sees Eudes's victory as divine judgement for its cupidity and violence³⁶--hardly the sort of paradigm the Church would have wanted to offer at the turn of the century to men such as Count Raymond of Toulouse or Godfrey of Bouillon.

Guy Devailly believes that this battle was nothing more than one of many struggles among the nobility of the region, in this case between Eudes and Geoffroy *Le Meschin*, the *vicomte* of Bourges who was also present at the battle.³⁷ Devailly relies on the account of the *Chronicon Deolensis* (Déols), which presents the battle more curtly than does Andrew and does not mention the League.³⁸ He argues that Andrew's linking it with the peace movement is purely an interpretive measure. While this cannot be denied, why cannot the model presented by the *Chronicon* also be an act of interpretation?³⁹ Would not including the motives and development of the Peace League have shown the lord of Châteauroux in a bad light as someone willing to flout the ideals of the archbishop? The chroniclers at Déols surely would have been at pains to avoid presenting their lord in such a manner.

What role then, did the Peace League of Bourges play in the foundation of the idea of the crusade in this region? The forms, symbols or, if you will, imagery of how these events are recorded do find some striking parallels to those used at the turn of the century. First is the oath: Just as at the cathedral in 1033, crusaders were required to take a pilgrim's oath if they were to go to the Holy Land.⁴⁰ Next, during the crusades saints were seen as offering aid to their faithful allies, or perhaps they interfered with the plans of their enemies. At Antioch, to take but one example, the saints George, Demetrius and Theodore make their appearance to carry banners and aid the Christian army in the defeat of Kerbogah.⁴¹ It might be worth noting Saints

Stephen and Benedict play important roles in Berry, as their relics were significant attractions for pilgrims there. When later crusaders go east, however, they do not transport their Occidental saints' cults with them, but swear oaths to and receive aid from the Oriental ones.⁴² Also, the clergy participate first by mustering the troops, then by carrying banners or relics into battle. Episcopal participation will clearly be in evidence during the Albigensian Crusade of the thirteenth century.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the Peace League was set up and led by the episcopacy, while the military strength came largely from the laity. The events in Bourges must be seen as a turning point in the evolution of the Church taking active military control into its own hands and trying to give it a quasi-sacerdotal character. Thomas Head describes it as "the only instance during the early phase of the peace movement in which military force was employed to outlaw military force."⁴³ In Aimon's case of the 1030's, this "force" consisted mainly of the "multitudo inermis vulgi," and they were asked to take an active measure to curb the renegades of the equestrian order⁴⁴ who were attacking the poor. In 1095, the pope would preach instead to this very equestrian order. Later authors of his sermon like Baldric of Dol or Robert the Monk gave Urban's exhortation a similar model as that used in the *Miraculorum*--in Urban's case, that of the need for peace on the home front in order to carry out holy war as directed by the episcopacy. Harmut Hoffmann goes so far as to compare the language of the Council of Clermont directly with that of the Peace League.⁴⁵ Proving that these themes converge at the Battle of Cher would be all but impossible. However, what seems certain is that the sort of language and imagery used to chronicle the First Crusade are also employed some eighty years before by contemporaries to explain the rise and fall of the Peace League of Bourges.

The League involved all those men over fifteen who would take the oath over the relics of St. Stephen, so the effects on them and their immediate families and neighbors would not have been lost. But what sort of impact did the *Miraculorum* have on subsequent generations? D.W. Rollason argues in "The Miracles of St. Benedict: A Window on Early Medieval France"⁴⁶ that it could have had a very real influence. One of the themes developed by all the authors was the efficacy of venerating the relics of St. Benedict: those who make pilgrimages and offerings are

rewarded, while those who renege on oaths or grow haughty in their own strength are punished by the saint himself. This theme, he argues, would have been wasted on the monks as they had dedicated their lives to Benedict already. Also, from Book Three, the stories become more interested in the lives and devotions of the "laboratores," and the violence of the "bellatores" or "pugnatores," suggesting that the monastic authors were becoming more conscious of the lay audience to whom they were directing their message. The collection may have been something of a preaching guide that reflected eleventh century tensions so that preachers could draw upon local events and miracles to make their point concerning both Benedict and the need for peace.

Some objections that may be raised when trying to link the Peace League with the crusade proper are that participation in the former included no indulgence or sense of martyrdom, and that there is a lack of imagery of Jerusalem. While it is true that neither the *Chronicon* nor the *Miraculorum* mentions any hint of an indulgence or martyrdom, the last can be challenged to some degree when looking at the cultural milieu of Berry. There are indeed references to "a new people of Israel." This notion will have evolved in the early twelfth century into a cult of the "new Maccabees"--the warrior tribe to whom crusaders were sometimes compared. Andrew himself, when he feels that the people defending the peace have become swollen by pride and are stepping outside the divine social order, begins to refer to them as "genti Benjamineæ"--the warrior tribe of Benjamin. References to the Old Testament and the Jews as the chosen people of God abound in his additions to the chronicle. Those who obey the Church and its saints were favorably compared to them, while those who strayed from this light yolk were adversely labeled as the rebellious people of the tribe of Benjamin.

After Aimon's militia was seemingly disbanded in the late 1030's, the sources become inexplicably silent about his career, which lasted until 1070.⁴⁷ It seems a short step theologically or ideologically to move from a "militia inermis vulgi" to the popular crusade as led by Peter the Hermit. The problem is that we must see if the ideas of the League had any relevance in Berry during the period between 1038 and 1095. Aimon's successor, Richard II (1071-93), brought the reforms so often symbolized by Pope Gregory VII to central France. For example, he worked actively

to remove lay controls from ecclesiastical, especially monastic, holdings.⁴⁸ Many historians seem to draw too sharp a distinction between the development of crusading ideals before and after Gregory's pontificate. His papacy is often left as the transitional, yet crucial, period from the peace movements earlier in the century to Urban's council at Clermont. Étienne Delaruelle is particularly extravagant in attributing to Gregory credit for developing the religious overtones of chivalry and stirring popular support for an expedition against the Muslims in the Levant. After presenting such an interpretation, Delaruelle then seems to beg the question of explaining why the crusade did not come into existence until 1095.⁴⁹

In 1074, just one year after his accession, Gregory wrote a letter to many of the bishops of France, including Richard, in which he lambasts the seemingly ineffectual King, Philip I ("non rex sed tyrannus") for allowing the desecration and plunder of various church holdings in his domain.⁵⁰ In this letter Gregory offers a rather formulaic eulogy to past princes who upheld the dignity of the Church, but contrasts it to the malice of the present ones: "Nunc autem omnes malitiâ quasi quodam pestilentiae morbo replenti horrenda et multum execranda facinora..." His exhortation ends with the call for the clergy to act "sicut strenui milites Christi," showing that the idea was in circulation well before chroniclers of the First Crusade included it in Urban's sermons. In Gregory's letter, however, it is directed toward the episcopacy, not monks, and the laity receive no mention. Five years later, on 28 June, 1079, Gregory wrote to and condemned Boson, son of the Count of La Marche, for his attack on Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre in southern Berry "quæ juris ecclesie Hierosolymita...commonemus ut...secura sanctæ Hierosolymitana ecclesie cui fidelium devovit intentio in perpetuum conservetur."⁵¹ Gregory's vocabulary concerning the church itself is important, and will be recalled when we return to Neuvy.

Harmut Hoffmann quite tentatively suggests that Richard refers to an "army" similar to this predecessor's in the 1030's in his *Consuetudines* of 1073, but the historian admits that little can be made from it.⁵² William Godelli, a monk at St. Martial of Limoges whose chronicle we shall again encounter, writes of a council held at Issoudun, some forty kilometers southwest of Bourges, in 1081 which included the

archbishop (incorrectly named as Aimon) and was led by the pope himself.⁵³ It was held at the castle there, which was the home of a number of crusaders in subsequent decades. The editors of the *Recueil des Historiens de Gaul et de la France* rectify specific errors in William's chronicle with material extracted from the archives of St. Sulpice of Bourges. It contains an oath originally made by Richard's predecessor, but brought back into use at this congress: "...ad referendam pacem et res Ecclesiarum commode disponere, concilio Regis et Episcoporum ad nostram sedem pertinentium decrevimus Concilium facere in Biturca civitate." In fact, there is no mention of King Philip's attendance at this council; it is indeed quite unlikely he was there. The bishops of Nevers and Clermont are mentioned, but again there is no reference of lay participation.

Finally, in 1093 and at the end of his career, Richard held a meeting to discuss the keeping of the peace without reference to the Pope, now Gregory's successor, Urban II.⁵⁴ As will be shown in the fourth chapter, the sees of these visiting bishops are perhaps quite significant, as they suggest geographical and ideological links between the peace movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Berry and the crusades against the Albigensians in the thirteenth. Richard convenes the clergy of Narbonne, Béziers, Carcassonne and Albi to proclaim an "Anathema Contra Invasores Bonorum Ecclesiæ Biterrensis" in 1090.⁵⁵ As primate of Aquitaine Richard was responsible for stopping the brigands who were attacking the churches in the Midi.⁵⁶ The fact that he held this council in 1090 shows that peace ideas were still in circulation in the culture in the period leading up to the First Crusade itself.

From 1038 to 1095 is a long time, and nothing either in the primary sources or literature consulted here suggests that Urban II, his propagandists or their successors were consciously using the imagery of either archbishop Aimon or Andrew. However the first chroniclers of the crusade, trying to explain what must have been the strikingly new phenomenon of a fully-armed pilgrimage, fell back on the more traditional imagery of the struggle for the peace as led by local bishops. Two of the historians of the crusade, Robert the Monk and Baldric of Bourgueil (later Bishop of Dol), both came from the modern *département* of Indre-et-Loire,⁵⁷ the eastern lands of which were in the region of medieval Berry. Perhaps they had read

the *Miraculorum Sancti Benedicti*, and saw in it images that they felt prefigured their own experiences. Arguing that the link between the peace movement and the crusades was forged by contemporaries only after the First Crusade does not alter the possibility that they felt it was a significant link. In Berry, it would have been stronger than in other regions because the archbishop continued to promulgate peace legislation right into the 1090's.

This policy was a part, albeit a lesser one, of Richard's agenda when he brought Cluniac reforms to Berry. The League, united by oath, blurred the distinctions between the fighting and praying orders of society--something more successfully achieved by the military orders of the twelfth century.⁵⁸ The participants felt, at least at first, little moral tension in what they were doing. The condemnation from Andrew comes not from the implementation of the League itself but from its excesses and its swollen military pride. Such literary references to the people of Israel as found in the Peace League and the *Miraculorum* were certainly a part of all Christian culture from long before the eleventh century, so perhaps less weight can be given to this theme when looking at the crusading culture particular to Berry.

At the most banal, what this evidence shows is that Aimon's Peace League did not meet with unanimous or continuous success. It is perhaps significant that the laity are not mentioned in these later references to the peace movement. If they were being squeezed out of the role of church or monastic benefactors by the Hildebrandine policy against lay investiture and the alienation of tithes, and they were not being recruited to play a part in the peace movement, then pilgrimage might have been the only traditional show of piety left open to them. In this model, when Urban II re-emphasized the pilgrimage at Clermont and armed it for the sake of a meritorious war, it should come as no surprise that the laity responded favorably. If references to Outremer were less convincing in the *Miraculorum* and the Peace League, they are much clearer when we turn to pilgrimage and the spate of church-building that accompanied it.

The Influence of Pilgrimage

Mappæ mundi might be better understood as *mappæ animi*, showing Jerusalem

as the beginning and ending of time as well as the centre of the world and of its history. It was the city from which Christianity moved west, but to which these Christians hoped to return. A pilgrim to the holy city was traveling the *via Christi*, and the ideal way to complete this journey was to be buried there.⁵⁹ If death would not co-operate, joining a monastery upon return was the next best thing,⁶⁰ which, as we shall see, at least one well-documented *Berrieur* did after the First Crusade. The city itself took on an intensely dualist role from about the tenth century: along with its nature as an all-encompassing relic to be seen, touched and venerated, it also took on an anagogical character as the place of the Second Coming, the throne of the Last Emperor and the court of the Last Judgement. It was the heavenly Jerusalem to which men like Abbot Suger would refer when trying to raise their contemplation through the material to the immortal.⁶¹ Constantine's own mother, Queen Helena laid the foundation for the greatest pilgrimage destination when she found what is believed to be the empty tomb of Christ outside Jerusalem.⁶² Despite the vagaries of famine, Norman and Arabian raids in Europe, and the destruction of the Sepulcher by the Caliph Hakim in 1009,⁶³ pilgrims continued to ebb and flow between Latin Christendom and the Levant.

There were other shrines for pilgrims to go to, most not so remote from their homes in the west. Of particular importance to central France was the shrine of Saint James in Compostella which came into being after the fortuitous discovery of his tomb around 813.⁶⁴ By the end of the ninth century, through the generosity of King Alphonso III, a town had been built up around the new church. It had become such a famous and wealthy site that Bishop Don Diego Pelàez could afford to have the cathedral reconstructed in the new Romanesque style in 1077-78.⁶⁵ This shrine spawned whole industries with the building of decent roads and hostels, the founding of churches (often with convenient discoveries of relics of local saints for their own treasures)⁶⁶, and the publication of guide books for the travelers.⁶⁷ I have been unable to find specific *Berrieurs* who make this trek, but the relevance of the site and its patron will be made clear in the following section concerning Neuvy-St-Sepulcre.

Much of the ritual, philosophy, and even art of medieval Christianity seems to be driven by the desire to make the spiritual aspects of the religion as concrete and

tangible as possible. Relics were points of intersection between the saints and the power of heaven with the mundane world and all its frailty. They "emitted a kind of holy radioactivity" that effected all who came near them.⁶⁸ As we saw in Berry, relics played a critical role in enforcing oaths and the peace ideal. It was the power of the saint, through his, and much more rarely her, physical remains which ensured reward for the loyal or punishment for the malefactor. Cathedrals like Bourges or Chartres were attempts to put the whole of Christian thought and history into stone and glass. Pilgrimage belongs to this desire because it was a physical action that suggested a parallel spiritual movement toward God. To overstate its sway in medieval culture would be difficult.⁶⁹

A great age of pilgrimage began in the first decades of the eleventh century.⁷⁰ Historians often rely heavily on Raoul Glaber's chronicles which relate stories of nobles offering gifts (usually to Cluniac houses, Raoul's order) and going on the *iter Hierosolymitana*. Cluniac reforms were beginning to make themselves strongly felt in Berry's lay and ecclesiastical circles through the efforts of archbishop Richard, and many lay people followed the injunctions to become pilgrims.⁷¹ It inspired perhaps as many motivations as it animated participants. It fulfilled a number of personal, social, and cultural needs, and it adapted itself accordingly throughout the middle ages.⁷² There is no need to try to disentangle these incentives, but we should keep in mind that these same issues certainly must have played a part in motivating crusaders as well.⁷³

On the eve of the First Crusade, in 1090, the ascetic Ebrard gained permission from his abbot, Eudes, at St. Sulpice de Bourges, to satisfy his eagerness to go to Jerusalem.⁷⁴ Ebrard's path was not smooth, however, for Eudes passed away and he had to convince Eudes's stricter successor, Teunius, to allow him to go. The delay was caused by Teunius's desire to make sure that Ebrard found a caretaker for his cell at Chaumes, so it would be kept in the possession of St. Sulpice.⁷⁵ Louis Raynal, in his study *Histoire du Berry Jusqu'en 1789*,⁷⁶ claims that Ebrard was acquainted with Peter the Hermit. He then suggests what an impact Ebrard would have had if he returned to central France with Peter to help enlist soldiers for the *iter* of 1096. Raynal, unfortunately, could offer no evidence to suggest Ebrard did return. There

seems to be no trace of him once he leaves Bourges. It does show, however, that the spiritual ideal of pilgrimage was alive in central France in the last decade of the eleventh century. It also suggests that the region was accustomed to the presence of itinerant ascetics, perhaps making the inhabitants more receptive to Peter when he preached there, which will be discussed.

Moreover, Ebrard was part of a pilgrimage tradition in Berry. Eudes *Le Roux*, lord of Déols and Châteauroux, is the first eleventh century pilgrim from Berry recorded. He embarked, in fact, on two great aristocratic pilgrimages. The castellans of Châteauroux had strong ties with the dukes of Aquitaine and the counts of Poitiers from the ninth century,⁷⁷ and these links still held in the early eleventh, for Eudes embarked for Rome in the company of Duke William *Le Grand*, in 1024. Two years later he departed for the Levant and the Holy Sepulcher, arriving in March 1027.⁷⁸ This second voyage was made in the company of William Taillefer II, Count of Angoulême.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, little else is known about this latter sojourn, although William's pilgrimages were known to be rather luxurious.⁸⁰ The pilgrimages of the lords of Déols perhaps stirred their peers, and quite probably their vassals, to make similar acts of contrition. Not only did Eudes and his family have an ongoing relationship with Duke William, but also these two men had strong ties with the churches of their regions, and in Eudes's case we have a striking example of the way the ideal of Jerusalem and of pilgrimage was brought to Berry in the early eleventh century.

Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre as a Passion Relic

The lay feudal notion of the "blood feud," in which Christ's patrimony (the Holy Land, where his mission and passion took place) had to be won back, would have been influential in central France because the church of Neuvy brought the presence of Jerusalem to southern Berry.⁸¹ (fig. 1) The date of construction of Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre is uncertain. The Chronicle of St. Martin of Auxerre places it as far back as 1034, while the Chronicle of Anjou dates it as late as 1045.⁸² Unfortunately, references to the specific founder are almost as vague as the date of his foundation. The report offered by the *Chronicum Andegavensi* (Anjou) is

intriguing for it names the sponsor as the *vicomte* of Berry, Gaufridus, or Geoffroy *Le Meschin*.⁸³ Of the other three chronicles which have been found to record its foundation: the *Chronicon Willelmi Godelli* (*Monachi St. Martialis Lemovicensis* (Limoges)), the *Chronologia Roberti* (*Monachi Sti. Mariani Autissiodorensis* (Auxerre)) and the *Chronicum Turonensi* (Tours), only the one written in Limoges mentions a possible patron. It is worth quoting this passage in full: "Anno Dom. MXLII. Hoc eodem anno Ecclesia St. Sepulchri fundata est in Bituria ad formam S. Sepulchri Jerosolimitiani, præsente Odone Ruffo Dolensis castri domino et Bosone viro illustri de Closis."⁸⁴

What makes this passage intriguing is the fact that Eudes and Geoffroy were antagonists outside the walls of Châteauroux at the Battle of Cher in 1038.⁸⁵ While we have seen how both peace councils and ecclesiastical foundations depended on the strength of the local nobility, it would be surprising indeed had these parties worked together to build the church. Godelli's chronicle dates from the twelfth century, so this entry may suggest simply confusion or, more fancifully, a *rapprochement* that occurred after the battle. Either way, it seems quite certain that the church was founded by the lay nobility of Berry, and, as Constance Bouchard argues, "The reforms [and the foundations] that took place from the end of the tenth century through the late eleventh, were carried out at the initiative of and with the consent of counts, viscounts and bishops of powerful families,"⁸⁶ The closer geographical proximity between Châteauroux and Neuvy, and Eudes's pilgrimage to the Levant earlier in this century, discussed above, suggests that he was indeed the founder of Neuvy's memorial of the Holy Sepulcher.⁸⁷

Considering the known evidence, let us assume that Eudes *Le Roux* was indeed the lay patron. Sometime after his return from Jerusalem, he founded Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre, which was built as a pious, though not necessarily faithful, replica of the Holy Sepulcher. It is a rather inexact copy of its archetype. The original in Jerusalem, built in the fifth century, was circular and separate from the basilica to the east, although they were later connected by a colonnade.⁸⁸ Neuvy has, for example, only eleven central piers compared to the twelve in the Anastasis.⁸⁹ This creates rather clumsy vaulting, and the niches/bays on the ground floor and outer wall are

noticeably irregular. This is alleviated to a large degree on the first floor where fourteen columns give a much more symmetrical rhythm while holding up the dome.⁹⁰ Also, the entrance at Neuvy opens rather arbitrarily on its north face while the entrance to the Anastasis is orientated. *Berry Roman* argues that the extended basilica was probably added very soon after the rotunda was begun. The rotunda was originally meant to stand on its own, as archæological evidence of the foundations suggests. Being easier to build, the basilica rose quicker than the rotunda, but was attached rather ineptly to the earlier building.⁹¹

This church was perhaps dedicated to St. James the Greater, patron of pilgrims,⁹² the history of whose shrine in Iberia was sketched out above. It has no noticeable iconographical link with the church in Compostella with which it shares its auspicious patron. The capitals on the ground floor are all decorated, but there are no figures of pilgrims, St. James or Christ. They are mostly decorated with foliage and beasts, occasionally drawn from Classical mythology,⁹³ images which drew criticism from Bernard of Clairvaux. Neuvy might have been, nevertheless, a noteworthy stop on one of the pilgrimage routes to Spain. The French historian P.A. Sigal enumerates four major circuits to Compostella, and the *via Lemovicensis* (by way of the Limousin, south of Berry) lists La Charité-sur-Loire, Bourges and Déols before directing the pilgrim to turn south to Limoges and St. Léonard.⁹⁴ On a map he shows Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre as a major religious center on a secondary route of this circuit.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, the *Guide Du Pelerin de St. Jacques de Compostelle*, a guidebook of the early twelfth century, does not mention this church. It may be noted that it does not get specific about any church along the route until it talks about those in the Bas-Limousin and farther south.⁹⁶ It does indirectly support Sigal's thesis of a passage through Berry, however, by mentioning a route from Orléans south to Limoges. Since at least one pilgrimage route to St. James passed through Berry, we may confidently conclude that the local population kept in contact with people and events outside their region. This would have included popular preachers, Cluniac monks and other pilgrims who might have been to Jerusalem before their trip to Iberia.

We should briefly stay with Spain to see what influence the *reconquista* might have had in Berry, since it is sometimes seen as a source, or perhaps a testing ground,

for the crusading spirit. David Lomax's second chapter in *The Reconquest of Spain* discusses the growing influences of Cluny and of the lords of southern France which reached a peak at the sacking of Barbastro in 1063.⁹⁷ This growing input from outsiders is also seen in the interest that the Cluniac popes, Alexander II and Gregory VII, had in the Iberian conflict.⁹⁸ More recently, and quite convincingly, Marcus Bull argues that, while French lords from the Limousin, Gascony and Aquitaine did participate in the wars in Spain, they did not have a permanent presence there. He also states that there are no contemporary chronicles or charters that link the French efforts in northern Spain with the pilgrimage to Compostella. The links between the crusade to Jerusalem and the expeditions in Spain were, he concludes, an historiographical construct built by ecclesiastics after the victories of 1099-1101.⁹⁹

Dr. Bull's conclusions would make one skeptical about the possibility of finding much of a presence of warriors from Berry south of the Pyrenees, and this does indeed seem to be the case. That *Berrieurs* did not participate in any significant way in these struggles is somewhat surprising considering the fact that Cluny's presence in the region was weighty.¹⁰⁰ I have been unable to find anything in the primary sources considered here that even remotely refers ^{to} the *reconquista*, and none of the very detailed histories of central France mention any contemporary's involvement in Spain. Berry's ties with Rome had been quite strong for some time,¹⁰¹ yet papal interest in the wars to reconquer Spain did not seem to make itself felt here.

An inventory of relics has not been found for Neuvy until the thirteenth century when indeed it had very strong ideological and personal links with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher built by the crusaders--as we shall see in the final chapter. Still, it was understood to be a true replica of its mother institution, and indeed may have been seen as a relic itself. This notion lies in the fact that Professor Riley-Smith's prosopographical database includes references made in 1118 to Fulk III Nerra of Anjou's pilgrimage in the 1020's, the pilgrimage in which Eudes and Duke William participated. These documents record how they returned with many parts of the Holy Sepulchre, which they could do since they visited after its destruction in 1009. If these stones were brought to Neuvy, this might well explain the inclusion

of the building of this church in southern Berry in the chronicles of Anjou. Nonetheless, medieval notions of verisimilitude were not dependent on the physical makeup of the model. Neuvy's basic round form, symbolizing eternity and resurrection, and its dedication would probably have been enough for contemporaries to link it unquestionably with the pilgrimage destinations of Jerusalem and Santiago.¹⁰² In the *Guide du Pelerin*, the author is aware that the church in Périgueux, in the southwest Limousin, was a representation of the Lord's Tomb.¹⁰³ In the Chronicle of Limoges Neuvy is described as "ad formam S. Sepulchri Jerosolimitiani." That it was an important pilgrimage site is indirectly corroborated by the fact that the four chronicles mentioned above are all outside the domains of the vicecounty of Bourges, suggesting the knowledge of, and interest in, this shrine was widespread.

Church Patronage From the Laity

From the tenth century the laity, especially the aristocracy, began to take a much more active role in the setting up, preservation or reformation of foundations.¹⁰⁴ For example, Duke William of Aquitaine's forefather, William *Le Pieux*, founded the great monastery of Cluny in 909. This was done with the assistance of the archbishop of Bourges, Madalbert, and the first *vicomte* of Bourges, Geoffroy *Papabos*.¹⁰⁵ Eudes *L'Ancien* of Châteauroux was not to be outdone in this show of piety, however, for in 917 he established Déols, and soon after the monastery of Massay. Eudes instituted the liturgy of the Burgundian house and followed its model by putting them under the direct suzerainty of the pope and St. Peter.¹⁰⁶ Déols was perhaps the most important monastic foundation in the region, and its abbot and monks were at some of the greater church councils of the next two centuries--including those pertaining to the crusade. It was the first of many houses in Berry founded or refounded for the Benedictine Order of Cluny in the eleventh century. Its modest buildings were rebuilt thanks to the patronage of the younger Eudes before he made his pilgrimages, for they were rededicated in 1021.¹⁰⁷

Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre, Massay and Déols were not the only foundations being established or reconstructed at this time by lay nobles, although specific cartulary

evidence is often scarce. A few express examples include St. Ambrose in Berry founded as an Augustinian priory by the vicecount, Geoffroy III *Le Noble*, with the assistance of the archbishop Dagobert (987-1013). Sources noting the foundation of St. Ambrose mention Dagobert, but do not offer a more specific date.¹⁰⁸ Geoffroy also founded Notre Dame de Salles in 1012,¹⁰⁹ and, perhaps, St. Ursin of Bourges.¹¹⁰ In the middle of the century, a third major Cluniac house was founded at La Charité-sur-Loire, again with the assistance of the *vicomte*, Geoffroy IV, *Le Meschin*.¹¹¹ François Deshoulières has catalogued the churches of the *département* of Cher constructed before 1789, and where documentation is lacking, he tries to date the buildings with archæological and art historical evidence. What seems certain is that a number of monasteries, churches and abbeys were under construction at this time, bringing Berry under the white mantle of new churches which the Cluniac Raoul Glaber describes in his *Historiarum*.¹¹²

The aristocracy were the prime benefactors for at least two general reasons. First, they were the ones who had the resources which they could afford to spare to a church, priory or abbey. Also, having such riches was seen to be in some sense contrary to the tenets of the Christianity they espoused.¹¹³ Their gifts were usually given for the good of the soul of the donor and usually by extension his or her family—living and departed ("In elemosinam pro anima mea..."). The sheer numbers and diversity of surviving documents ought to dispel any attempt to discredit the laity as not aware of, and not taking an active role in ensuring, the well being of their souls as they understood such things.¹¹⁴

We should not, by the same token, assume that the lower aristocracy or even wealthy peasants were unable or unwilling to present gifts. In twelfth century cartularies we can read about a number of people in Berry who gave rather modest benefactions of foodstuffs or livestock to their local foundation—often before undertaking a pilgrimage or joining a crusading expedition. Many times these charters are copies or "vidimus" of earlier, eleventh century transactions, making it clear that such interaction was going on even if there was a lower survival rate of documentation from the eleventh century. Sometime between 1007 and 1025 Evrard, the *seigneur* of Vierzon, northwest of Bourges, rebuilt a church dedicated to St. Optat

with the help of Abbot Martin of St. Pierre de Vierzon.¹¹⁵ His descendant, Humbaud, continued the tradition by sponsoring the collegiate church of Notre Dame de Mehun-sur-Yèvre. Just a bit farther west of Vierzon, in Graçay, another collegiate church, that of St. Austégésile, was probably rebuilt around 1014 by Raimbaud, the *seigneur* of Nondray.¹¹⁶ In 1034 St. Pierre à Château Gordon was reformed by Mathida, the daughter of Gimon, sire of the castle. This was approved by Archbishop Aimon,¹¹⁷ suggesting that his involvement with the lay aristocracy manifested itself in many ways besides the Peace League. It should also be noted that the restoration of the church was carried out by a woman, which was apparently not at all uncommon.¹¹⁸ As a final example, the abbey church of Notre Dame de Puyferrand, in the southernmost region of Berry, was founded sometime before 1070, when archbishop Aimon died.¹¹⁹ Nothing has been found referring to oblates being given in Berry, but one should be very cautious in assuming that such things were not being done. Oblations in Burgundy to the east and south were quite common,¹²⁰ and so in the Limousin directly to the south.¹²¹ In the early tenth century Cluny tightened its control over its sister houses in Le Berry through La Charité and Déols,¹²² and oblations were accepted by the order. It should be safe to assume, therefore, that they were made in this area as well, following the general Cluniac tradition.

These illustrations suggest how diverse and close the links were between the laity and the church leaders in the archdiocese. With such interdependency in terms of material goods, it seems quite logical to argue that spiritual and social "goods" were also being traded.¹²³ If the laity were taking an active role in their religious lives via participating in the peace movement and pilgrimages, and assisting in the reformation of local houses, then their participation in the crusade should be seen as part of a continued relationship with the church authorities in central France. They were conditioned, if you will, to reply to the Church's invocation in 1095 because they had been tied to this institution in many fundamental ways for at least a century. Donations, oblations and discussions kept the laity in contact with at least the more general theological issues of the day. That the two were drawing closer together should not come as any surprise if we recall that many of the oblates and older *conversi* who came from lay aristocratic families would have had one eye on the

mundane rights and privileges of their relatives, even as they hoped to convey spiritual ones to them as well.¹²⁴ Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre might be understood as the consummate iconographic manifestation of this theme in their cultural history. Founded by a lay lord to resurrect the image of the destination of the *peregrinatio* to Jerusalem, it also became a part of the pilgrims' route to Santiago de Compostella. Neuvy stands at the crossroads between pilgrimage and lay involvement with church authorities.

Popular Preaching on the Eve of the First Crusade

The last major theme pertaining to the cultural prehistory of the First Crusade is that of preaching in Berry. Almost without exception, crusade historians since Voltaire have put much of the responsibility for recruitment and propaganda for many of the popular movements associated with the crusades on these preachers. Men like Gottschalk, Folkmar and especially Peter the Hermit wielded powerful influence in a culture in which news traveled by word-of-mouth and/or images.¹²⁵ They were largely responsible for spreading the call to arms promulgated at the Council of Clermont, despite Urban's lengthy itinerary after this meeting.¹²⁶ The proclamations made by the ecclesiastical authorities were taken up by itinerant preachers, both sanctioned and unauthorized, throughout the crusading era. What role did such preaching play in the crusading culture of Berry?

Peter the Hermit is, perhaps, the most well known of such evangelists for the First Crusade. Not only do chronicles have him preaching in France around the Council of Clermont, but he is also credited with leading an army to the Holy Land and participating in the great siege of Antioch.¹²⁷ Explaining Peter's involvement in this crusade has proved difficult both for modern historians and for those contemporaries who first tried to understand these events. We have seen that the hermit-pilgrim was not a new phenomenon in Berry, even if the career of Ebrard is not as well recorded as that of Peter.¹²⁸ The *Chanson d'Antioche* portrays the latter ascetic as the instigator of the crusade, almost without ecclesiastical assistance.¹²⁹ Peter is mentioned as travelling in Berry during his recruitment drive,¹³⁰ but when he was passing through central France is not clearly stated.

Albert d'Aix's *Historia Hierosolymitana* does not, unfortunately shed a great deal of light on the chronology either. The author offers the following details concerning Peter's career:

Sacerdos quidam, Petrus nomine, quondam heremita,
ortus de civitate Amiens,...omni instinctu quo potuit,
hujus viæ constantiam primum adhortatus est, in Berriu,
regione præfati regni, factus prædicator in omni
ammonitione et sermone.¹³¹

This is in the text before the Council of Clermont, but Albert does not seem to suggest that Peter was preaching in Berry before November. Indeed, Hagenmeyer says it is possible, but unprovable in the sources, that Peter took part in the council itself before he continued on his own recruitment campaign in the winter of 1095-96.¹³² Albert's analysis of Peter's army is quite favorable, and this is perhaps significant because he does criticize the lack of organization and the endemic looting of Christian cities by other popular hosts. William of Tyre seems to depend heavily on Albert as a source, and he also gives much of the credit to Peter who is said to have gone to Urban II with an appeal for aid from the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He then suggests Peter was then inspired to preach to raise an army of Franks to liberate the Holy Sepulcher.¹³³ One possible difficulty is reconciling how Peter was able to raise such a large and seemingly well-disciplined force before the distinguished knights of the following expeditions unless, in fact, he did get a head start on Urban.¹³⁴

Peter was not the only recruiter in central France. Leaders of both episcopal and monastic foundations were present at a number of papal councils where the crusade was preached. It is probable, although uncertain, that Richard's successor as the archbishop of Bourges, Audebert de Montmorillon (1093-97) was at the Council of Piacenza in March 1095.¹³⁵ Modern historians have rediscovered convincing evidence that Emperor Alexius did indeed ask for military assistance there.¹³⁶ Audebert was the abbot of the monastery of Déols before his election, thus he would have been receptive to Cluniac policies and Urban's plans. It seems more likely that he joined Urban II and his entourage before the meeting at Clermont the following November. Urban's voyages in Gaul purposely skirted the domains directly

controlled by Philip I. One of the points of the pope's itinerary was, in fact, to excommunicate the Capetian king,¹³⁷ and his tour involved many more traditional duties than preaching what became the First Crusade, such as church dedications, confirmations of episcopal election and the like. Archbishop Audebert is known to have been one of the pope's attendants at the dedication of the church at La Chaise-Dieu in the Dauphiné on 18 August, 1095.¹³⁸ Audebert must have left this company for a short time though, for the historian René Crozet has him returning to the pope's side when he stopped at Le Puy to celebrate the feast of the Assumption.¹³⁹

At the Council of Clermont itself, central France was well represented. Geoffroy, abbot of La Trinité de Vendôme, was in attendance as was the bishop of Le Mans, who also was at Piacenza. Raoul of Orléans, from a city due north of Bourges on the Loire River, himself archbishop of Tours to the west, was also present, to give only the most notable examples.¹⁴⁰ The reports of Urban's speech are well known and need not be discussed again here. In February of the next year, the pope appointed Robert d'Arbrissel to preach in the regions of the Loire, although there is no evidence to suggest he specifically preached the crusade. Urban then skirted the eastern borders of Berry by visiting Vendôme at the end of February and Tours and Marmoutier in March.¹⁴¹ He then went south into Aquitaine and Languedoc before returning to northern Italy in August 1096. The archbishop of Bourges, himself an alumnus of a Cluniac house from a part of Berry which had seen the destruction of the Peace League and which would send many of its future generations on crusade, was certainly at the Council of Clermont.¹⁴² Berry had many connections with the highest echelons of the Church and with popular preachers as well. Both groups were trying to motivate people to stop their local petty wars and take up a struggle which might bring them riches, would probably bring them fame, and certainly seemed to guarantee the salvation of their souls.

The Prosopography of the First Crusade Concerning Berry, Including the Last Vicomte of Bourges

The prosopographical database developed by Professor Riley-Smith and his students provides many names of early crusaders who left from the various regions

in France, including Le Berry.¹⁴³ Both Faucon and Arnold of Vierzon left with Peter's contingent, according to the *Chanson d'Antioche*, starting a local tradition of crusade participation in Vierzon which would carry right through the thirteenth century. Geoffroy of Issoudun departed in 1096 as well, and in the next century others from there would follow his example. The people of the town of Vendôme seemed particularly receptive to the call of crusade, perhaps due to the influence of La Trinité mentioned above. Geoffroy I Jordan and Peter of Vendôme went, while Ulric Bucel and Peter Jordan of Châtillon-sur-Indre are recorded by this monastery as going. Also, both Baldric of Bourgueil and Robert the Monk, previously cited chroniclers of these events, came from southwestern Berry. I am also able to add two more names to the list, although the second is better documented. The first is Raoul IV Thibaud, lord of Châteauroux and Déols. He took up his cross and departed in 1097. The influence of archbishop Audebert, who had been abbot of Déols and later was at Clermont, on Raoul has not been documented but would seem certain. Thaumass de la Thaumassière has Raoul dying at the siege of Antioch later that year.¹⁴⁴ The name of the other crusader is Sarlon *Le Riche*, *seigneur* of Menetou, who departed around the year 1100. Before he left, Sarlon offered a number of gifts to the abbey of St. Sulpice of Bourges, which recorded the transaction: "Hec est elemosina Sarlonis divitis quam dedit Deo et Sancto Sulpicio, et dulcissimis monachis et amicis suis ibidem servientibus, qua Jerusalem Sanctam pergere volebat."¹⁴⁵ The gifts included vineyards, a meadow, waterpools and even chestnut trees. They are offered as *elemosinæ* for the spiritual wellbeing of the giver. Whether or not Sarlon was married, I cannot discover. "Hunbaudus frater ejus" was one of the witnesses, though. A noticeable, but not conclusive, pattern has emerged from the study of this prosopography. Namely, a number of men left without direct heirs. Their gift-giving records often state as much. This suggests a personal, penitential motive to undertake the challenge of a crusade. The participant lost no more wealth than he would have had he died at home, and it would be unlikely that he would go in search of booty if he had no one to inherit it. A crusader, as a pilgrim, would have wished to die in Jerusalem. If he were not married, and without a direct heir, Sarlon's testament would fit him readily into this model.

Let us then turn to the *vicomte*, Eudes Arpin, and trace his career. It is fairly well documented; but so is it the most mythic because he is included in the crusading cycle of poems written in the twelfth century. The role which he plays in this cycle must be discussed, but we should perhaps explore the better validated documentation first. We may then turn to see what the *chansons* suggest about the crusading culture of Berry. He became the *vicomte* of Bourges through his marriage to Mahaut de Sully. She was granddaughter of Geoffroy *Le Meschin* who was one of the antagonists of the Battle of Cher.¹⁴⁶ Eudes' social position brought duties for and expectations from the churches of Berry. Charter 64 in the cartulary of Vierzon presents these religious duties expected of its lord.¹⁴⁷ It was drawn up during the rule of Eudes's predecessor and brother-in-law, Steven, quite probably in 1092. The preamble, as noted by its editor, Devailly, is without specific references to everyday life, but it does betray the expected religiosity and generosity of its patron:

Tantis itaque Dei revocati miserationibus que sunt super
omnia opera ejus que circa salutem nostram sunt,
operemur, laboremus, perseveremus, perficiamus non
deficiamus temore enim suo meremus non deficientes.
Et dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes,
maxime ad domesticos fidei.

Afterward, more mundane subjects are discussed concerning Stephen's ceding various lands to the Abbey of Vierzon, including the priory of St. Gondon-sur-Loire which he still held as an allod.¹⁴⁸ Arnold of Vierzon and his son, Geoffroy, are two of the witnesses. Arnold, as we have read in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, went on the First Crusade, and his son went on a later expedition, as we shall see in the next chapter.

This charter contains other interesting passages which give a glimpse of the expectations for the *vicomte* of Berry. There is a brief sketch of the family history of the vicecounts, in which the continued generosity to the churches in Berry is emphasized.¹⁴⁹ The importance of the "vertical," ancestral character of the family, which gained new emphasis over the "horizontal," extended family unit from the ninth century,¹⁵⁰ is clearly visible, and we also see a tradition of strong loyalties to the King of France--something which is particularly evident during the rule of Arpin himself. The vicecounts were kept aware of this legacy of support and interest in the

churches, and Stephen was keen to pass on this tradition to Eudes:

Proinde ego jamdictus Bituricensis vicecomes dominus Stephanus et prefata soror mea Ildeburgis laude et confirmatione venerabilis archiepiscopi Bituricensis ecclesie, consilio vero optimatum et fidelium meorum...Rogamus autem dominum Odonem cognomento Arpinum neptis nostre probabilem et honorabilem virum atque ideo successorem nostrum et ipsam ut hanc donationem nostram firmam et inconvulsam custodiant, omnes inpetitores arceant, inpugnatores ejus expugnet, ut ipsi orationum mihi factarum partem obineant et hereditatis nostre justissimi heredes existant.

Thus it would appear that Eudes Arpin inherited duties that would have tied him to the church authorities much like his own ancestors and his peers in other areas in Christendom. Again, it would seem quite safe to assume that such contact would have allowed a communication of ideas then current in the Church. In fact, as his crusading career suggests, he might have been particularly aware of the theological issues of the day. Perhaps Eudes saw his participation in the First Crusade as a part of the tradition of support for the Church and part of his duty as the lord of the region. Any preaching by Peter the Hermit would have fallen on ears receptive to do, according to the earlier section of the charter, "good work toward all, especially toward the faithful members of the household." One may surmise that he would have heard of, if not heard, Peter's preaching in the region, and as we shall shortly see, some of the literary evidence suggests he did. He certainly participated in the crusade, and to do so he needed money. To gain liquidity, he sold his lands to the King of France. Unfortunately, as with the building of Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre, accounts of the date and price of the sale vary widely. William of Malmesbury does not mention the sale itself, but has Arpin and 300 men heading for Jerusalem in 1098, which implies the sale came in 1096 or '97.¹⁵¹ Orderic Vitalis, who goes on to give an account of Eudes's adventures on the crusade, dates the sale to 1101.¹⁵² I can only suggest two possible answers as to why he did not sell his lands to an ecclesiastical foundation: The sum needed for such a sale would have been beyond any local churches, including the cathedral chapter, and/or, as Charter 64 from

Vierzon suggests, loyalty to the Capetian kings was strong enough that Philip I would have been the first buyer to whom Eudes would approach.

Let us turn first to the body of evidence suggesting that Arpin sold his *vicomté* early enough to depart with Peter in 1096. As intimated above, the *Chanson d'Antioche* places Eudes and possibly one of his vassals, Jean d'Alis, in the company of Peter's army. The point is made that Eudes had no progeny: "Seigneur, en cele muete fu Harpins li hardis/ Cuens estoit de Boorges et sire poestis;/ Mais au roi ot rendu sa terre et son païs,/ Quant de sa femme n'ot enfans, fille né fils."¹⁵³ It is true that he had no children, providing evidence he saw the armed pilgrimage as a penitential or moral duty. He is always mentioned in the most glowing terms, such as "Harpin li hardis," "sire poestis," or "preus et hardis."¹⁵⁴ The entourage then go on to engage the Turks in a battle on Mount Civetot in which they are hopelessly outnumbered and defeated.¹⁵⁵ Eudes and Jean are listed as prisoners by Corborans, the Muslim leader at the battle, and then never heard from again in this poem.¹⁵⁶ Yet it is not the only document to place Eudes within the popular crusade of Peter. The *Chroniques de France* discuss the growth in power and prestige which the king enjoyed when he bought the vicecounty from "Harpins de Bohorges, uns valanz Chevaliers,...qui se croisa a la premiere croiserie de Perron l'Ermite qui fu en ce tens et a la Outre Mer a la premiere muete."¹⁵⁷ The *Chronica Regum Francorum* tells, not surprisingly, a similar story: the king had the "good fortune for the augmentation of his dominion" to purchase Bourges from Arpin "qui ivit supra Sarracenos cum Petro Heremita."¹⁵⁸ Neither source gives a specific date to this event. Since Peter's contingent left in the spring of 1096, these documents must have assumed that the sale went through before then to allow Eudes's taking part.

The argument above is in no way an attempt to prove that Arpin was in Peter's contingent. The weight and integrity of the evidence suggesting the sale was at least after 1097 is too great. For example, Thaumas de la Thaumassière mentions a charter concerning St. Sulpice signed by Eudes and his wife in that same year.¹⁵⁹ Guy Devailly is convinced that the sale dates between 1100-01.¹⁶⁰ Other historians of central France agree that the *vicomte* left in what Professor Riley-Smith has since labeled the "third wave" of crusaders who were motivated by the reports of victory

brought back by the first returning soldiers.¹⁶¹ Orderic states that Eudes joined Milo de Brai and Joscelin de Courtenay, who are known to have gone on this third wave. Eudes also enlisted his forces with Count William of Nevers, one of the great leaders of this army,¹⁶² and the co-operation between crusaders from Le Berry and the lords of Nevers will be seen again in the expeditions against the Albigensians in the thirteenth century. For the crusading culture of Berry, however, the chronology may not be as important as the fact that Peter was known to have preached there. It is quite possible, to be sure, that the *Chanson*, the *Chroniques de France* and the *Chronica Regum Francorum* built on each other's (mis)information. Is this because they appreciated the influence Peter had in Berry, and so drew the conclusion that Arpin, who did indeed go on this great armed expedition of 1096-1101, must have gone with Peter? We have reliable evidence that the hermit preached in Berry and that Eudes held a position with strong traditional ties with the churches in the region. Consequently, it is quite possible that chroniclers of the twelfth century, trying to explain these events, made logical, if not completely accurate, connections between the preacher and the *vicomte*. Perhaps we are dealing with an oral history of sorts, in which legends easily assimilated themselves into the better documented evidence.

Arpin was well received and a respected member of the aristocratic community in Outremer. Albert d'Aix mentions him being in Joppa with King Baldwin of Jerusalem where Eudes was given the responsibility of defending this port city.¹⁶³ Then in 1102 he is mentioned as taking part in a royal council in Jerusalem at Easter.¹⁶⁴ This would surely make it quite unlikely that he was captured while fighting his way to the city, as the *Chanson d'Antioche* relates. Guibert of Nogent clarifies this by relating how Eudes was indeed captured but later in 1102, and after offering counsel (it is unclear whether we are still at the Easter meeting) that entering into such a mismatched battle, would be unwise:

Harpinus memoratus regi [Baldwin] intulit quatimus
prælium differet donec quicquid virum poterat habere
conferet. Rex ait, «Si times, fuge Bituricas!» hisque
dictis, inconsulte confligit...Multi tunc in captivitate
acti...¹⁶⁵

The crusaders do engage the Turks and are defeated. Eudes is indeed captured,

showing how the *chanson* seems to have been based on sound reports even if they were re-arranged to make a better story. But we must turn to another chronicler to pick up the rest of the account.

Orderic Vitalis relates how, after his capture he was detained in Babylon but then was freed by the intercession of "Bizantei negotiatores." In fact, the Emperor himself got personally involved in freeing the crusader.¹⁶⁶ After Eudes offers his thanks to the Emperor in Constantinople, he returns to France via Rome. There Orderic puts these words into Pope Paschal II's mouth:

Per confessionem et poenitentiam emundatus es per laboriosam uero peregrinationem et martirii agones uirtutum insigniis redimitus es hoc specimen fili mi, tempetisum intuere et ad correctionem tui hoc exemplum conuerte...Caue igitur ne sis sicut canis reuersus ad comitum suum, et sus iota in uolutabro luti. Nunquam ulterius arma feras in Christianos, sed ut uerus Christi pauper fastus contempne mundanos...

Such a speech may betray Orderic's prejudices rather than the pope's or Eudes's own thoughts, but the *vicomte* did present himself to the most prestigious monastery in eleventh century France, Cluny. His rise in the order seemed quite swift for in 1107 he was promoted to the position of abbot at La Charité-sur-Loire.¹⁶⁷ La Charité, it must be remembered, was founded with the aid of Eudes's predecessor, Geoffroy. Arpin's promotion, not to mention his career in Jerusalem and the intercessions of the Byzantine Emperor, would certainly suggest that he had some sort of education and was perhaps well known for being quite literate, perhaps an extraordinary skill in the secular nobility at that time.¹⁶⁸ As abbot he witnessed the conclusion of its rebuilding programme and its rededication by Paschal II.¹⁶⁹ There he died in 1130, closing the first epic chapter of the crusading history in Berry.

Notes for Chapter 2

1. Any study of the crusades will touch on the problem of antecedents to some degree. The volumes by Erdmann, Mayer, and Riley-Smith will be referred to throughout the text. More-fiercely contested debates tend to appear in academic journals. As a useful, but by no means comprehensive, bibliography: Blake; Blake & Morris; Bull; Cahen; Charanis, P. "Byzantium, the West & the Origins of the First Crusade," *Byzantion*. (19: 1949) pp.17-36.; Cowdrey, H.E.J. "The XIth Century Peace & Truce of God," *Past & Present*. (46: 1970) pp.42-66.; -- "Cluny & the First Crusade," *Revue Benedictine*. (83: 1973) pp.285-311.; -- "Genesis of the Crusades: The Springs of Western Ideas of Holy War," *The Holy War*. (T.P. Murphy, ed.) (Ohio St. Univ.: 1976) pp.9-32.; and -- "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," *Outremer*. pp.27-40; Deschamps, P. *Au Temps des Croisades*. (Paris: 1972); Duby, "The Laity & the Peace of God"; Gieysztor, A. "The Genesis of the Crusades: the Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012)," *Medievalia et Humanistica*. (5: 1948) pp.3-23 & (6: 1950) pp.3-34.; Housley, N. "Crusaders Against Christians: Their Origins & Early Development," *Crusade & Settlement*. (P.W. Edbury, ed.) (Univ. College, Cardiff: 1985) pp.17-36.; Jonin, "Le Climat de Croisade des Chansons de Geste," *Cahiers de Civilization Medievale*.; Robinson, I.S. "Gregory VII & the Soldiers of Christ," *History*. (58: 1973) pp.169-92.
2. See Chapter 1, n.10. Baldwin and, after his untimely death, W. Goffart, add critical commentary within many of the footnotes. Their disagreements usually concern the degree rather than the substance of Erdmann's ideas. The editors also include an up-to-date bibliography.
3. *Ibid.*, pp.7-9.
4. For what follows, also see Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," esp. pp.182-90, and Russell, F.H. *The Just War in the Middle Ages*. (Cambridge, Univ.: 1975) pp.17-36.
5. For example, Robert the Monk, "Historia Hierosolymitana" in *RHC Occ.* vol.3, pp.728-29. See also, Riley-Smith, p.16.
6. Alphandéry, P. *La Chrétienté & L'Idée de Croisade*. 2 vols. (Paris: 1954 & 1959) vol.1, p.44. This is the date given in Raoul Glaber's *Historiarum Libri Quinque*. (N. Bulst, ed.; J. France & P. Reynolds, trans.) (Oxford: 1989) p.132. Adémar de Chabannes, however, in his *Chronicon* [(J. Chavanon, ed.) (Le Mans: 1897) p.169] dates it in the following year. See also Cahen, p.29.
7. Renna, pp.143-62; See also Bachrach; Cowdrey, "The XIth Century Peace"; Landes,; MacKinney, L. "The People & Public Opinion in the XIth Century Peace Movement," *Speculum*. ((5: 1930) pp.181-206.; Paxton, F.S. "The Peace of God in Modern Historiography: Perspectives & Trends," *Historical Reflections*. (14: 1987) pp.385-404.; Sargent, S.D. "Religious Responses to Social Violence in XIth Century Aquitaine," *Historical Reflections*. (12:1985); and Strubbe, E.I. "La Paix de Dieu Dans Le Nord de la France," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*. (14: 1962).
8. See Erdmann, Chapter 1, esp. pp.41-5.
9. For a more succinct presentation of the Carolingian ideal see Duby, *The Three Orders*, pp.78-79.
10. Funck-Brentano, p.46.
11. Renna, p.145.
12. The Holy Roman Empire was much slower to respond. The emperor had firmer control over his lords and the episcopacy, and could guarantee the peace, at least until the minority of Henry IV (1080's). See Cowdrey, "The Eleventh Century Peace," pp.63-5 where he also includes a small bibliography on this subject. Also, Jedin, H. & Dolan, J. *Handbook of Church History*. vol.3 "The Church in the Age of Feudalism" (A. Biggs, trans.) (NY & London: 1968) pp.351-64.
13. Bachrach, pp.405-6.
14. Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, p.80. See also Evans, *Life*, pp.51-56.



15. Southern, *Ibid.*, p.409-10. The Bishop of Cahors, who also was given title of Count, held mass with a sword and helmet on his altar until the French Revolution (Evans, *Life*, p.51). See also Dawson, C. *Religion & the Rise of Western Culture*. (London: 1950) pp.176-77. This is a collection of lectures given at Edinburgh University which gives a clear and readable survey of the interaction and tension between the Church and lay society from the Late Roman Empire through the thirteenth century.
16. Cowdrey, "The Eleventh Century Peace," p.47. The word "feudal" has fallen out of favor with historians in the last generation or so. See Brown, E.A.R. "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism & Historians of Medieval Europe," *AHR*. (79: 1974) pp.1063-108. For the earlier historiographical position of the Church and the crusade in feudal terms, see Delaruelle, É. "Essai Sur La Formation de L'Idée de Croisade," pp.46-49. Here I have neither the expertise nor the time to give a detailed account of the "feudal" structures of Berry (See Devailly, *Le Berry*). Where it is rarely used, I mean only the most basic notions of land-holding lords (both lay and ecclesiastical) who used this wealth to ensure a supply of labor and resources through a system of vassalage. I am referring to the ability of this system to free a class of men who had the means to invest in the evolving technology of warfare. See Duby, "The Origins of Knighthood," pp.158-70; McNeill, esp. pp.24-26 & 31-41; Bull, pp. 52-54; and Bouchard, pp.125-49.
17. Bachrach, pp.411-17. He argues that the main source for these developments, the *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de St.-Chaffre; Suivi de la Chronique de St. Pierre du Puy & Un Appendice des Chartes* [(U. Chevalier, ed.) (Paris: 1884)] does not make it clear what the makeup of this army was, although words such as "miles," "rustici," and "inermis vulgi" are used.
18. The versions of Urban's speech at the Council of Clermont given by Robert the Monk (*RHC Occ.* vol.3), Baldric of Dol (*RHC Occ.* vol.4) and Hill, R.M (trans.) *Gesta Francorum & Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks*. (London: 1962) all make general references to fighting the enemies of Christ outside Gaul. Riley-Smith argues (most recently in *The Crusades*, p.6) that the Reconquista was quickly and readily "upgraded" to crusade status. It seems that moving the fighting outside Christendom was an important, if unclearly, or unconsciously, stated motive of the crusading movement. This might go some way in explaining why Gregory VII was less successful in mustering the militia Sancti Petri to fight for the papacy within Christendom. See Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans" and Housley, "Crusades Against Christians."
19. Translation in Peters, E. *The First Crusade*. (Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: 1971) from Stubbs, E. (ed.) *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum*. 2 vols. (London: 1887-89) Bk.4.
20. Jenny, J. "Liste des Archevêques de Bourges [XIth century] Contenu Dans Un Manuscrit Provenant Sans Doute De L'Abbaye de Déols," *C. d'A. & d'H. du B.* (6: 1966) p.8. Jenny also points out the Aimon was the brother of Archambaud III, sire of Bourbon--showing the blood ties between lay and ecclesiastical lords. For the date of his ascension, and indeed those of all the Archbishops of Bourges mentioned in this study, see *DHGE*. col. 204.
21. Verneesch, pp.28-29, n.54 and p.37.
22. Vidier, A. *L'Historiographie à St. Benoît-sur-Loire & Les Miracles de St. Benoît*. (Paris: 1965) p.197.
23. De Certain, E. (ed.) *Les Miracles de St. Benoît Ecrits Par Aldrevald, Aimon, Andre, Raoul Toraire & Hugues de St. Marie, Moines de Fleury*. (Paris: 1858) pp.192-93. Hereafter noted as *Miraculorum*.
24. *Miraculorum*, p.193: "multotiens perfidos exturbantes, castellaque eorum solo tenus evertentes..."
25. *Ibid.*, p.193.
26. *Ibid.*, p.194.
27. The opening is no longer visible from the cathedral floor. In the next two chapters I shall discuss the rebuilding of St. Étienne, beginning at the end of the twelfth century.
28. *Ibid.*, p.195. See also Verneesch, p.32 & n.62.
29. Devailly, *Le Berry*, pp.142-44. For the peace council at Limoges see Bull, pp.71-75.

30. Devailly, *Le Berry*. pp.144-45. His information comes from a general reference made by the archbishop in a charter for the abbey of St. Sulpice de Bourges. This reference implies a number of possibilities. The councils of 1030-31 perhaps were not a success, and the king demanded stronger measures. If the date could be determined, this might show that Aimon did not originally intend to raise a pseudo-army but was pressed by events. If Henry's correspondence dates from sometime between c.1035-38, this might suggest the king's interest in the new developments in Berry. If after 1038, perhaps the king was hoping to revive the peace after Aimon's defeat at Châteauroux--an event discussed below.
31. *Miraculorum*, p.194.
32. *Ibid.*, p.197.
33. Head, T. "Andrew of Fleury & the Peace League of Bourges," *Historical Reflections*. (14: 1987) p.520. That Andrew wrote after the events is clear. Vidier & De Certain each explain his own discrepancies by trying to prove that he began his continuation of the *Miraculorum* much later, in 1041 or 1043 (pp.202-03 & p.xxi respectively).
34. *Origins*, pp.60-70.
35. *Ibid.*, p.65. Delaruelle, *L'Idée de Croisade*, pp.24-25, argues that some of the vocabulary of the Christian warrior fighting for a moral cause or spiritual benefit (paralleling Biblical examples) was used by Rome as early as the ninth century battles against the Muslims in Italy. As we shall see this imagery was used by Berrieurs in the cultural context of the crusade right through the thirteenth century.
36. *Miraculorum*, p.195.
37. Devailly, *Le Berry*. p.148. Bull (p.45-51) comments on the growing numbers of peace councils in the Limousin in the 1030's in a similar manner. Eudes was also in conflict with the vicomte of Limoges, Guy I.
38. *RHGF*. vol 11, pp.387-88.
39. Head, "Andrew of Fleury," pp.516-18. He raises this debate with Devailly on p.518 & in n.14, which includes a bibliography of some of the attempts to link the Peace League to the general growth in peace councils. He also points out that Devailly's argument is weakened by accepting the chronicle's reports as contemporary with the League. Head shows that the passages in the *Chronicon* were later additions, probably written by Adémar of Chabannes.
40. What sort of specific oath was required has been difficult to prove. See for examples Mayer, pp.38-9 and n.17 for a fairly extensive bibliography [Brundage, J. *Medieval Canon Law & the Crusader*. (Univ. of Wisconsin: 1969) pp.3-29; & "The Army of the First Crusade & the Crusade Vow: Reflections on a Recent Book," *Mediaeval Studies*. (33: 1971) pp.334-43 were consulted.] and Riley-Smith, p.xxix; For a less skeptical view of the links between earlier pilgrim oaths and the crusades see Sumption, J. *Pilgrimage--An Image of Medieval Religion*. (London: 1975) pp.138-40.
41. *Gesta Francorum*, p.69.
42. Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade & St. Peter," *Outremer*. pp.46-63.
43. "Andrew of Fleury," p.513.
44. *Miraculorum*, p.196. Duby, in *The Three Orders*, (p.186) makes much of this as one of the first uses of such a tripartite model in northern France. Evans, in *Life in Medieval France* (p.36), also ties the early peace movement with the model, but not with the Peace League specifically.
45. Hoffmann, H. *Gottesfriede & Treuga Dei*. (Schriften der MGH: 20) (Stuttgart: 1964) p.107.
46. In *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*. (H. Mayr-Harting, & R.I. Moore, eds.) (London: 1985) pp.73-90.
47. Rollason, p.78, implies Aimon died at the Battle of Cher, although Devailly's works and the *DHGE* all date his holding office until 1070.

48. Devailly, *Le Berry*, pp.251-52 and *Histoire du Berry*, p.91.
49. Delaruelle, *L'Idée de Croisade*, pp.79-96. Contrast this with Keen, p.45. Almost any survey of the crusades will touch on this, and the reader is directed to n.24 in Chapter 1 and n.1 in this Chapter.
50. *RHGF*. vol.14, pp.582-84; from "*Epistolæ Gregorii Papæ VII*," no.31.
51. Raynal, L. *Histoire du Berry Depuis les Temps les Plus Anciennes Jusqu'en 1789*. 2 vols. (Bourges: 1845) vol.2, p.385 and the excerpt is given in n.1.
52. Hoffmann, p.110. The "Consuetudines of 1073" are noted to be in Chazaud, M. (ed.) *Fragments du Cartulaire de la Chapelle-Aude*. (Paris: 1860) pp.32-36, but I have been unable to consult it. Vermeesch does not mention it, but Devailly (*Le Berry*, p.44) suggests that the militarization of the peace in Berry was a notable feature until the latter twelfth century.
53. *RHGF*. vol.11, p.285: "*præsulante Romæ Gregorio VII...*"
54. In fact, Victor III sat in St. Peter's throne for one year, 1086-87 before Urban's accession. See Southern, R.W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. (Harmondsworth, England: repr.1985) p.361.
55. *RHGF*. vol.14, pp.770-71. From the *Epistolæ Amati Ellorensis (Orléans) Episcopi*, vol.8. "*Biterrensis*" (Béziers) should not be confused with "*Biturrensis*," which is the occasional spelling of Bourges.
56. Devailly, G. *Le Cartulaire de Vierzon*. (Paris: 1963) p.216, n.4, states that Richard was the first to claim the title of patriarch of this region, but see Chapter 1 about the ancient claim the archbishops made on the south of France.
57. J. Riley-Smith's prosopographical database, available by request through him at Royal Holloway and New Bedford College, University of London.
58. Barber, "The Social Context of the Templars," pp.36-39.
59. *Sumption*, pp.92-93 & 131-33. See also Finucane, R.C. *Miracles & Pilgrims--Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. (London: 1977) pp.17-18.
60. *Sumption*, pp.126-27.
61. Zinn, G.A. Jr. "Suger, Theology & the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition," *Abbot Suger & St. Denis*. (P.L. Gerson, ed.) (NY Met. Museum: 1986) pp.35-36.
62. Alphandéry, vol.1, p.10. and Kenyon, K.M. *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History*. (Thames & Hudson, Germany: 1967) p.191. Peters, F.E. *Jerusalem*. (Princeton Univ.: 1985) pp.131-75 gives an exceptional account of the building of the first Christian buildings by Constantine and the first struggles for the city between Christians and Muslims.
63. Delaruelle's notion, building upon Cahen, C. *La Syrie du Nord à l'Epoque Des Croisades & la Principauté Franque d'Antioche*. (Paris: 1940), that the crusaders were in part motivated by revenge for this event as late as 1095 seems unlikely, even if vengeance against the enemies of Christ was a motive for the crusaders: Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade & the Persecution of the Jews," *Studies in Church History*. (21: 1984) p.66 and *The Crusades*, pp.16-17.
64. Whitehill, W.M. *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the XIth Century*. (Oxford Univ.: 1941) p.269.
65. *Ibid.*, p.266. For the popularity of Santiago into the seventeenth century, see *Sumption*, p.302.
66. Whitehill, p.116.
67. Vielliard, J. (ed.) *Le Guide du Pelerin à St. Jacques de Compostelle*. (originally composed c.1139) (Mâcon: 1938). This is not to imply it was the only destination that inspired such works. Roads were built and manuals were

written for almost all the sites, especially Rome and Jerusalem. See Sigal, P.A. *Les Marcheurs De Dieu*. (Paris: 1974) for a good bibliography of secondary materials conveniently divided according to destinations. For Jerusalem, see Wilkinson, J., Hill, J., and Ryan, W.F. (eds. & trans.) *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*. (London: 1988).

68. Finucane, p.26.

69. Dawson, pp.108-09. The arts seemed to react more slowly to these trends, as the stylized, idealized images of Biblical characters did not take on this humanism until the latter twelfth century. See Duby, G. *Le Temps des Cathédrales. L'Art & Société (980-1420)*. (Geneva: 1966) pp.198-201. A simple comparison between the west façade of Chartres cathedral (1140-60) with the later northern and southern portals (1220-50) will highlight this aesthetic change.

70. Sigal, pp.95-6.

71. Glaber, pp.198-200. Cluny developed particularly strong links with the pilgrimages to Santiago, with the churches and with the nobility along the route. See Sumption pp.119-22 and Mayer pp.13 & 16. Contrast these with Cowdrey's article "Cluny & the First Crusade."

72. Sumption, again, gives a good survey of this, but for a shorter analysis, see Alphandéry, vol.1, pp.9-42.

73. Alphandéry, *ibid.*, pp.47-50.

74. "Transacto longo tempore, Ebrardus Hierosolimam ire cupiens..." in Cart. A of St. Sulpice, fo.72; published in Raynal, vol.2, pp.473-74.

75. Constable, G. "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades," *Crusade & Settlement*. (P. Edbury, ed.) (University College, Cardiff: 1985) p.78.

76. vol. 2, p.391.

77. Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, pp.79-80.

78. Thaumassière, vol.2, p.392.

79. Favière, J. (ed.) *Berry Roman*. (Yonne: 1970) p.118. His going with the Count is recorded in Adémar's *Chronicon*, p.189.

80. Sumption, p.122.

81. The idea of the blood-feud is found in Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," p.191. The phrase concerning Jerusalem is taken from Cardini, F. "The Crusade & the 'Presence of Jerusalem' in Medieval Florence," *Outremer*. pp.332-46. Also the cult of St. Stephen at the cathedral, himself the first to give up his life for Christianity, might have presented the ideal of self-sacrifice for the religion.

82. *RHGF*. vol.11, pp.308 & 169 respectively.

83. *Ibid.*, p.169: "MXLV constructa est Ecclesia Sti. Sepulchri in Bituria a Gaufrido Bituricensi Vicecomite."

84. *Ibid.*, p.282.

85. Ribault, J.-Y. "Une Revelation: Bourges aux Origines du Mouvement Communal (XIe Siècle)," *C. d'A. & d'H. du B.* (8: 1967) p.21.

86. *Sword, Miter & Cloister*, p.110.

87. Land holdings could be widely fragmented, of course. No evidence is readily available suggesting who held the lordship of Neuvy at this time. I have also found nothing to suggest that Geoffroy Le Meschin or his predecessors, undertook a pilgrimage to any shrine. While not wishing to build an argument on a lack of evidence, I do think it is quite safe to present the conclusion given in the text.

88. Mango, C. *Byzantine Architecture*. (NY: 1974) p.74. See also Peters, pp.123-37 for a translated section of Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*, which discusses the emperor's plans for the cave and church.
89. Couasnon, C. *The Cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem*. (Oxford Univ.: 1974) pp.15 & 27-30. See also plates viii-x for reconstructions of the ground plan in the fourth, mid- eleventh and mid-twelfth centuries respectively.
90. Only one column in the upper storey is illustrated (with stylized vines and leaves). I have found nothing to suggest why this is so. As it was restored during the time of the First Crusade, could a lack of skilled manpower have required cutbacks? Against this hypothesis, of course, is the fact that the whole upper section is much better assembled than the lower--or the smooth capitals are simply later restorations.
91. Berry Roman, p.119.
92. According to Berry Roman, p.117. None of the four chronicles listed above mention a dedication.
93. See, for example the satyr in *Ibid*, p.128, a study which includes many black & white photos of the building. The date given for these carvings is the latter twelfth century.
94. *Les Marchers de Dieu*, p.119. La Charité is due east of Bourges but just across the Loire River valley in the holdings of the Count of Nevers. We will, however, encounter this church again at the end of this chapter.
95. *Ibid.*, p.110.
96. As a possible comparison for Neuvy, it mentions the Sepulchre at St. Frond (Périgueux) thusly: "Cujus sepulchrum cum nullis aliis sanctorum sepulchris consimile sit, rotundum tandem ut dominicum sepulchrum studiosissime fit, et cuncta ceterorum sanctorum sepulcra pulcritudine miri operis excellit." (pp.58-59) This shows, unfortunately, that the writer probably was oblivious to the monument in Neuvy.
97. (London & NY: 1978) The sections are "The Return of the French" & "The Early Crusades and Spain," pp.52-63.
98. O'Callaghan, J. *A History of Medieval Spain*. (Cornell Univ.: 1965) pp. 201-04. Another, more specific, argument for the growing influence of the Burgundian monastery is found in Bishko, C.J. "Fernando I & the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," repr. in his *Medieval Spanish Frontier History*. (Variorum, London: 1980) Pt.II.
99. *Knightly Piety*, pp.103-50 & 116. The whole of chapter 3, pp.103-157 deals with these links until about 1130. In fact, the lords of southern and central France concentrated their efforts in the Ebro River Valley which is well southeast of the pilgrimage routes in Galicia.
100. Although Cluny's participation in the reconquista is well outside the scope of this study, I find myself tending to agree with the arguments of Bishko and Lomax, as opposed to Cowdrey and his article "Cluny & the First Crusade." The Order's influence seemed as much iconographic as institutional. Many Cluniac houses had polylobed archways in arcades and portals [Evans, J. *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny*. (Cambridge Univ: 1938.) figs.134, 177, 194, 210, & 214-18]. Perhaps the most notable example is the west portal of their abbey in Moissac [Gieysztor, A. "The Genesis of the Crusades: the Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-12)," *Medievalia & Humanistica*. (5 & 6: 1948 & '50) pp.3-23 & 3-34]. A brief survey of pilgrimage churches in southern France/northern Spain does not, unfortunately, suggest that this architectural motif of Muslim Spain was brought north by returning pilgrims. It was used at Santiago itself, in the arcades on the first storey, in the smaller side portals, in the gable of the north transept and in the archway of the clerestory of the apse [Rahives, F. *Cathedrals & Monasteries of Spain*. (J.C. Palmes, trans.) (London: 1966) pp.57-149 and figs.58 & 63; and Whitehill, pp.282-83 and figs. 112 & 114]. For a rather dated general discussion of the possible artistic influences of Mozarab culture in France see Defourneaux, F. *Les Français en Espagne Aux XIe & XIIe Siècles*. (Paris: 1949): "L'Espagne chrétienne, de son côté, joue le rôle d'intermédiaire entre l'art musulman et l'art français." (p.121) He then discusses a few examples of polylobed arcades in central and western France (p.122). They were quite popular in Berry, and they can even be seen on both the twelfth century side porches and the thirteenth century west entrance of St. Étienne cathedral. There is also a surviving twelfth century doorway in the now ruined cloister at Déols. It was most extensively used at La Charité-Sur-Loire, rebuilt towards the end of the eleventh century and consecrated in 1107. It was, perhaps, the model for Cluny III

itself [Hilberry, H.H. "La Charité-Sur-Loire, Priory Church," *Speculum*. (30: 1955) pp.1-14]. The polylobed arch of Arabic Spain is ubiquitous in Cluniac and other churches in central and southern France. See Goss, V.P. "Western Architecture & the World of Islam in the XIIth Century," *Two Worlds*, pp.364-65 for the central region of France. Unfortunately, A.K. Porter's *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* [3 vols. (New York: 1985)] does not discuss this motif.

101. See Balon.

102. Krautheimer, R. "An Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'," *JW&CI*. (5: 1942) p.15-16. He also cites an article by Michel-Dansac, "Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre," in *Congrès Archéologique*. (94: 1937), which argues it was originally designed with twelve supports to match the numerology of the Anastasis, although neither historian can confirm the hypothesis.

103. See n.96. Vielliard notes that this church was destroyed in the sixteenth century by Protestants. Fortunately, Neuvy suffered only damage to its altar and grotto caused by a Huguenot uprising in the sixteenth century.

104. *Sword, Mitre & Cloister*, pp. 111-12. See also her "Laymen & Church Reform Around the Year 1000: the Case of Otto-William, Count of Burgundy," *JMH*. (5: 1979) pp.1-10.

105. Bouchard, p.91 & Devailly, *Le Berry*, p.155.

106. Hubert, J. "L'Abbatiale Notre Dame de Déols," *Bulletin Monumental*. (86:1927) pp.6-7.

107. "Chronicon Dolense," *Nova Bibliotheca*. (P. Labbe, ed.) (1: p.287).

108. Cottineau, Dom L.H. *Repertoire Topo-Geographique des Abbayes & Prieurés*. (Mâcon: 1935) col.461.

109. Raynal, vol 2. p.535 & 40.

110. Cottineau, col. 463. Deshoulières, F. *Les Eglises de France--Cher*. (Paris: 1932) p.48, takes his evidence from Cathrinot, p.12.

111. Raynal, vol.2, p.406, states this, but without citing specific evidence. I have found no other reference to this, although Hilberry confirms the date.

112. The extant churches are still quite numerous in Cher, and they are a tourist attraction as towns, many very small, are on a "Route du Berry Roman."

113. Bouchard, p.98.

114. Bull, p.215.

115. Deshoulières, p.217.

116. *Ibid.*, p.229. He gets his information from a charter with which Thaumassière makes this claim. The evidence disappeared in the fire noted in the introduction.

117. *Ibid.*, p.234.

118. Bouchard, pp.142-48. Many of the charters that I have studied discuss the gifts given and, less often, pilgrimages undertaken by men with the agreement of their wives, who are invariably named.

119. Deshoulières, p.98.

120. Bouchard, p.61.

121. Bull, pp.163-69.

122. Devailly, *Le Diocèse de Bourges*, p.29.

123. Although it refers to thirteenth century Britain, see Mortimer, R. "Religious & Secular Motives for Some English Monastic Foundations," *Studies in Church History*. (Oxford: vol.15, 1978) pp.77-85. See also Maines, C. "Good Works, Social Ties & The Hope For Salvation: Abbot Suger and St. Denis," *Abbot Suger & St. Denis*. (P.L. Gerson, ed.) (New York Metropolitan Museum: 1986) pp.77-94. Although this article focuses on the mid-twelfth century abbot, it includes two earlier examples of iconography pertaining to gift giving by laymen to churches. The author shows that Suger was not so much egotistical in portraying himself in his abbey as participating in a tradition of trying to document his gifts for contemporaries and for history. The relationship was one of the gift being offered to an intercessor (usually the person to whom the foundation was dedicated) so to encourage petition from said intercessor for mercy on the donor. The gift had to be recorded to avoid later, probably inadvertent, interference.

124. Bull, pp.176-77.

125. Iorga, N. "Les Narrateurs de la Premiere Croisade," *Romaniana*. (1: 1928) pp.20-25.

126. See, for examples, Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* [(E.A.R. Sewter, trans.) (Harmondsworth: 1969)], which in Book 10, chapter 5 (pp.309-11) relates the story of Peter's first failed attempt to reach the Holy Sepulcher, and his "cunning plan...to preach in all the Latin countries" the need to fight the Saracens. The pope, not surprisingly in light of Ana's apotheosis of her father as a great war leader and defender of the Orthodox Church, receives no mention. Also *Li Histoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioche* (RHC Occ. vol.5, p.626) gives full credit to Peter, who is portrayed as preaching in southern France (it is not more specific) even before he convinces Urban to take up the cause. Crozet, R. "Le Voyage d'Urban II & Ses Negociations Avec le Clergy de France," *Revue Historique*. (1937) pp.271-310 discusses both the pope's itinerary in 1095-96 and the many issues besides the crusade which were on his agenda.

127. *Gesta Francorum*, pp.60ff.

128. See Hagenmeyer, H. *Le Vrai & Le Faux Sur Pierre L'Hermite*. (F. Raynaud, trans.) (Paris: 1883).

129. *La Chanson d'Antioche*. (P. Paris, ed.) (Paris: 1832-48, & repr. Geneva: 1969). Chant Premier, esp. laisses 1-3 (pp.1-7), & 11-13 (pp.15-25). Like Anna Comnena, the *Chanson* relates his aborted pilgrimage in laisses 4-9 (pp.7-12). It was written in the early twelfth century by Richard Le Pelerin & reworked by Graind'or de Douay during the reign of Philip Augustus (1180-1223).

130. *Chanson d'Antioche*, p.3.

131. *RHC Occ.* vol.4, p.272. Albert then backtracks to 1094 to relate Peter's visitations to Jerusalem and with the patriarch of the city.

132. Hagenmeyer, *Le Vrai & Le Faux*, pp.123-26. See also Hagenmeyer's *Chronologie de la Premiere Croisade*. (E. Leroux, trans.) (Paris: 1902) p.11.

133. William, after relating Peter's travels in the Levant and his meeting with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Symeon, states: "Petrus autem omnem transcurrens Italiam, zelo divino succensus, Alpes transiens, Occidentales principes omnes singulatim circuit instat sollicitus, increpat, arguit, atque, cooperante gratia monendo quibusdam persuadet..." *RHC Occ.* vol.1-1, p.38. Not surprisingly William is more specific about Peter's career in Outremer, with which William is more familiar, than about his itinerary back in the west.

134. Blake & Morris, pp.84-85.

135. Röhrich, R. *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges*. (Innsbruck: 1901) p.18. Audebert was a member of the local nobility and brother of lord Gaucher de Montmorillon. See also Crozet, p.285 and Raynal, vol.1, p.46.

136. Munro, D.C. "Did the Emperor Alexius I ask for Aid at the Council of Piacenza, 1095?" *AHR*. (27: 1922) pp.731-33. He presents evidence long ignored from Martin the Monk's *Historia Monasterii Novi Pictavisensis*, which confirms Bernold of St. Blazen's report of Alexius's appeal. Charanis, P. "Byzantium, the West & the Origin of the First Crusade," *Byzantion* (19: 1949) pp.17-36 supports this conclusion with the thirteenth century compilation of Theodore Skutariotes's *Synopsis Chronike*. Contrast these with Chalandon, F. *Histoire de la Premiere Croisade Jusqu'à l'Élection de Geoffroy de Bouillon*. (Paris: 1925) pp.17-18. Concerning Urban's goal of reuniting the Latin and Greek Churches,

see Krey, A.C. "Urban's Crusade--Success or Failure?" *AHR*. (53: 1948) pp.235-49. He argues it might have been his, even if not Latin Christendom's, greatest motivation.

137. This was due to an unapproved second marriage with Bertranda of Montfort. See Crozet, "Le Voyage," p.272.

138. *Ibid.*, p.277.

139. *Ibid.*, pp.285 and 276.

140. *Ibid.*, pp.282-87 gives a full list and some of the background of those in attendance.

141. *Ibid.*, p.298.

142. He was, at least, with Urban through Christmas when the pope was at Limoges. The crusade was again discussed there; see "Notitiæ Duæ Lemovicensis de Prædicatione Crusis in Aquitania," *RHC Occ.* vol.5, pp.351-52. Both this chronicle and n.'a' (p.352) mention the council being held in "ecclesiam" or even the "cathedra in honore protomartyris Sancti Stephani dedacavit." The cathedral of Limoges (as indeed is the cathedral of Nevers) is dedicated to St. Stephen, and Urban consecrated the new building on 29 December, 1095. See Lacrocq, L. *Les Églises de France--Creuse*. (Paris: 1934) p.194 and Maury, J. *Limousin Roman*. (Yonne: 1960) p.31.

143. The database itself sorts the participants from France into the modern departments. I see no reason to present every name offered by it but will comment on a number of them in the text. Except where noted, the reader should assume the information came from this list and Professor Riley-Smith's sources.

144. *Histoire du Berry*, vol.2, p.394.

145. Cart.A de St. Sulpice, fo.47; published in Raynal, vol.2, pp.520-21.

146. Devailly, "Comment Les Capetiens," p.12, n.19. Geoffroy's daughter, Ildeburge, married Gilon of the Sully family. Their daughter was Mahaut who married Eudes who was the seigneur of Dun before this affiliation.

147. Devailly, G. *Le Cartulaire de Vierzon*. (Paris: 1963) pp.186-88. In *Le Berry*, p.245, Devailly questions the authenticity of the document, claiming it was written by the abbey of Vierzon to ensure its claims against St. Florent de Samur. The chronology of the document is verifiable against other records, so even if written by someone at Vierzon, it still reflects the points made in the text.

148. Devailly, *Le Cartulaire*: "...donamus abbatie Virsionensi in honore sancti Petri apostolorum principis fundate, ubi reverendus abbas Humbaldus custodias gregis sibi commissi strenue, alodum nostrum abbatiam scilicet sancti Gundulfu super fluvium Ligeris in episcopatu Bituricensi sitam."

149. *Ibid.*: "Gaufredus cognomento Papabos (the first vicecount), Gaufredi patris nostri avus, a domino suo Francorum rege Ludovico (Louis IV) in alodum suscepit. Moriens vero Gaufrido filio suo qui Bosberas (the second vicecount, unknown except for this document) agnominatus est in alodum possidendam reliquit. Is quoque Gaufredus filium suum itidem Gaufridem nobilem (third vicecount) cognominatum alodi hujus libertate heredo fecit. Ex quo, patri nostro hereditario nomine Gaufredo qui Meschins (the vicecount involved with the Peace League) prenominate est alodi hujus hereditas pervenit atque ita per has successiones ad nos descendit. Cujus alodi donationem regia majestas, scripto et sigillo auctorizavit et superius dicto Gaufrido Papabos sueque postere generationi assignavit. Quod scriptum usque ad nostra tempora legere et videre volentibus in promptu fuit."

150. Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, pp.80-81.

151. *RHGF*. vol.12, p.6, n.1. Most of the sources cited in this section refer to prices of 60,000 sous or 60,000 Livres Parisi. See Devailly's *Le Berry*, pp.382-84 for the debate over the cost and what possessions were involved. He also cites *La Chronique de Vézelay* which lists the impossible sale date of 1065.

152. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*. (M. Chibnall, ed./trans.) vol.5 (Oxford: 1975) Book 10, chap.20, p.324: "Anno itaque Dominice Incarnat MCI...Tunc Harpinus Bituricam urbem Philippo Regi Francorum vendit et cum Goscelino De Cortenaia et Milone de Braio iter Hierusalem iniit."

153. *Chanson d'Antioche*, laisse 12, p.20.
154. *Ibid.*, pp.20 & 48.
155. *Ibid.*, laisses 17-24, pp.29-44.
156. *Ibid.*, laisse 29, p.48.
157. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*. (M.P. Paris, ed.) (Paris: 1837-1838) vol.3, pp.201-02.
158. *RHGF*. vol.11, p.394.
159. *Histoire du Berry*, vol.1, p.78. In the charters they always appear together, probably because his position depended upon their marriage. Unfortunately, this is where documentation concerning Mahaut seems to end, so one can not trace what she did while he was on crusade or if she was alive when he returned. Régine Pernoud's *La Femme Au Temps des Croisades* (Paris: 1990) is the only study of the roles of females in crusading culture that I know. It is written for general interest, and she does not mention anything of Eudes's or Mahaut's careers.
160. "Comment les Capetiens," p.12.
161. *The Crusades*, pp.34-36.
162. Raynal, vol.2, p.396 and Siberry, "Counts of Nevers," pp.64-65.
163. *RHC Occ.* vol.4, pp.544-45: "Joppen Rex in magna gloria secessit, Arpinum de Bodourdis civitate principem magnificum, ad custodiendos muros et portam civitatis relinquens."
164. *Ibid.*: "Plurimus diende diebus evolutis et conventu Christianorum de die in diem comminuto, aliis redeunitibus navigio, aliis per diversas regiones in reditu suo dispersis [including] Arpinus de Bodourdis et egregii viri quod sanctum Pascha celebrandum tunc de universis locis convenerant et...in civitate Iherusalem cum rege remanserunt."
165. *Ibid.*, pp.244-45.
166. Vitalis, vol.5, p.350: "Alexio Augusto talia mandavit, 'Harpinus Biturcensis servus tuus in carcere Babylonico jam nimis afflictus diu gemit et magnificentiam Imperatoris majestatis suppliciter requirit ut sibi comparatiatur et subueniat, Admirabilique directâ pro eo præceptione, de carceralibus cerumnis eripat.'" The quote in the text below is also from this passage.
167. Torat, A., Jouin, E. & Redon, A. *Le Berry: Étude Géographique & Historique de la Région Berrichonne*. (Bourges: 1927) p.184.
168. Bouchard, pp.54-55. Contrast this with Duby's article "The Culture of the Knightly Class: Audience & Patronage" in *Renaissance & Renewal in the Twelfth Century*. R.L. Benson, & G. Constable, eds. (Oxford: 1982) pp.248-62.
169. Hilberry, p.14.

Chapter 3: THE TWELFTH CENTURY: Royal Berry Develops Crusading Traditions Despite Intra-regional Wars Between the Capetians and the Plantagenets

Since Eudes Arpin's adventures straddled the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is difficult to decide where to end his contributions to the crusading culture of Berry. When he returned from Outremer, having completed his pilgrimage and having carried great responsibility within the army, he did not have a home to go to *per se*. His offering himself to the monastery of Cluny might have been nothing more than an expedient. However, as the preceding chapter showed, his social position traditionally demanded support for the churches in the *vicomte's* region. Also, it seems he was rather well educated, so it is unlikely such a decision was taken unwittingly or lightly--his becoming abbot at La Charité-sur-Loire should disprove such notions. While his actions seem largely a product of such eleventh century ideals as the pilgrimage and meritorious war as expressed at the Council of Clermont, the legends that grew after his death in 1130 clearly belong to the twelfth.

In the previous chapter I dealt with Arpin's crusade as told in *La Chanson d'Antioche*. Although he was captured by the Muslims in this poem, his adventures continue through the crusading cycle.¹ In the next installment, *Les Chétifs* ("The Prisoners") we move to Oliferne, Corbaran's capital east of the Euphrates River. The Christians develop a good rapport with their captor. Corbaran, growing in respect for his captives, even asks them for advice when they find themselves trapped on Mont de Tigris by a dragon. The first knight who volunteers to fight it, calling on the aid of St. Nicholas, is killed. Eudes's recommendation to Corbaran is wonderfully succinct and full of common-sense: "Give Baldwin [of Beauvais] arms, not St. Nicholas."² Unlike King Baldwin in Gilbert of Nogent's history, his counsel is heeded and the dragon is defeated.

Back in Oliferne Corbaran gives Eudes a fine horse as a gift, and the crusader takes it for a ride outside the walls. He sees one of Corbaran's nephews swimming. When the lad comes out of the water he is carried off by a wolf, and our hero gives chase.³ The wolf abandons its quarry, but then a monkey takes him up a tree. Arpin

does get the boy out of the tree, but then is besieged by Turkish enemies of Corbaran. During the struggle, Arpin's war-cry, which is repeated a number of times later, is "Sains Sepucres Aïe!" or "Avant!", highlighting him as a crusader and a pilgrim.⁴ The king negotiates their release and Arpin is richly rewarded by Corbaran's mother, Calabre, upon their return to Oliferne. Arpin, however, is restless to kiss the Holy Sepulcher, so he convinces "nostre Franc pelerin" to head for Jerusalem.

Although *les chétifs* return to help finish off the Turkish resistance in the Holy City, Arpin does not play a large role in *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, as it focuses largely on Godfrey of Bouillon.⁵ We are told, however, of Arpin's heraldry which is described as having spurs of pure gold--the sign of a dubbed knight. He was also protected with a helmet decorated with green gems and "a white double hauberk of true measure...and a quartered shield with a lion, white as the mulberry flower."⁶ He is also praised as having the courage of a lion throughout the cycle. In this *chanson*, Corbaran was so impressed by the valor and faith of his Christian captives that when he hears that Jerusalem has been secured by them, he goes off to join them in the holy city, much to the consternation of his mother. *La Chrétienité de Corbarans*, a title which gives away the ending, relates his travels to Jerusalem where Arpin, not surprisingly, warmly welcomes the Turk and convinces King Baldwin to make him feel at home.⁷ Corbaran and his two nephews are baptized, and the younger nephew, Aujalies, changes his name to Harpin. Unfortunately, the name change led to some confusion among later scribes and editors. Corbaran's mother, Calabre, in the meantime has told King Soudan of her son's apostasy and the king has vowed to discipline him. They try to ambush the Christian army returning to Oliferne, but Arpin and his men fight off the enemy. He then volunteered to return to Jerusalem to get aid from the Christian forces there in case Soudan made another attack.⁸ During the second battle at Oliferne, Principle, Count of Armenia and vassal to Corbaran, is killed before Arpin returns with his cavalry to rout the Muslim besiegers. As they celebrate the liberation of their city, King Corbaran gives the principality of Armenia to Arpin.

Harpins de Boorges plays no part in *La Prise d'Acre*, and makes only a cameo appearance in *La Mort Godefroi*. In the last of the Jerusalem continuations, *La*

Chanson des Rois Baudouins,⁹ the holy city is under siege by Soudan. Many Christian princes were slow to respond to calls for help from King Baldwin. Yet, "our proud Harpins de Boorges came without any delay from the grand country of Armenia..."¹⁰ During the conflict, Arpin is yet again singled out as someone special, even within the crusader army. A Muslim child in the city sees him fighting. The child then raises his hand and makes the sign of the cross before Arpin returns to the *melée*.¹¹ Characteristic of the genre, the *chanson* then focuses on the feats of individuals within the general conflict.

The poem leaves Eudes and Dodekins, Soudan's general, locked in mortal combat. Two hundred-odd lines later, a truce is declared to tend to the casualties, and "Harpin ont mort trouvé, François en long plorant."¹² His last great scene is played out at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself. Raymond, a vassal of King Baldwin, is Arpin's pallbearer and he carries him straight to Jerusalem after the battle, which the Christians eventually won. The funeral was the scene of great lamentations and flowing tears "offered with force and abandon for the love of Harpin their gentle companion."¹³ In a gesture befitting such a noble crusader and pilgrim, he was buried in the grounds of the church.

Why does his myth evolve the way it does, particularly after his capture at the Battle of Civetot or Ramlah? It probably happened for two reasons: one, that it could, and two that it presented an icon of crusading virtue during a time of crusading crises. Let us look briefly at each point in turn. Albert d'Aix and Orderic Vitalis knew Eudes Arpin left in 1101 and was captured. Orderic, perhaps because he had connections in papal circles, knew the *Berrieur* had visited Rome and returned to France to join a monastery.¹⁴ No reports survived about how he spent that captivity, however. The incarceration of Harpins de Boorges offered the perfect opportunity to create the perfect crusading hero. Contemporaries knew he had been captured, but they did not have to limit themselves to much, if any, evidence concerning his whereabouts after that.

Accordingly, the composers of the cycle were given free reign to mould their champion: a man who had responded to the earliest popular preaching, who always fought proudly and bravely, whose character persuaded a Saracen king to convert to

Christianity, who enjoyed the temporal rewards in the form of the County of Armenia, who died valiantly in defence of Jerusalem and who was ensured spiritual rewards because he was buried in the very church in which Christ Himself was interred. The period in which these poems were being written down, sometime between the 1160's and 1240's, was one that witnessed a number of setbacks in the crusades to the Holy Land. This crusading cycle might have become a recruiting device or an attempt to keep up morale. If so, Harpins de Boorges was the preeminent, composite, crusader designed to motivate his French descendants to great deeds. Arpin himself passed into the crusading culture of his region and of his country.¹⁵

Besides these literary developments in the crusading culture of Berry, there were also institutional improvements on eleventh-century ideas. In the twelfth century, Berry was again in the forefront of a new notion of the peace: the *pax communia*.¹⁶ This seemed, in part, to be tied to the general communal movement in Capetian France in which the kings would grant greater legislative and judicial powers to cities capable of paying for the necessary charters.¹⁷ Arnold of Vierzon was one of the *seigneurs* of the diocese brought to heel before this institution,¹⁸ but it must be admitted that historians are rather unclear about the extent of its powers.¹⁹ Nonetheless, until the kings could enforce their own peace, it served as a coercive power upon which the archbishops could call. The crusade itself seemed to re-emphasize the need for peace at home, and it rekindled this institutional response, still largely under the control of the archbishop, from the community.²⁰ Ecclesiastical calls to uphold the peace were probably just as influential as their calls to join a crusade, although there were no conflicts like the ones engaged by the earlier Peace League.

The notion of crusade went through some subtle, but often critical, metamorphoses in the first half of the twelfth century. As the Second Crusade got underway,²¹ these changes were to mark the ensuing endeavors in all the theatres of war. One of them began at a royal council held in the now destroyed Romanesque cathedral of Bourges, after which the king and the pope temporarily wrestled over the leadership of the expedition. Also, no matter the historiographical debate of the

justum bellum,²² subsequent military expeditions could easily be portrayed as defensive in nature. After 1101 it must have been clear that any future endeavors to the Levant would not have to dodge this sticky philosophical issue concerning their legitimacy.²³

Finally, Berry was now part of a greatly enlarged area directly under Capetian control, although, as we shall soon see, this control wielded by the kings in Paris was often challenged by the kings in London. The *pax communia* seemed to be a response to a lack of policing authority during central France's earliest years under Capetian rule. Mercenaries from Aquitaine and from Château St. Brisson-sur-Loire, had to be subdued by Louis VI *Le Gros* (1108-37). He convoked a royal peacekeeping force in Bourges both in 1119 and in 1121, to fight these *brigandines*.²⁴ As his biographer, Abbot Suger of St. Denis, records, he was quite successful in securing the integrity of the region.²⁵ His interests might have been personal: Guy Devailly suggests that Louis, while still prince, was the agent who actually purchased Berry from Arpin. The age and illness of his father, Philip I probably meant Louis was the acting regent by 1101.²⁶ Louis's son, Louis VII, and later his grandson, Philip II, also made military and political efforts to keep the Capetian presence strong in this region.²⁷

Louis VII and Berry Prepare for the Second Crusade

In the sixteenth century the English might have belittled Charles VII because he was forced to be crowned in Bourges, rather than at the more traditional site in the cathedral in Rheims, but Charles was not creating a precedent. Louis VII *Le Jeune* (1137-80) held a coronation in the romanesque cathedral of St. Étienne at Christmastide, 1145:

In natali Domini præcendenti cum idem pius rex
Bituricas curiam celebrasset, episcopis et optimatibus
regni ad coronam suam generalius solito de industria
convocatis secretum cordis sui promitus revelavit.²⁸

The sole chronicler of his crusade from a French perspective was Odo of Deuil,²⁹ who was writing after the more successful general council at Vézelay held the following Easter, in 1146. Odo reveals that this was one of many coronations because

he states that more prelates and magnates were summoned to Bourges than usual for a coronation. In fact, it was his second in Bourges alone. Louis married Eleanor of Aquitaine the same year as his accession to the throne, in 1137. Her dowry included most of the land which now makes up southwestern France. Orderic Vitalis validates Odo's comment by briefly relating the first coronation held in Bourges: "Anno ab Incarnatione Domini. MCXXXVIII Indictione prima Ludouicus iuuenis rex Francorum apud Bituricam in Natali Domini coronatus est."³⁰ According to Pacaut, the king did make a general tour of his lands in 1137-38 to reinforce the Capetian presence south of the Ile-de-France.³¹ It quite probably was a show of power for him in these two regions, the first to be held directly by the dynasty south of the Loire River.³² Now they held political control in the very lands in which ecclesiastical control had traditionally been wielded by the archbishops of Bourges.

Odo also relates the preaching of the crusade at the Christmas coronation, where the Bishop of Langres, Godfrey de la Roche, a town in southern Berry, preached "de Rohes, quæ antiquo nomine vocatur Edessa, depopulatione et oppressione Christianorum et insolentia paganorum..." Godfrey was himself a Cistercian and a "zealous follower" of Bernard of Clairvaux, who, as we shall soon see strove to ensure papal leadership of this campaign.³³ Odo mentions nothing about papal involvement. This would be a surprising omission by a cleric, even one keenly aware of his French loyalties. As he does not mention the papacy, it would appear that Louis, having heard the preaching of a native *Berrieur*, hoped to launch the crusade himself.

In fact, Pope Eugenius III (1145-53) had promulgated *Quantum prædecessores*, the first crusading *bull*, not one month before Christmas.³⁴ Frankish and Armenian embassies had come separately to convince the pope of the crises facing the Latin East,³⁵ yet his appeal was apparently not well received. Although Edessa had been captured by the Muslims the previous year, popular reaction in the west seemed singularly one of inaction.³⁶ The French did not respond to the pope's bull. It is possible, but rather unlikely, that they had not yet heard it. They even seemed quite tepid towards Louis's plans at Bourges.³⁷ This hesitancy was probably due more to domestic political issues, especially those concerning the Count of Champagne, than

to disinterest in the plight of the Latin states. What was the "secret in his heart" that Odo says Louis revealed at Bourges? The king seemed keen to go on a pilgrimage, with a military entourage, for any number of rather more personal reasons. Some of these reasons⁵ pertain to the Capetian influence in Berry and should be discussed.

Known for his justness and piety,³⁸ Louis VII had suffered a number of misfortunes which might have weighed heavily on his mind in 1145. His older brother, named Philip and who would have been King Philip II, died in 1131 having left a pilgrim oath unfulfilled. Also, in an attempt to stamp his authority over central France, Louis blocked the election of Pierre de la Châtre to the archbishopric of Bourges. He hoped to install his loyal friend Cadurc, through whom Louis could better establish Capetian control. Cadurc already enjoyed multiple benefices in Berry: he was a canon of the cathedral, archdeacon of Déols, prior of St Ursin and abbot of St. Sulpice, the two latter in Bourges.³⁹ Pierre was elected with the backing of the Pope, Innocent II, but had to take refuge from Louis with the Count of Champagne during the former's return from Rome. The debate then grew to include marriage claims made by the count, and Louis moved troops into the district in 1142-43.⁴⁰ During this struggle with his vassal, a number of innocent people perished when the king's forces burned a church in Vitry toward the end of 1142.⁴¹ Most historians agree that this event was a turning point in his spiritual outlook, but he did not give up his struggle on behalf of Cadurc so easily--despite appeals made to him from the pope, Abbot Suger and Bernard of Clairvaux.⁴² Bernard's influence on the expedition to the Holy Land became critical between Christmas 1145 and Easter 1146. He also hoped to find a way out of the conflict over the archbishopric which allowed the king to save face politically.⁴³

The pressure Louis felt from Rome concerning the archbishop of Bourges must have been significant. A bull that Innocent II sent to his candidate, Peter, in 1143 foreshadows how the actual crusade would proceed because it shows how Rome broadened the scope of crusade activity. After the greeting and the proclamation of excommunication for the burning of the church and town of St. Satyr, Innocent demands "penitentie ei detur ut Hierosolimis aut in Hispania in servicio Dei per annum permaneat."⁴⁴ Louis himself is not actually named in the letter, but the

invocation to serve "in Jerusalem or in Spain" indicates that, for contemporaries, Jerusalem may have been first among equals as a crusading goal, but it was not the exclusive target.⁴⁵ Pierre de la Châtre, as Archbishop of Bourges, would have seen in this communication that crusading in Spain was held in the same regard as that in the Levant. The king's malefactors were to be pressured to serve in either theatre as penance for the attack on Vitry.

Under such pressure, Louis used the Christmas court at Bourges as an opportunity to propose an armed pilgrimage. By doing so, he could portray himself as the instigator of the campaign, giving him much-needed political prestige, while at the same time satisfying the demands of the Church. The cool reception the king received for this proposal might have been due to his advisors' fears of his leaving his kingdom at a time of continued strife in Champagne. The assembly was disbanded with the plan to reconvene at Easter in Vézelay, specifically to take up the cross for a crusade.⁴⁶ Odo makes it clear that this was still Louis's design, and that, as far as the chronicler is concerned, the pope was a latecomer to the plans:

Rex interim, pervigil in incoepo, Romam Eugenio
papæ super hac re nuntios mittit. Qui lætanter suscepti
sunt lætantesque remissi, referentes omni favo litteras
dulciores, regi oboedientiam, armis modum et vestibus
imponentes, iugum Christi suave suscipientibus
peccatorum omnium remissionem parvulisque eorum et
uxoribus patrocinium promittentes...Optabat ipse tam
sancto operi manum primam præsens imponere,
Clarevallensi abbati Bernardo curam istam delegavit.

The "omni favo litteras dulciores" probably refer to Eugenius's re-proclamation of *Quantum prædecessores* on 1 March 1146.

This might very well have been a royal French crusade: instigated and led by Louis with the later assistance of Eugenius. However, Hans Meyer argues that the papal bull must have been known, at least by Bernard, by the time of the royal court at Christmas.⁴⁷ A letter which the abbot wrote to the pope between the councils at Bourges and Vézelay shows that Bernard was keen to keep up the momentum of the movement begun at Bourges. The problem was not Louis's taking the control of the pilgrimage away from Eugenius, but was, in fact, the pope's continued pressure on

the Archbishop of Rheims. He crowned the young king in Bourges and seemed to have had enemies in the Roman curia. Bernard wrote in the archbishop's defense and persuaded Eugenius not to slow the plans begun at Bourges:

Diende quid in arto illo fieri oportebat [The Archbishop of Rheims]? Dies celebris sollemnis curia, juvenis Rex et quod his majus est, Dei negotium de Jerosolymitana scilicet expeditione propter quod omnes convenerant [at Bourges]. Prorsus hæc omnia missarum, et coronæ regiæ sollemnis, debitque honoris frustrationem nulla tenus admittebant. Sed nec ipsi Bituricensi archiepiscopo omnio expediebat ut honor Regis per eum impediretur. Quæ cum ita se habuerint, æstimamus locum misericordiæ non deesse, ubi tant necessitas typhum excusat contumaciæ... Absit ut cujus tenetis vicem, on usurpetis et vocem, vocem præcipue pietas! Ergo solâ hæc vice redeat sagitta Jonathæ retrorsum et si necesse fuerit, in me magis mittatur...⁴⁸

Subsequent events suggest that what Louis wanted was an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which, if possible, would also be of some assistance to the crusader states which were feeling the strain of the loss of Edessa.⁴⁹ Bernard states that, indeed, the plan to continue "the work of God" was the very reason the council convened at Bourges. This suggests that kings now had, unlike the First Crusade, a pivotal role to play in crusading activity. Still, Mayer is quite correct in attacking historians who try to pin a proto-nationalist sentiment on the struggle between Louis and Eugenius.⁵⁰ It seems that, in the end, it was Bernard's preaching at Vézelay which ultimately seemed to motivate the laity to take up their crosses.⁵¹ Louis, so obstinate in confronting his vassals in Champagne and in defending his claim to nominate Cadurc for the archbishop's throne in Bourges, seemed eager to receive papal backing--probably because he saw how much more successful this enterprise to the east would be with such support.⁵² The idea of the crusade developed significantly in the months between Bourges and Vézelay.

The Popular Element of the Crusades in Mid-Twelfth Century Berry

Royal prerogative required ecclesiastical support to launch a crusade. This co-operation was not so much a written law as a generally, if not necessarily consciously,

accepted policy. Their plans, however, required the manpower of the populace if the operations were to get underway. Thus a crusade depended on each order of society to ensure any success. Calling a crusade "popular" might be something of a misnomer if one were to assume the obvious corollary that there were also "unpopular" crusades. Certainly there were dissenting voices who criticized certain aspects of the crusade, but their comments focused on specific issues, not the idea as a whole.⁵³ Crusading depended on its popularity--on the participation of the populous. As we see throughout the history of Berry, a great or petty knight, a modest landholder, an archbishop or a hermit-priest could not follow the pilgrim's route or take up arms unless he was supported by others in the community who would purchase his goods for liquid wealth or accept his offerings as a part of his endeavor to save his own soul, and often those of his family. Different circles of society were involved in different movements, to be sure, but almost all of these operations must have been "popular" or they would have passed quietly away, unchronicled by contemporaries who either would not have heard of them or paid no attention to them during their ephemeral existence. Broad sections of the population enthusiastically assisted directly or indirectly in the crusades throughout the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, even if kings are more and more involved from the mid-twelfth century.⁵⁴

In fact, chroniclers recorded a number of people who went from central France to the Levant even after the Second Crusade. A number of them did not fill military roles in the Holy Land, showing that pilgrimage as a model or ideal was in no way superseded by the armed crusade. Also, it is interesting to note that, while there were definitive appeals for armies which historians label as the "First," "Second," or "Fifth" Crusade, participants from Berry also left at times when there was no official *passagium* to the east. Voyages to Outremer, for any number of sacred or secular motives, were a part of the culture even if a papal bull or a preacher's sermon had not expressed a specific need. As early as 1129 we get an example of one brother following the other to the Holy Land. Arnustus Caseus offers a tenth of his goods to the churches of Novus-Vicus, Nulliacus and Hublignacus, just northwest of Bourges. He did this because he was debating going to Jerusalem where his brother had already

gone:

Hierosolimam enim profecturus me Deo acceptabilis
iter factururus deliberavi,...Nepos etiam meus qui, si
intinere, forte ut sit aut in partibus Hierosolimorum
obiero...⁵⁵

His unnamed wife agrees to the concessions, but, unfortunately, the record does not state whether she joined him or if he planned to settle in the Holy Land.

Peter de Calciata and his wife, Elizabeth, made a pilgrimage from their home near Moulins-sur-Yèvre to Jerusalem on behalf of his father, Ebrard, around the time of the Second Crusade. The cartulary of St. Sulpice of Bourges records the gifts "pro remedio animarum suarum in eleemosinam dederant des ejus partem non modicam vivente patre ipsius Ebrardo quidam malefactores fraude substraxerunt prefatus itaque Petrus pergere volens Jherosolimam."⁵⁶ This shows that the crusade did not replace earlier "traditional" or penitential motives to go on a pilgrimage for personal or familial benefaction. Another example concerns brothers from Givaudins, a suburb of Plaimpied, and the canons of St. Étienne who were involved in a quarrel over some land. In a charter of 1168 we find a conflict between the churches of Notre Dame de Salis and Bartholomew de Muro pertaining to a gift given by Arnulfus Labordet. He was to be distinguished for having gone to Jerusalem after making the offering.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, two brothers of the church of Bartholomew Odo and Gaufridus, came to make amends with the chapter at Notre Dame. This charter refers mostly to this *rapprochement*, not to Arnulfus's journey.

While many gifts were offered on behalf of one's "vertical" family, for the spiritual benefit of ancestors and progeny, one's contemporary, "horizontal" family members could also effect one's decision. Siblings and spouses exerted their influences on the family's relations with the churches in Berry and with the churches in Jerusalem once they arrived. For example, Bernard *Castelli Radulfi* (Châteauroux) and his wife, Havoise, dealt often with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, usually concerning the ownership of the couple's house.⁵⁸ At the end of 1124 they bought a house from George Raico. The transaction is recorded in the cartulary of the chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher probably because Bernard soon gave the home to the chapter of the church. In this charter, one of the

witnesses is "Fulcone Berrieur." Unfortunately no more details about him are offered, and this is the only charter which lists him.⁵⁹ Sometime before 1133, Bernard and his wife, now recorded as Ahoys, offer this home to the chapter to enter an association guaranteeing them wine and foodstuffs through the year. Their holdings are offered in much the same way as gifts given by their peers back in central France:

[E]go Bernardus Bituricensis et uxor mea Ahoys ecclesie Sti. Sepulcri et ejusdem canonicus, eorum Dei gratia fratres effecti, pro salute nostra et parentum nostorum, domum nostram et que cumque habemus, terram etiam quam propter portam Sti. Stephani pro censu duorum bisantiorum acquisimus, hereditario jure possidenda sub sequenti conditione donamus...⁶⁰

They are recorded finally selling their home "que est posita infra muros Jherusalem" to the canons for another 200 beasants in March 1135.⁶¹ It is worth noting that this charter mentions nothing about the sale being for the good of their own, or anyone else's, souls. One wonders if they found themselves simply in need of money.

It would appear that Bernard did not finish his association with the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with this sale. While he does not appear as a major character in any other charters, he did witness other transactions, including a marriage settlement in 1135.⁶² Perhaps he was a member of a confraternity of gold or silversmiths known to have been attached to the church.⁶³ There is no record of his death, but it should be noted that the wedding document is the last reference to Bernard himself; subsequent references are to his property. As late as March 1160 the new prior, Nicholaus, mentions "domum quam tenuit Bernardus Boursarius, Richardo Jaferino et heredibus ejus..." The editor of the cartulary is quite sure that this is the same Bernard *Le Berrieur*, although his relationship to Richard is not clear.⁶⁴

Crusade historians talk about an extended period of "low morale" in the west after the débâcle outside Damascus in 1148.⁶⁵ While this is true concerning large crusading armies, individuals and smaller groups still make the trek to the Levant. Central France is not alone in this phenomenon, but the examples here do show that the lure of the empty tomb was in some respects stronger than the pull of papal indulgences for military campaigns. The pilgrims' diverse livelihoods also show that

people from all walks of life attempted to make this pilgrimage. In February 1156 the Chapter of the Holy Sepulcher recorded an agreement sworn by some one hundred and fifty men to protect the rights of the church. Four of the guarantors are from "Bituricensis": Stephanus, Umbertus, Cambertus and Petrus.⁶⁶ They are not mentioned in earlier records which would imply that they were recent arrivals. The charter notes family relations of some of the men, but these four do not seem related in any way other than their region of origin. Unfortunately, the charter does not give any clues concerning the social position of any of the oath-takers. This charter does add evidence, nevertheless, that people from ^{Berry} continued to make their way to the Holy Land even after the defeats of the Second Crusade.

Greater lords also went, and they were more likely to shoulder military responsibilities. For example, Raoul II, *seigneur* of Issoudun and Châteauneuf-sur-Cher went to Outremer in 1134, after giving his taxes on salt from his lands to l'Abbaye de la Prée. He returned to France soon after, but was to go a second time to Jerusalem in 1154, again after granting land gifts to another abbey, Notre Dame de Sales.⁶⁷ A decade later, in 1164, Hervé I, lord of Vierzon, went to the Holy Land.⁶⁸ His father, Arnoul, we should recall, was the instigator of the family's connections with Outremer. Before going, Arnoul made an offering of a silver cover for the altar of the Abbey of Vierzon. Whether Hervé was an armed crusader or not is unclear,⁶⁹ but his contemporaries probably did not attempt to make much of a distinction. Besides benefactions given to the abbey, he also made offerings to the Templar house at Villefranche, just down the River Cher from his castle, as will be presented below. At the time of his departure, Hervé was a widower without progeny. Thus he was another *Berrieur* who seems to have gone largely for personal penitential reasons. He returned, married and had children. Some of them became crusaders themselves early in the next century. Also Raoul VI of Déols, *seigneur* of Châteauroux and Charenton, is known to have died in Ravenna, in 1176, upon his return from the Holy Land.⁷⁰ According to Thaumassière, he also left for Jerusalem without sons to inherit his lands, and he too may have had a strongly penitential motive: his father had fallen to his death while having an altercation with one of his vassals.⁷¹

A rather more controversial character participating in an campaign during this time was Raynald of Châtillon.⁷² There are three possible places, all within central France, from which Raynald might have set out, and this confusion is exacerbated by the fact that a well-documented crusader of the thirteenth century in Louis IX's first journey was Gaucher de Châtillon. Châtillon-sur-Indre lies downriver and northwest of Châteauroux. Châtillon-sur-Cher is situated between Vierzon and Tours. Finally, in the far northeast of Berry, north of Sancerre, is Châtillon-sur-Loire, and Bernard Hamilton believes this was Raynald's home town. Raynald himself seemed more of a hinderance than an aid to the crusading cause until his value to the aristocracy of the Levant grew, rather ironically, during the fifteen years he spent in a Saracen prison. Both his daughter and stepdaughter made such advantageous marriages that Raymond himself was touted to be the successor to King Baldwin IV the Leper. However, Baldwin's sister gave birth to the future King Baldwin V, bypassing Raymond's tenuous claim. He instead took command of the army.⁷³ Raymond's headstrong claims as the lord of Oultrejourdain distanced him from the leadership in Jerusalem, and his guerilla tactics against Muslim traders provoked Saladin's anger. He was one of a number of leaders captured after the Battle of Hattin, and he was executed by Saladin himself.⁷⁴

To conclude this discussion of twelfth century pilgrims from central France, I would like to present three people who departed at some point in the first half of the century. Unfortunately the records are no more specific. The first two probably were related, although the charter does ^{not} mention their family ties. Franco de Luriaco, his wife, Agnes, and their sons confirmed in writing a tithe given by Raginaldus and Piretus who were going to Jerusalem ("abeuntes Hierusalem").⁷⁵ As the two gave this gift together, it is reasonable to assume they were related. These men seem to have left no original record of the transaction, because the opening section of the charter emphasizes that Franco is writing down earlier transactions to avoid later disputes. If he were relying on memory, then this might explain the sketchy quality of the information. Unfortunately, Franco's social postion is not noted.

The second of these pilgrims was an anonymous artist who worked in a parish church in the town of Plaimpied, due south of Bourges, before going to the Holy

Land and being commissioned to work on historiated capitals in the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. There is admittedly no record of the artist's career. However, the stylistic verisimilitude of the surviving examples makes this conclusion "irresistible."⁷⁶ The church in Plaimpied was founded by the Gregorian reformer, Archbishop Richard II in 1080.⁷⁷ The capital in question, the last one on the south aisle before the crossing, stands out because it is the only one which shows human characters (fig. 2). The other columns are of the iconographic style of the late eleventh, early twelfth century--quite similar to the ones found in Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre--presenting fantastic animals and stylized vegetation. On the capital in question we see Christ tempted by two devils, one hairy, the other nude. The manner in which the hair of the one serpent and of Christ's head is presented, can be compared to works in Autun and Vézelay. However, Plaimpied offers the best-preserved model.⁷⁸ The "Ecclesia" capital in Nazareth presents a strikingly similar layout in which the personification of the Church leads an apostle between two devils. While the imps both have some drapery in this latter example, one is nude while the other is, again, hairy.⁷⁹

Accordingly, sometime in the middle of the twelfth century this artist must have made a journey to the Levant. Could he have been a traveling companion of Arnulf Labordet, from a suburb of Plaimpied, whom we encountered earlier? Was this capital just one of a number he was going to design before he was enticed to leave?⁸⁰ In fact, a funerary carving depicting "Pater Abraham" can also be seen at the church at Plaimpied, which was done by the same hand. It was in memory of "Sulpicius sacerdos et canon[icus] s[anc]ti M[artini]," a quote which can be seen carved around the horseshoe base in which Abraham stands (fig. 3). Despite the fact the head is missing, the clothing and halo are presented in the same manner as that of Christ on the capital. A much less skilled hand has engraved "1142" into the lower left corner. Sulpicius is mentioned in documentation concerning the church from 1120 to 1136, so it is conceivable that the date is accurate.⁸¹ If so, this means that the artist went to the Holy Land perhaps sometime between Louis VII's journey in 1147 and Arnulf's in the 1160's. The historian Paul Deschamps argues that the capitals in Nazareth were part of the façade being prepared sometime between 1158

and 1187, or before the Battle of Hattin. Three men were known to have been stone masons in Nazareth at the time: Oger, Elie and Jean.⁸² Perhaps one of these three, if not all, were from central France.⁸³ One of them was commissioned, maybe even as he left Plaimpied during the Second Crusade, to work on this crusader church being rebuilt after the city's capture. These examples prove that people from all sectors of society were still involved with gift-giving to their local churches, still going on pilgrimages, and still taking active steps to assist the Latin Empire in the east, even during what was a low tide of western military involvement.

Central France Becomes the Frontline of the Struggle Between the Capetians and the Plantagenets

As we approach the Third Crusade, we see that central France was in a difficult position, both politically and militarily, which might have precluded much contribution to it. In fact, diplomacy on the home front was part and parcel of its contribution. What finally became the Third Crusade had been talked about, preached and planned since the 1160's.⁸⁴ Despite the defeat of the Second Crusade outside Damascus, the papacy did not give up hope in the kings of Latin Christendom. Appeals were sent to the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, and to the kings of England and France, Henry II Plantagenet and Philip II Augustus.

Let us recall that Louis VII was the last to leave the Latin east, despite persistent appeals from Abbot Suger concerning the continuing crises of rebellious vassals.⁸⁵ The situation concerning Berry was aggravated by the fact that Louis had his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine annulled in 1152, soon after he did return.⁸⁶ She married King Henry and brought her lands into what might be called the first English Empire.⁸⁷ This brought a tangled set of political issues into play which, in themselves are not within the scope of this study. However, one of the fault lines of this tension ran through Berry, along the River Cher. In 1177 a much older Louis forwarded plans for another crusade, but he knew he had to make peace with Henry to hold the status quo in Berry.⁸⁸ By the end of his reign, so argues Robert Fawtier, Louis had begun to turn the tide against the Plantagenets in central France,⁸⁹ but it was his son who furthered the dynasty's cause most notably. The promises to go on

crusade made by Henry and Philip II were often delayed due to their political feuding in Normandy and, for our purposes, Berry. These wars had a direct effect on the crusading culture of central France, but as we shall see, they did not completely obstruct lay members from continuing to participate in the armed pilgrimages to the east.

Like the Second Crusade, talks to launch the third expedition produced little action at first, but the crushing defeat of the Christian military at Hattin in July 1187 proved enough to motivate the west. Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross had been captured--not only the holiest of cities, both in eschatological and physical terms, but also the holiest of relics was lost to the hands of the pagans.⁹⁰ The problem was to make peace in the west, especially between the Capetians and the Plantagenets, to ensure participation in this crusade. The royal struggles between them for the control of Berry focused on their conflicting claims of suzerainty. The Plantagenet king claimed that, as lord of Aquitaine, he was also the ruler of Berry due to the ancient tradition that the archbishop was the primate of Aquitaine.⁹¹ While Bourges, Vierzon and other towns of the north and east remained loyal to Paris, towns like Issoudun and Châteauroux often were held by lords sympathetic to the claims of England. Many of the fortifications which still survive in the region were built during this struggle, but mostly after the crusade when Philip pressed his advantages while Richard was being held prisoner in the Holy Roman Empire.⁹²

Heinrich Hoffmann argues that in the mid-1180's Pope Urban III, keen to facilitate peace in the region in order to launch a crusade, gave the Archbishop of Bourges, Henry de Sully, the sanction to revive the institutional peace of the *communia*. Before his ascension to the throne of St. Peter, Hoffmann describes Urban as "the archbishop-elect of Bourges."⁹³ He nominally held the post of archdeacon and looked set to mount the *cathedra* in 1184. However, he was made Archbishop of Milan in January 1185, and he was then elected pope in November of that year.⁹⁴ Since Urban had such personal interests in St. Étienne of Bourges, it would be easy to see why he would confer this power to Henry. It might even have been a direct reference to the Peace League directed by the archbishop in the eleventh century.

A truce proposed for Philip's struggles with Henry was discussed at the abbey of Déols in 1187, where it is quite probable plans for a joint crusade were forwarded.⁹⁵ As we have seen, Déols had made significant contributions to the crusading culture in Berry since its abbot had participated in part of Urban II's tour of France in 1095-96. Also, just a decade before, in 1176, Raoul, the lord of Déols and Châteauroux, made perpetual offerings to the priory of St. Germanus de La Châtre "ad adorandum in loco ubi steterunt pedes Domini itineris precinctum arripiens, loca passionis et resurrectionis Xpi < sic > cupens visitare..."⁹⁶ The continued participation of the lords of Déols in the Holy Land is reflected in their battle cry which in the latter-twelfth century was recorded as "Hierusalem! Hierusalem!"⁹⁷ This truce brought an end to a siege which Philip was inflicting on the castle, just across the River Indre from the monastery. During the meeting, a group of mercenaries ("cotereaux") nominally under Richard's command attacked the latter foundation. During the *melée*, a soldier struck the statue of Jesus in Mary's arms at the north portal. The arm of the Christ child fell to the ground and some blood is reported to have flowed from the "wound."⁹⁸ The fighting stopped, of course, and a chapel was built around this portal, which survived until the mid-sixteenth century, to commemorate the miracle.⁹⁹

The bull *Audita Tremendi* mustered popular and royal support for the crusade in the autumn of 1187. In fact, it is quite likely that Urban himself was the author of this bull, although he died before it was sent out. The bull was promulgated a mere ten days after Gregory VIII succeeded him, a period probably too short for Gregory to have prepared the document and get it approved by the *curia*.¹⁰⁰ King Henry's son, Richard *Coeur de Lion*, Count of Poitiers at this time, was the first to take the cross, and the king himself soon followed suit.¹⁰¹ Henry and Philip met twice again in the following year to discuss the crusade. The first was at Châtillon-sur-Indre in western Berry on 7 November. A fortnight later they reconvened at Bonmoulins in Normandy.¹⁰² These meetings might simply have been compromise politics: one meeting in Capetian Berry, the second in Plantagenet Normandy. Nevertheless, they discussed the truce necessary to ensure their crusade.¹⁰³ A threat to their precarious pact arose when Richard invaded the Toulousain in 1188. Philip responded with

another incursion through Berry until he recaptured Châteauroux.¹⁰⁴ In January 1189 the three antagonists held their great meeting at Gisors, by which time Richard had, much to Henry's consternation, become Philip's vassal for his lands in Aquitaine and southwestern Berry.¹⁰⁵ After Henry's death, following just after this conference, Philip and King Richard came to terms and traded cities in Berry, Le Touraine and Normandy to ensure their own peace agreements and crusading plans.¹⁰⁶ Despite some harsh criticism concerning their delay to go to the Holy Land,¹⁰⁷ by the spring of 1189 the campaign was finally ready to begin.

Count Stephen of Sancerre, a descendant of the hapless Stephen of Blois who abandoned the First Crusade only to return and be killed, was one of the nobles of Berry who joined the crusade. Stephen of Sancerre made two journeys to the Holy Land as well, the earlier one in 1171.¹⁰⁸ He was the royal courier of money which Louis VII wished to give to the churches of Jerusalem. On this voyage he became entangled in the marriage politics of the nobility there, for he was to marry Sibylla, the daughter of the King of Jerusalem, Almeric. In fact these plans did not materialize, and Stephen returned to Berry. Although his holdings were in the northeast area of the region, well away from the Plantagenet domains to the west and south, he joined Richard's contingent in 1190.¹⁰⁹ Their joining Richard's army might not have been any kind of affront to Philip because the two kings were crusading allies. This second time Stephen left with his brother, Thibaud, the Count of Blois and Chartres. They both died at the siege of St. John of Acre in 1190,¹¹⁰ but Stephen had sired sons who would continue this family's crusading tradition in the next century. The town of Issoudun, between Bourges and Châteauroux was on the front line of the domestic struggles of the royal houses, yet it also continued its support of the crusade. Eudes III, lord of Issoudun and Châteauneuf-sur-Cher, grandson of Raoul II who went to the Holy Land in 1134 and 1154, was able to make an all-too-brief contribution to the Third Crusade. After confirming his forebear's gifts to the Abbey of La Prée, he and his wife, Ala, gave much political and economic freedom to the town. He also cleared up debts and affirmed the agreements his father had made.¹¹¹ This was all due to his desire to seize the opportunity to go to Jerusalem ("*iter Jherosolomitani arripiturus donavi et confirmavi et propria manu*

jurante"). Like his peer from Sancerre, he too died at the siege of Acre in 1190.¹¹²

André de Chauvigny, the *seigneur* of Châteauroux, was also one of many in central France who joined the crusade. He was a loyal servant in Richard's entourage, gaining Châteauroux via his marriage with Denise of Déols.¹¹³ His exploits on the crusades turned him into a quasi-mythical hero, not unlike Eudes Arpin. He even was said to have fought a duel with Saladin and to have convinced him to go to France to learn chivalry.¹¹⁴ It should also be noted that, the lord of Graçay, although west of Bourges and well away from the Plantagenet power centre, also fought with Richard's troops during the crusade.¹¹⁵

Other *Berrieurs* who took part included William, lord of La Roche, the town from which Bishop Godfrey, the preacher of the Second Crusade, came. William left on the Third Crusade after presenting his lands to the abbey of Le Chatelet-Puyferrand, an offering he made with his wife and two sons.¹¹⁶ He was fortunate enough to return and confirm this gift. Also, Robert Trousse-bois offered the right of usufruct to the abbey at Challivoy, a town just southeast of Bourges, in 1187 as a part of his preparation for departing with the crusaders.¹¹⁷ Finally, Ebbes VI of Charenton-sur-Cher, in the far southeast of Berry, presented gifts to the nunnery of Notre Dame de Charenton in 1189. He did this with the Archbishop, Henry, as a witness, and it should be noted that during these troubled times Henry still presented himself as "Dei gratia Bituricensis archiepiscopus, Aquitanie primas." These gifts were offered "in perpetuam elemosinam" because of his desire to go to Jerusalem for his spiritual welfare.¹¹⁸

In singular charters that give the names of crusaders from Berry, we often find little more information than their interest or desire to go on pilgrimage, invariably to Jerusalem. It is not even clear if they took the cross for an armed *iter* or the pilgrim's staff for a peaceful one, suggesting that the differences were not clearly drawn at this time. Yet we can see family traditions developing throughout the twelfth century. Sons and grandsons were recorded giving gifts to ecclesiastical foundations, often to the same ones as their ancestors had done, before they departed for the Holy Land. These crusaders, as far as can be gleaned from the texts, usually came from both the upper and lower aristocracy. Yet even well-to-do townsmen and

artists went to the Levant. While most did go during *passagia generales*, a significant number went at other times, showing that crusade participation had become an integral part of their culture. It was not an external force dependent upon papal proclamations or specific incidents in the Holy Land.

The Presence of the Military Orders

While gift-giving was usually a part of the social and spiritual exercise of a pilgrim-crusader, the custodians of these gifts varied widely. We have seen gifts offered to the cathedral, local churches, and a nunnery. Yet there are two other institutions which made their presence felt in central France from the middle of the twelfth century. The presence in Berry of the military orders of the Templars and Hospitallers has not been thoroughly analyzed by historians. Guy Devailly does not mention their presence except in references to conflicts with the chapter of the cathedral or in economic dealings with families in Berry.¹¹⁹ Neither do Thaumassière or Wimbée discuss their influences, although the latter, in conjunction with Émile Méslé, mentions the Templar house in the city walls at the corner of Rue de Porte-Jaune and Rue du Four.¹²⁰ A charter from 1201 between St. Austregesile in Bourges and the "domus milicie Templi in Francia" speaks of meetings "in domo Templi que est sita in claustro beati Stephani."¹²¹ In fact, there were a number of houses of both orders, particularly Templar, throughout Berry and the Bourbonnaise to the southeast.¹²²

Organized by Hugh de Payns of Champagne to protect pilgrims to Jerusalem in the 1120's, the Templars quickly devoted most of their energies into offensive warfare.¹²³ The Hospitallers were not in themselves a new order, but they militarized their corporation fairly soon after the formation of the Templars.¹²⁴ Ecclesiastics had been known to muster armies, indeed they would again in thirteenth century Bourges. They also strove to limit secular wars through the peace and truce movements. The advent of the military orders provided the knight the opportunity to give up his lay status while continuing his military activity. Perhaps better than gift-offerings or pilgrimages, a Templar or a Hospitaller could be warrior and monk simultaneously.¹²⁵ He could perform what seem to us to be contradictory roles in

a complementary fashion, tasks which those of Eudes Arpin's generation could only sequentially. These were the only two military orders which have left any record of their presence in central France. Both, of course, possessed foundations and houses throughout Europe.¹²⁶

The history of these orders spans both the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but let us turn to their records now. The Templars' appearance in Berry must have come as early as the time around the Second Crusade, for in 1154 Eudes de Vatan, from a town south of Graçay, cleared up some confusion over some lands around Villepruère: "...controversio erat inter dominos Templarios et Odonem de Vastino,...pro terra Villaprevera." To solve the problem the head of the Templar house (unfortunately not named in this document) made a payment to Eudes, and he offered the land "ante nominatam Deo et Templo."¹²⁷ Soon after, in 1157 Eudes's neighbor, Raynald of Graçay, gave money and goods to the "domus Sti. Templi de Jerusalem." It was offered "pro remedio sue anime et suorum parentum."¹²⁸ In 1178, Garnerius de Verdier conceded "in elemosinam" lands he held to the Templars.¹²⁹ These transactions, the earliest I have been able to find in Berry, suggest that these people saw their gifts to the Templar order in the same light as those to any church or monastery.

The military orders had manifest ties to the crusader states, and it is reasonable to assume *Berrieurs* offered their gifts to them in order to assist these Latin states. Accordingly, their benefactions could be part of their own preparation for going on a pilgrimage or crusade. In 1163, before he left for the Holy Land, Hervé of Vierzon confirmed his father's gifts to the Templars at Villefranche-sur-Cher. Significantly, his father died in 1140, making this circumstantial evidence that the Templars had foundations in Berry very soon after their order took shape.¹³⁰ The elderly "Godefredus de Blancoforti" gave his horse and arms to the Templars around 1176 because he must have had no need for them. He also gave some of his land with "Godefredus filius ejus cum ceteris filiis et filiabus eorum" as witnesses to the transaction.¹³¹ Perhaps in conjunction with the Third Crusade, Abrenus of St. Gundolf offered to the Templars of Fresne, just east of Berry in the Ninervais, his lands "Jerosolimam proficiscens...pro remedio anime sue et suorum antecessorum in

perpetuum."¹³² It is dated in July 1189, the very time Philip and Richard were coming to terms in order to begin their armed pilgrimage.

Gifts were still being tendered even after this crusade. For example, Raoul, lord of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, had to clear up a disagreement in 1196 over earlier gifts. While he repeats the formula that the intention was "ad meam helemosinam et ad Templi," there is no reference that a pilgrimage was part of his plans.¹³³ The quarrel was strong enough that Raoul asked the Archbishop of Bourges, Henry, to put his authority behind the reconciliation. Henry's successor, William, performed a similar function for John of Blancafort in 1201.¹³⁴ John wanted to secure the gifts of his father, Gerald, for the Temple of Fresne with his family, all of whom are named. This example shows a local, and often familial, loyalty to the Templar foundation of Fresne not unlike the traditional associations to churches and monasteries already outlined.

The sires of Sully, in the far north of Berry,¹³⁵ were keen supporters of the Templars, and, as we shall see, they created something of an ecclesiastical dynasty on the throne of the archbishop in the next century. In 1174 or 1175 Gilon de Sully, "pro remedio anime mee et parentum meorum [gives] Deo et beate Marie et fratribus Templi Iherosolimitani Templi (seu) < sic > militibus Deo servientibus," the widow of one of his vassals, Odam, and her lands over to the house in Fresne. He also names his sons who testify to this transaction, "Archembaudi, Odonis, Ebonis, Radulfi."¹³⁶ Some of these men will continue the strong family association with this order, for in 1189 "Archembaldus dominus Soliacensis" was chief witness of an agreement between Odo of St. Florence and this same Templar house.¹³⁷ Also of particular interest, Archbishop Simon de Sully (1218-1232) ran into some conflict with the Order's house in Villefranche-sur-Cher over the control of some parish churches,¹³⁸ suggesting that the powers wielded by the Templars in central France began to become something of an aggravation long before the bishops began to back Philip IV's attempts to bring the order to heel. Let us not press this point, however, as gifts were given to them to the end of their existence in the 1310's.

The Aftermath of the Third Crusade

In July 1191 King Philip left the crusade, much to the consternation of those in Outremer, to press his political advantages in Flanders and in Richard's Normandy.¹³⁹ Their struggles began again in earnest in 1194, after Richard returned to Poitou following a lengthy imprisonment in Austria. His untimely death in 1199 and such agreements as the Treaty of Goulet in 1200 slowly brought the momentum back to the Capetians.¹⁴⁰ By this treaty Graçay and Issoudun were given to Blanche of Castille, the niece of King John, who was Richard's brother and successor. This served as a dowry for her marriage to Louis VIII. With the wedding, much of Berry was back fully under Capetian control. In fact, the reversal in fortunes was so marked that Louis himself invaded England, albeit with no permanent success, in 1215.¹⁴¹

If there was a period of low moral or inactivity within the crusading culture of central France, it coincided with this phase of the Capetian-Plantagenet rivalry. The heightened political tensions endemic in central and western France since Louis VII's divorce from Eleanor in 1152 made lords and knights less willing to leave their estates, although they still were willing to uphold the traditional relations with local ecclesiastical foundations. One should not, by the same token, take this as a lack of interest in the crusading movement itself.¹⁴² Yet it does seem clear that domestic troubles stifled promotion for the crusade in Berry at the end of the twelfth century. The rivalry between the houses of Capet and Plantagenet reached its climax at this time, and it becomes difficult to find even one *Berrieur* known to have had connections with the Holy Land. Without a lasting peace at home, few were willing to take the cross. This fact is thrown into deeper relief when we turn to the 1220's and beyond as more men from central France begin to reappear in the records. Toward the end of the century, the people of Berry also had two other major obligations that required their resources. The extent of the Albigensian heresy was just becoming apparent to the archbishops of Bourges. As much of the Midi was in their archdiocese, they were obliged to respond whole-heartedly to the papal call for a crusade. Let us look first, however, at the urban renewal policy that required both money and man-power which drained possible capital for the crusade.

The Commencement of Rebuilding Programmes for Bourges and Its Cathedral

After Philip returned from the crusade the city of Bourges, in part in response to the tension between the royal houses, began a rebuilding programme that included the extension of the ancient gallo-roman walls of the city's defenses. The *Grosse Tour* was raised to protect any incursions from the southwest threatened by Richard from *La Tour Blanche* in Issoudun. In fact no attack on the city ever took place. Perhaps the greatest symbol of this programme was the rebuilding of St. Étienne itself. The romanesque cathedral stood in the immediate precincts of this tower. It was torn down to be enlarged and rebuilt in the new gothic style. Archaeological evidence suggests that a fire had done some damage in the early 1190's and a temporary chapel was reconstructed for services while the rest was torn down.¹⁴³ This gives it something of a parallel history with Chartres since both were begun so quickly with popular support immediately following a conflagration. The antiquated building was built right up to the older defenses, so permission from King Philip was required to allow them to extend the chevet in this eastern direction. The stone masons were then compelled to solve a most difficult problem: the land falls precipitously away on the outside of this wall, and they had to devise a way to vault the crypt that was to cover this space.¹⁴⁴ They did so by building ingenious S-curved vaults in the crypt. This innovation strengthened the ribs which have to traverse a tremendous space, despite the fact the crypt was also built with massive columns to support the double ambulatory of the chevet above.¹⁴⁵ This chevet contains at least as much medieval stained glass as Chartres or York cathedrals, and some of its iconography will be discussed in the following chapter.

The building of the crypt involved most of the first building campaign, continuing into the 1210's.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, St Étienne was not consecrated until 1324.¹⁴⁷ What is of particular relevance to the twelfth century is the inclusion of the two portals on the north and south sides of the cathedral. They are of a romanesque style and have been dated to the 1150's-1170's.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps designed as additions or improvements to the façade of the earlier building, they were deemed of such value that they were saved for inclusion in the new edifice.¹⁴⁹ Figuratively, there is nothing extraordinary presented in either programme. At the southern door reigns a

Christ in Majesty over the twelve apostles, each in his own arcaded niche (fig. 4). The iconography owes much to the tympana of Burgundy to the east and south, for example at Vézelay. In fact, some art historians have argued that St. Étienne was the link between late romanesque Burgundian sculpture and the royal portals of Chartres, although this has been de-emphasized by modern researchers.¹⁵⁰ The northern portal, dedicated to Our Lady of Grace,¹⁵¹ shows the crowned virgin with scenes of the annunciation, visitation and the proclamation to the shepherds. These other representations were later additions, probably when the doorway was included with the gothic porch.¹⁵² The lintel of this ensemble is rather notable, however, for the style with which it portrays rows of anacanthus leaves carved in spirals. Their deep undercutting and rounded presentation have been compared with similar works in the Temple Quarter of Jerusalem in the middle of the century.¹⁵³ The dating of the portal at Bourges, in the 1160's or a bit later, allows us to postulate that an artist (could it have even been the Plaimpied Master?) absorbed the styles of the Levant sometime around the Second Crusade and returned to a commission at the cathedral. Yet, without documentation to sustain it, this theory must remain a hypothesis.

In twelfth century Berry, the traditions of church patronage and pilgrimage matured along with the specific act of crusade. It is worth noting that the term "cruce-signatus" is not used in any of the surviving documentation that we have looked at. This suggests that writers in the region had not yet clearly delineated this endeavor from the earlier tradition of pilgrimage.¹⁵⁴ The influence of the Capetian dynasty in central France grew throughout this century, and their presence in reference to the crusade is especially notable in the middle of the next century. Yet crusading was still far from being solely an aristocratic or royal undertaking. Charters documenting gifts show that petty landholders continued to go to Jerusalem throughout the twelfth century, even when not supported by great armies. With the addition of the sculptor of the anacanthus leaves on St. Étienne, we now have two examples of artistic links with the Holy Land which support the idea that the craftsman, as well as the knight, participated in the crusading culture of twelfth century Berry. We must next turn to the thirteenth century and assess the critical roles the archbishops played from their new cathedral in this culture.

Notes for Chapter 3

1. *The Old French Crusade Cycle*. (J.A. Nelson & E.J. Mickel, eds.) (University of Alabama: various) 9 vols. planned. Hereafter noted as *Crusade Cycle* with the volume and line number.

2. *Crusade Cycle*, vol.5, l.2074-77.

3. *Ibid.*, laisses 110-12.

4. *Ibid.*, l.3641-3709.

5. *Crusade Cycle*, vol.6.

6. l.402-05: "Dans Harpins de Boorges sist armés el destrier./ Par les costés le fiert des esperons d'or mier./ Dex! con il fu armés de blanc auberc doublier/ De vert elme genné et d'escu de quartier/ A un lion tot blanc comme flor d'aiglentier!"

7. *Ibid.*, vol.7, pt.1, l.201-09.

8. *Ibid.*, l.874-84.

9. All three are in *Crusade Cycle*, vol.7, pt.2.

10. *Ibid.*, l.4098-4101: "Li preus Harpins de Boorges sans nul delaïement,/ De la grant Hermenie, ne vous alés doutant,/ Avena IIII M qui tout sont combattant;/ Li un sont chevalier et li autre sont sergant."

11. *Ibid.*, l.4356-57: "Li preus Harpins de Boorges quant l'enfant regarda,/ Il a levé sa main de Jesu le segna."

12. *Ibid.*, l.4626.

13. *Ibid.*, l.4635-40: "Droit en Jerusalem par le vassal Rainmon/ Fist enporter Harpin el Temple Salemon (l.4631-32). ...Et li baron offrirent a force et bandon/ Pour l'amour de Harpin lor gentil compaignon;/ Et quant la mess ot toute faite defension,/ Harpin ont enfoi li prince et le baron/ Lors prient Damediu qui souffri passion que il face Harpin de ses mesfais pardon."

14. Gilbert of Nogent, [*RHC Occ.* vol.4, pp.244-45] also knows this, although his version is extremely truncated: "Harpinus captivus abducitur; diinceps a captivitate solutus in Franciam rediens monachus efficitur."

15. I have treated the career of Eudes Arpin in the crusade cycle much more fully in a paper given to the Denys Hay Seminar in Medieval and Renaissance History at Edinburgh University on 9 March, 1993. I hope to submit the article for publication at a later date.

16. Vermeesch, p.46.

17. Fawtier, R. *The Capetian Kings of France*. (L. Butler & R.J. Adams, trans.) (London: 1960) pp.206-10. Robert Fawtier warns the reader, however, not to assume that these were particularly democratic institutions or that they guaranteed civil order.

18. Devailly, *Le Berry*, pp.490-92.

19. Monjardet, R. *Recherches Sur les Institutions Municipales de Bourges au Moyen-Age*. (Paris: 1911) pp.11-13 argues that much of the work of the commune was to ensure the success of the very profitable fairs held around the city. Situated at the confluence of three rivers, the city's natural means of transport made it an attractive market town since the Carolingian era.
20. Hoffmann, pp.224-25 and Graboïs, "De la Treve de Dieu," pp.587-88.
21. Besides the surveys of the crusades, like Mayer's and Riley-Smith's mentioned in the notes for Chapter 1, which will be assumed throughout the rest of this study, see Blake; Brown & Cothren; Constable, G. "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," *Traditio*. (9: 1953) pp.213-80; Defourneaux; Delaruelle, É. "L'Idée de Croisade Chez St. Bernard," and "Paix de Dieu & Croisade Dans la Chrétienté du XIIe Siècle," *Paix de Dieu et Guerre Sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe Siècle*, (Toulouse: 1969) pp.51-70; Dennis, G.T. "Schism, Union & Crusades," *Two Worlds*. pp.181-88; Goss, V.P. "Western Architecture & the World of Islam," *Ibid.*, pp. 361-76; Grabal, O. "Patterns & Ways of Cultural Exchange," *Ibid.*, pp. 441-46; Graboïs, A. "De la Treve de Dieu à la Paix du Roi--Etude Sur les Transformations du Mouvement de la Paix au XIIe Siècle," *Mélanges René Crozet*. (P. Gallais, & Y.-J. Riou, eds.) (Poitiers: 1966) pp.585-96; --, "The Crusade of Louis VII: a Reconsideration," *Crusade & Settlement*. (P. Edbury, ed.) (U.C. Cardiff: 1985) pp.94-101; Lourie, E. "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain," *Past & Present*. (35: 1966) pp.54-76; Nichol, D. "The Crusades & the Unity of Christendom," *Two Worlds*, pp.164-80; Pennington, K. "The Rite of Taking the Cross," *Traditio*. (30: 1974) pp.429-35; Smail, R.C. *The Crusaders in Syria & the Holy Land*. (London: 1973).
22. Blake, esp. pp.12-16; Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law*, pp.19-29; Cowdrey, "Gregory VII's Crusading Plans," pp.27-27-40; & "The Genesis of the First Crusade,"; Delaruelle, "Essai Sur la Formation de L'Idée de Croisade," *L'Idée de Croisade*, pp.25-33, 26-41, and 49-53; Erdmann's Introduction, pp.7-33; Mayer, pp.14-18; and Russell, pp. 20-22.
23. Alphandéry, vol.1, pp.153-57. Eugenius' appeal, *Quantum Prædecessores*, refers both to his own predecessor, Urban, and to the successful First Crusade. This campaign seems quickly to have become the paradigm to which most subsequent expeditions were compared.
24. *Chroniques de France*, vol.3, pp.327-28: "Et li Rois qui de toz jors avoit acostumé à defendre les Eglises, emprit devotement la besoigne de Dame Dieu...et quant il vit que cil tyranz nese vorroit chasteir, ne par mandement ne par letres, si mut a grant ost et s'en a la droit à Bohorges: la assemblerent li Baron du regne..."
25. Abbot Suger, *Vie de Louis VI Le Gros*. (H. Waquet, ed.) (Paris: 1929) pp.78-81. I do not wish to imply this was a church-sponsored campaign, much less a crusade, despite Suger's obvious enthusiasm for the king's achievements in protecting the Church.
26. Devailly, "Comment Les Capetiens," p.12.
27. For a study of the legal influences of the Capetians, see Monjardet, pp.12-14. This is a study of municipal institutions from the later Merovingians to the end of the fourteenth century.
28. Odo of Deuil, *De Protectione Ludovici VII in Orientem/The Journey of Louis VII to the East*. (V.G. Berry ed./trans.)(New York: 1948) p.6; Hereafter noted as Odo of Deuil. *Chroniques de France*, vol.3, does not mention the Council of Bourges.
29. Odo of Deuil, p.xiv. See also Constable, "The Second Crusade," pp.215-20 where he discusses (p.217) how the general failures of the crusade seemed to give chroniclers reason simply to pass over its details. Nonetheless, Odo's account "...is the without question the most important single work on this campaign."
30. Vitalis, vol.6, p.508.
31. Pacaut, M. *Louis VII & Son Royaume*. (Paris: 1964) pp.29-30.

32. Méslié, p.57 and Hallam, E. *Capetian France--987-1328*. (New York & London: 1980) p.121.
33. Odo of Deuil, n.4, pp.6-7. Bernard's evocation to the crusade postdates this council.
34. Mayer, p.93. See also Brundage, J.A. *The Crusades--A Documentary Survey*. (Milwaukee, Wisc.: 1962) pp.86-88 for a translation.
35. Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*. (C.C. Mierow, trans.) (Columbia Univ.: 1928) pp.443-44. It is interesting to note that Otto spends much more time discussing their queries which they brought to the papal curia to end doctrinal and liturgical arguments with the Byzantine Church than he does relating their appeal for military assistance.
36. Rather surprisingly, that is the conclusion reached by Virginia Berry in her contribution to *History of the Crusades*, vol.1, p.466, despite her own remarks in her translation of Odo's chronicle, which put more weight on Louis's personal desires to go on pilgrimage than on events in Outremer.
37. Odo of Deuil, pp.7-8.
38. Hallam, pp.119-20.
39. Pacaut, pp.42-43. The map of French bishoprics during Louis's reign (map 1) shows the extent of the region under the control of the archbishop of Bourges. It is by far the largest, spreading east to, but not including, Angoulême, then including Albi and Mende to the south and west. Bourges thus would become the focal point of royal and ecclesiastical forces during the Albigensian crusades. La Châtre is due south of Issoudun and just east of Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre.
40. Hallam, p.121.
41. Graboïs, "The Crusade of Louis VII," p.96. According to Devailly, the king's muster included the lords of Graçay, Issoudun, Fontfaucon and Beaugency ("Comment les Capetiens," p.14).
42. Graboïs, "The Crusade of Louis VII," p.96; Hallam, p.122; For the ecclesiastical pressure applied to the king, see Pacaut, p.44.
43. Graboïs, "The Crusade of Louis VII," pp.96-97. See also *Sancti Bernardi Opera*. (L. le Clercq and H.M. Rochais, eds.) vol.8 (Rome: 1977) Epistles 219, 220 & 221. All were written in 1143, the first to dignitaries in the Roman curia, asking for leniency on behalf of Louis due to his youth and earlier support for the Church. The latter two were to Louis himself, trying to get him to mollify his position over the affair.
44. *Cartulaire de St. Satur*; published in Raynal, vol.2, pp.529-30.
45. See Constable, "The Second Crusade," pp.213-240 and Siberry, *Criticism*, pp.19-20 & pp.156-57.
46. Odo of Deuil, pp.6-8.
47. Mayer, p.94.
48. *Bernardi Opera*. vol.8, Epist. 247, pp.140-41.
49. Graboïs, "The Crusade of Louis VII," is the best presentation of this argument. Louis stayed in the Holy Land two years longer than the Holy Roman Emperor, Conrad III, visiting shrines and offering money and arms. He did this despite the factional tensions which his regent, Abbot Suger, warned him about. The military and political crises vis

à vis the Byzantine Empire stirred Louis's resentment. He hoped to mount a second crusade with Roger II of Sicily that would attack the Greeks on its way to Jerusalem (Pacaut, pp.54-55 and Berry, "The Second Crusade," p.511).

50. *The Crusades*, p.94 & n.49. If there is a proto-nationalistic outlook to be found, it is from Odo whose chronicle focuses mainly on the deeds of Louis as a pillar of piety and justice, is rather silent about the Germanic contingent in the crusade, and is patently anti-Greek--sentiment that was visible even during the First Crusade.

51. Delaruelle, "L'Idée de Croisade chez Saint Bernard," p.54.

52. Graboïs, "The Crusade of Louis VII," pp.96-99.

53. See Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, especially the Introduction.

54. Delaruelle discusses this issue in "Paix de Dieu & Croisade" pp.64-66. However, I cannot agree with his conclusions: "Il est de fait qu'à mesure que l'on avance dans le douzième siècle, la croisade devient plus hiérarchique et moins populaire, évolution qui se rattache à toute l'évolution de l'Église durant la Réforme grégorienne." (p.65) and "La croisade est affaire de gouvernement, non de mouvement populaire." (p.66)

55. Archives du Cher, fo. of St. Ursin de Bourges; It was rewritten as a "Vidimus" of 1266 and is published in Buhot de Kersers, *A. Histoire & Statistique Monumental du Département du Cher*. (Bourges: 1878-98) vol.4 (of 8) p.333.

56. Cartulary A, fo.25; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.1, pp.289-90.

57. "...omnis controversia et querela que inter canonicos ecclesie de Salis et Bartholomeum de Muro...de dono et de gageria quam Arnulfus Labordet quondam ecclesie de Salis pro via iherosolimitana fecisse disnoscitur." Archives du Cher, fo. Notre Dame de Sales; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.4, pp.135-36.

58. Pernoud, pp.72-73.

59. *Le Cartulaire du Chapitre du St. Sépulcre de Jerusalem*. (G. Bresc-Bautier, ed.) (Paris: 1984) no.95, pp.212-13. Abridged versions of most of these charters can also be found in Röhrich's *Regesta*.

60. *Cartulaire du St. Sépulcre*, no.98, p.216. This transaction is confirmed by Charter 99 written by the prior, Peter. The gate of St. Stephen was in the east wall, just north of the Temple quarter. It would be interesting to discover if there were any connection between their purchasing land here and the cult of St. Stephen at the cathedral in Bourges.

61. *Ibid.*, no.70, p.167-68.

62. *Cartulaire du St. Sépulcre*, no.102, pp.221-22.

63. Pernoud, p.73.

64. *Cartulaire du St. Sépulcre*, no.124, pp.250-51. Charter 33, dated 14 July 1138, is a verification from the King and Queen of Jerusalem, Fulk and Melisende, of the holdings within the city walls of the Holy Sepulcher. It includes the "*donum Bernardi Boursarii*" (p.97) This transaction is also confirmed by Fulk's successors in charters 42, 54 and 135.

65. Odo of Deuil, pp.117-21. See also Riley-Smith, pp.104-07; Mayer, pp.105-06 and Siberry, *Criticism*, pp.190-92.

66. Cartulaire du St. Sépulcre, no.117, pp.237-40.
67. Thaumais de la Thaumassière, vol.2, pp.161-62.
68. RHGF. vol.18, p.246.
69. Thaumais de la Thaumassière, vol.2, pp.195-97.
70. Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, p.110 and *Wimbée*, p.79.
71. *Histoire du Berry*, vol.2, p.398 and Raynal, vol.2, pp.43-45.
72. Much of what follows comes from Hamilton B. "The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Châtillon," *Studies in Church History*. (15: 1978) pp.97-108, which includes a bibliography of this enigmatic figure.
73. Mayer, pp.128-29.
74. Hamilton, pp.107-08 and Mayer, pp.134-35. These men seem to reach contradictory conclusions concerning Rainald's career after his being ransomed in 1176. Hamilton argues he became a committed crusader trying to further the cause of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as he saw best. Mayer believes that Rainald's impetuosity led to the loss at Hattin.
75. Archives of the abbey of St. Satyr; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.5, p.50.
76. Smail, R.C. *The Crusaders in Syria & the Holy Land*. (London: 1973) pp.159-60.
77. Cottineau, vol.2, col.2292.
78. Deschamps, P. *Au Temps des Croisades*. (Paris: 1972) p.195.
79. *Meeting of Two Worlds* contains a number of very useful photographs of the Nazareth capitals (figs.3-17) and the one from Plainpied (19). Compare figs. 6 and 19.
80. Jacoby, [Z. "The Composition of the Nazareth Workshop & the Recruitment of Sculptors for the Holy Land in the XIIth Century," *Two Worlds*. pp.145-59] argues that all the pieces betray stylistic influences from Berry and the Bourbonnais. He holds that the lack of a strong indigenous stylistic school in Outremer was due to the fact that only small groups, or single artists, could be lured away from France at any one time, and then only for a short interval. I have found no references to commissions the Plainpied artist had after his work in Nazareth.
81. See Deshoulières, pp.193-98. It has good photographs of each artifact in Plainpied, but makes no reference to the remnants discovered in Nazareth. For the reference to Sulpicius, see Boase, T.S.R. "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine & Syria--Architecture & Sculpture," *History of the Crusades*. vol.4, p.104.
82. Deschamps, p.197. For the debate over the placement of these fragments in the church, see Folda, J. "Problems of the Crusader Sculptures at the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth," *Meeting of Two Worlds*. vol. 4, pp.135-37. It should be noted that Folda and Jacoby disagree over the placement of the surviving capitals--Jacoby agrees with Deschamps that they belong on the west façade, while Folda argues that they were meant as a part of the altar/grotto ensemble thought to be in the room of the Annunciation itself, in the north aisle of the church.
83. Jacoby, pp.149-50.
84. Mayer, p.136; Contrast this with Riley-Smith, pp.104-09.

85. He returned after the Easter vigil in 1149. Hallam, p.122.
86. *Ibid.*, p.123 and *Chroniques de France*, vol.3, pp.405-06.
87. Gillingham, J. *The Angevin Empire*. (London: 1984) pp.16-19.
88. *RHGF*. vol.16, pp.163-64: "Ego Ludovicus Dei gratia Rex Francorum et ego Henricus eadem gratia Rex Angliæ...Deo inspirante promississe et iurasse quod simul ibimus in servitium christianitatis, et crucem suscipiemus ituri Jerosolymam..." and vol.13, p.173 which states that the two kings met "apud Graszi (Graçay), colloquium habituri de controversiis quæ vertebantur inter eos de terris et divisis Alverniæ."
89. *The Capetian Kings*, p.24.
90. Brundage, *The Crusades*, pp.158-62. The True Cross was a rallying point for the army at Hattin not unlike the banner carried by the clergy into the Battle of Cher in 1038. Apparently, a full study of the history of the cross as a heraldic or military image has not been written. Books of heraldry offer scores of examples, but no genealogy. It could be an extremely helpful field of enquiry if one could trace its earliest iconography and the myriad of forms it took, such as the Maltese cross or the Greek, Latin, Jerusalem, Lorraine or Patriarchal crosses.
91. Gillingham, p.28.
92. Examples include the city fortifications of Bourges, including its *Grosse Tour*, which will be discussed in the text. The tower itself was demolished in the mid-eighteenth century. See Méslié, pp.80-86 and Torat et al, p.191.
93. Hoffmann, p.112.
94. Devailly, *Le Berry*, pp.480, 486-87.
95. Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, pp.411-12.
96. Archives de l'Indre; published in Raynal, vol.2, p.547.
97. *Ibid.*, p.36.
98. *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, p.52-55. See also *RHGF*. vol.17, pp.23-24.
99. Hubert, pp.52-53.
100. Riley-Smith, p.109.
101. *Ibid.*, p.139. See also Brundage, *The Crusades*, pp.163-64.
102. Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, pp.412-13.
103. *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-97)* [(M.F. Morgan, ed.) (Paris: 1982) pp.84-85] discusses a meeting between them "pres d'une ville que l'on apele Yssodun." Moved by the holy spirit, and pressure from Rome, they reportedly abandoned this war and took up their crosses. I have found nothing to confirm this specific meeting, and this report might have been a simplification of what had gone on, written well after the fact, and at a considerable distance.
104. *RHGF*. vol.17, pp.671-74 and *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, pp.59-62.

105. There are many references from chronicles written sympathetic to both sides in *RHGF*. vol.17.
106. *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, pp.66-68.
107. Siberry, *Criticism*, pp.53-54.
108. Devailly, *Le Berry*, pp.361-63. Thaumás de la Thaumassière, vol.2, p.247, discusses his responsibilities to King Louis. See also Riley-Smith, pp.76-77.
109. Powicke, F.M. *The Loss of Normandy (1189-1204)*. (Manchester Univ.: 1913) p.130 and Devailly, *Le Berry*, p.363 and "Comment les Capetiens," pp.18-19.
110. Thaumás de la Thaumassière, vol.2, p.247. See also Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, pp.352-53. I have also recently learned of a newly-published book, *Étienne, Le Première Comte de Sancerre*, by J. Faugetas (Bourges: 1992), but I have been unable to use it in my research. I have also not been able to discover the fate of the Count of Graçay.
111. Archives du Royaume, J.189; published in Raynal, p.556: "...paccionem illam quam pater meus cum burgensibus Exolduni castri habuit, hanc videlicet: Exolduni castrum liberum esse et omnes habitantes in eo ab omni collecta et rapina. Concessit siquidem eis quod nec eos nec res eorum dum justiciam exequi voluerint et potuerint neque eciam eos nec res eorum qui pro communi ville utilitate quacunque de cause ibi venerint..."
112. Thaumás de la Thaumassière, vol.2, p.163.
113. *RHGF*. vol.17, pp.492.
114. Devailly, *Le Berry*, p.422 and Vallois, G. "Les Aventures Romanesques d'André Ier de Chauvigny aux Croisades Représentées par une Tapisserie du XVe Siècle," *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*. (9: 1881) pp.84-104. This legend seems to have been fairly common in the later chansons, and it is enshrined in the remnants of the tapestry referred to in the article. Patronized by his descendant, either Guy II or Guy III of Chauvigny, it shows André in Damascus in Saladin's court.
115. Devailly, *Le Berry*, p.363 and "Comment les Capetiens," pp.18-19.
116. Thaumás de la Thaumassière, vol.2, pp.276-77.
117. *Ibid.*, p.260. This is recorded by Thaumás de la Thaumassière through a confirmation of the agreement made by his son, Eudes, in 1208.
118. Archives of the Abbey of Charenton, laisse 8; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.3, p.106: "Ebo dominus de Carentone in nostra presencia [Henry's] et aliorumque plurimorum Jerosoliman profecturus pro sua suorumque salute..." The document later refers to the gifts being "pro salute anime sue et Guiburgis" but does not state who this person is--his wife, another family member, the abbess?
119. See, for examples, *Le Berry*, pp.262 & 513. These are very brief accounts and make no reference to the crusade or the Holy Land.
120. Wimée (p.85) mentions it only in relation to the arrest of the Order in 1307. Mésle (also p.85) includes a city map from 1708 which shows this intersection as just west of the cathedral. Wimée does add (p.92) that the members were "numerous" in Berry with houses at Blancafort, Merigny and Varennes-sur-Pouzon. The first lies some sixty kilometers north of Bourges. Merigny is a very small town just east of Le Blanc on the River Anglin, and Varennes is just east of St. Christophe en Bazelle, itself east of Vierzon.

121. Much of what follows is from Toulg  t-Treanna, M. "Les Commanderies de Malte en Berry," *Memoires de la Soci  t   Antiquaires du Centre*. (31: 1907) pp.97-187 & (34: 1911) pp.177-247. Charters will be noted below as Toulg  t-Treanna, vol.31 or 34, with the number as he published them; This is from vol.34, no.6; original in Archives du Cher, fo. of Ste. Chapelle. See also vol.31, p.130.
122. Froment, J.-M. "Les Templiers en Bourbonnaise," *Les Cahiers Bourbonnais*. (Charroux: no.134, 1990) pp.68-70.
123. Forey, A. *The Military Orders from the XIIth to the Early XIVth Centuries*. (London: 1992) pp 6-7. See also Barber, "The Social Context of the Templars," and *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, vol.3, pp.213-39, for Bernard of Clairvaux's rule.
124. Forey, p.18.
125. Barber, "Social Context of the Templars," pp.31-32 & 38. See also *Bernardi Opera*, vol.3, pp.216-19, which contrasts the secular knight with the new military ideal; and Rousset, P. "Les La  cs dans la Croisade," *I Laici Nella «Societas Christiana» dei Secoli XI e XII*. vol.5 of *Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali*. (Milan: 1968) pp.428-43.
126. Riley-Smith, *Atlas*, pp.90-91 & 124-25, although the latter refers to their possessions at the time of the Templars' suppression in 1307.
127. Toulg  t-Treanna, vol.34, no.1; original in the Archives du Rh  ne.
128. *Ibid.*, vol.34, no.2; original in Archives de l'Indre, H652.
129. *Ibid.*, no.4; original in Archives du Rh  ne.
130. *Ibid.*, vol.31, p.140 & 149.
131. Original in Archives du Cher, fo. de l'H  pital du Fresne; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.1, p.115.
132. Original in Archives du Cher, fo. de l'h  pital du Fresne; published in *Ibid.*, p.118.
133. Original in Archives du Cher, fo. of the Hospital of Fresne; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.4, p.318: "Ego R[oul] dominus Magdunensis notum fieri volo presentibus et futuris quod per manum domini Henrici bituricensis archiepiscopi me reddidi Deo et oedi Templi ierosolimitani ad...Dei <sic> et ejusdem   dis...hec elemosina Templo rata haveatur, sigillo nostre donacionis confirmare volui, et dominum Bituricensem archiepiscopum rogavi ut sigillo sue auctoritatis confirmaret."
134. Archives du Cher, fo. of the Hospital of Fresne; published in *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.119: "Ego Willelmus Dei gratia Bituricensis archiepiscopus, Aquitanorum primas. Notum esse volumus presentibus et futuris, quod Johannes de Blancaforti dominus, in nostra presentia constitutus, landante Godefrido filio coram nobis et Helicene uxore et aliis filiis Josseino et Petro, coram mandato nostro concessit et approbavit et elemosinam et donum quod Geraldus pater ejus fecerat fratribus milicie Templi de Fraxinu [Fresne] pro sue remedio..."
135. It is, in fact, on the Loire River and was a part of the Orleannais until the end of the tenth century. See Devailly, *Le Berry*, pp.363-64.
136. Original in Archives du Cher, fo. of the Hospital du Fresne; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.1, p.116.

137. *Ibid.*, p.118. Buhot de Kersers was unable to discover where this "Sancto Florentio de quodam masura apud Sanctum Foloicanum" is located.
138. Devailly, *Le Berry*, p.477 and Toulgöet-Treanna, vol.31, p.111 & no.3 (below). This debate required the intercession of a papal ambassador. Archives du Cher, cart. Archiepiscopal: "Ego <O. de Coovengo, Domine Papæ subdiaconus> autem utriusque partis voluntatem perscrutatus...Scilicet quod omnes homines Templi bituricensis diocesis communias predictas sequantur, item jurent eas sequi secundum tenorem indulgentie bituricensis ecclesie super hoc ab apostolica sede indulte, tribus villis ab hoc juramento exceptis scilices Jussea, Valentia, et Vineville..."
139. Riley-Smith, p.116; Mayer, p.146 and Painter S. "The Third Crusade: Richard the Lion-Heart & Philip Augustus," *History of the Crusades*. vol.2, pp.45-86.
140. Hallam, p.130, and Powicke, pp.202-03.
141. Gillingham, pp.80-81.
142. See, for examples, Siberry, *Criticism*, pp.62-63 and Dickson, "Stephen of Cloyes," p.93.
143. Erlande-Brandenburg, A. *La Cathédrale*. (Poitiers: 1989) p.255, and Stoddard, W.S. *Art & Architecture in Medieval France*. (New York: 1972) p.225.
144. Branner, R. *The Cathedral of Bourges & Its Place in Gothic Architecture*. (S.P. Branner, edited this reprint) (New York: 1989) pp.18-23.
145. Branner, pp.106-121, which includes a number of figures showing this structural enterprise.
146. *Ibid.*, p.22-23.
147. *DHGE*. col.179. The superstructure was completed in the 1260's-70's, however.
148. Branner, p.137.
149. This issue is, in fact, a bone of contention among archaeologists and art historians. Aubert, M. *French Sculpture at the Beginning of the Gothic Period (1140-1225)*. (Florence: 1929) p.30 argues that they were the original transept portals of the earlier cruciform edifice. Modern scholars however, argue that the bases of these portals are from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, suggesting that at the very least the portals were dismantled & later re-incorporated. There is, unfortunately, no written record of the earliest building campaigns or plans, so it may prove impossible to find the original locations of these monuments. See Branner, pp.136-37 and Sauerländer, M. *Gothic Sculpture in France--1140-1270*. (J. Sondheimer, trans.) (London: 1972) p.399.
150. The debate follows along the same lines as that noted above. See especially Sauerländer, p.400, who insists that both chronological and stylistic discrepancies make this continuum unlikely. It should be noted that the debt to Burgundian influences is not in question.
151. Aubert, p.31.
152. Branner, p.137.
153. Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States," *History of the Crusades*. vol.4, p.88.
154. Markowski, M. "'Crucesignatus': Its Origin & Early Usage," *JMH*. (10: 1984) pp.157-65.

Chapter 4: THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: The Later and Albigensian Crusades, and the Shifting of Loyalties

The period between about 1180 and 1220 was one of critical transitions and intense energies in Latin Christendom. Cathedrals were being rebuilt in the new gothic style, trade was expanding as was the population, the mendicant orders were being founded, and kings and popes were wielding ever-wider controls from their positions.¹ Perhaps the most well known of these leaders was Innocent III who ascended the throne of St. Peter in January of 1198.² His policies could be described as both centrist and expansionist as he sought both to place the papacy as the undisputed leader of Christendom, and to extend Roman control into the Baltic Sea region and into southern France where Catholicism was being displaced by Catharism. His interest in the crusade is without doubt³, but sometimes he could not impart his own enthusiasm to his flock.

In the first half of this century crusades came thick and fast, often overlapping each other, and they achieved varying degrees of success. A crusade was called against Markward of Anweiler, German claimant to Sicily, although it was never launched as Markward died in 1203. The Albigensian Crusade went ahead as the Fourth Crusade consolidated its conquests in Byzantium. The crusade of the *pueri* in France shows the popular support which still could be tapped. Also in 1212 the crusaders' victory at Las Navas de Tolosa turned out to be a turning point in their fortunes in Iberia.⁴ The Fourth Lateran Council continued preparation for the Fifth Crusade launched in 1213, but it should be remembered that the crusades to the French Midi continued intermittently throughout this period. In this study, I have chosen to look briefly at the Fourth Crusade before studying the wars against the Albigensians. I will then turn to the Fifth and Louis IX's two crusades, though it should be noted that the struggle in the south of France continued.

Berry and the Fourth Crusade

The Fourth Crusade did not involve any royal leader. As discussed in the previous chapter, the kings of England and France were involved in their own

conflicts which kept them from offering their services, and their absence should not be understood as a growing disenchantment in royal courts with the endeavor itself.⁵ Innocent's first crusading bull, *Post Miserabili*, attacked these Anglo-French wars, but it did not attempt to stop royal participation in principle.⁶ One of the preachers of the Fourth Crusades was Fulk of Neuilly, who came from a town just southeast of Paris. He and the papal legate, Peter de Capua preached throughout north-eastern France in 1198.⁷ Fulk's theme, so characteristic of the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries, heavily emphasized the need for personal and social reform at home to insure success in Outremer. While Geoffroy de Villehardouin tells of Fulk's general success, it is interesting to note that not until the following Advent season, at a tournament held by Count Thibald of Champagne, did the aristocracy begin to take up their crosses for the expedition.⁸ Such a lag in response could be seen as a precursor of the sorts of problems the crusade would encounter when it mustered in Venice in 1202.

Geographically, the response to the Fourth Crusade was noticeably limited. Baldwin of Flanders joined, bringing others from his county. Many from Champagne, the home of Thibald, Geoffroy of Villehardouin and the Cistercians, whose Order agreed to support this campaign, followed suit.⁹ For the crusading history of central France, two regions were notable for their absence: Le Berry and Normandy, which also had a long crusading tradition. If only central France had not responded to Rome's appeal, then this might suggest a waning of crusade support particular to the region. Yet Berry and Normandy were the two most hotly-contested areas between the Capetian and Plantagenet kings. The fact that Normandy also did not muster a significant crusader army shows that it was the political rivalry between the two royal houses that kept the domestic situation too volatile for people to leave on such a long-term commitment.¹⁰

The crusade itself, whether by the design of the doge of Venice or by a myriad of circumstances still debated by historians, ended at Constantinople with the sacking of this great city. Innocent could not seem to hold a consistent position over these tumultuous developments. At first he praised the fact that Byzantium would now be brought under papal leadership, but he quickly reversed this attitude when he realized

the scope of the violence necessary to found this new Latin Empire.¹¹ One effect this had on the west was the influx of relics stolen from Byzantium--fragments of the True Cross, the Crown of Thorns, clothes of the saints, perhaps the burial shroud now held in Turin and a body thought to be St. Dionysus the Areopagite. This latter artifact was sent to the abbey of St. Denis so that any conflict over whose bones they claimed to have been in possession of all these centuries would be put to rest.¹² Not surprisingly, Venice was the greatest benefactor both in relic-acquisition and in the new trade possibilities opened up by the conquest. Nonetheless as the century progressed, Berry too would benefit from this influx of relics, which were so important in medieval Christianity.

Central France did not immediately benefit from the inflow of holy objects, probably because it offered so little support to the Fourth Crusade. Villehardouin's widely-studied narration mentions nothing about any recruiting drive which might have gone on in Berry, and he relates precious few clues about soldiers who might have come from the region. Just after the failed siege of Adrianople, five ships arrived in Constantinople. One brought "Jean de Versin, who came from the Count Louis' [de Blois] own estates and was his vassal."¹³ A French historian of the Fourth Crusade, Jean Longnon, is sure he is from Vierzon.¹⁴ It seems Jean de Versin was dispatched to aid the beleaguered army which had retreated to Rodosto. However, he conspired in a most unchivalric desertion with Pierre de Frouville, also one of Louis's vassals, for "he stole away by night, leaving all the baggage behind him, and got aboard the ship in command of Jean de Versin." The *Chronicon Virzonensis Coenobii*¹⁵ presents these two entries:

Anno MCCIV, Franci Constantinopolim ceperunt.

Anno MCCV, naves cum velis Vierzionem venerunt.

Were these ships the ones which returned with Pierre and Jean? Two things should be noted: First, Jean was not the lord of Vierzon¹⁶ and was not personally mentioned in this chronicle. Second, although the town is situated on the navigable Cher River, these ships could not have been very large and may only have been trading boats. If the latter, there is no particular reason such a mundane event would have been recorded here. The only other participant of this campaign who I have been able to

link surely with Berry is William I, the Count of Sancerre, who did not leave for Constantinople until well after the conquest of the Byzantine capital.¹⁷ He was the son of Stephen II who died while fighting with Richard *Coeur de Lion* at the siege of Acre. William went in the contingent of Peter de Courtenay, who was his brother-in-law and emperor of Constantinople (1216-1221). Unfortunately, the expedition was not a success: William and Peter were captured by Theodore Comnenus, a descendant of Anna whom we encountered on the First Crusade, and they died in his stockade. Peter only nominally held his title of emperor because he never reached Constantinople. He died in prison in 1221, and his son Robert succeeded him.

Although most of these events between 1199-1204 did not in themselves make a great impression in Berry, they have been included because the trade in relics, especially those of the Passion and the True Cross brought these artifacts to many churches, especially in France and Italy.¹⁸ At the time of Louis IX's first crusade some of them were brought to Berry whose churches, including Neuvy-St.-Sepulchre, received these and other gifts pertaining to Christ's Passion. Also, Innocent's handling of the conquest of Constantinople and the ensuing subjugation of the Orthodox Church betrays the papacy's willingness to utilize the crusading movement to augment its own powers. This is more evident where crusades against Christian political enemies and heretics are concerned. While Innocent certainly did not begin this evolution, he must be given a large share of the responsibility for its development in the thirteenth century. He appealed to Philip Augustus to come to the aid of the Church to secure its hegemony. However events in Normandy and southern Berry still made a positive response from Paris unlikely before 1214.¹⁹

The Albigensian Crusades

Crusades against Christians had a checkered history long before events in Languedoc from 1209 required a military response. Both Leo IX and Gregory VII called for military aid against their political enemies, the Italian Normans and the supporter of the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, respectively. One of the more important developments came at the time of the First Crusade itself when both Urban II and his successor, Paschal II, encouraged Count Robert of Flanders to fight for the

Church in his own lands. Both popes refer to a heavenly Jerusalem to which these crusaders may aspire, suggesting that, in Rome, fighting for the Church might have been a more important theme than the traditional motif of pilgrimage.²⁰ Popular piety seemed to require more time to assimilate this notion, however, for subsequent developments through most of the twelfth century were generally non-starters. By the end of the century, however, people seemed to be coming around to the idea that an armed expedition against heretics, like those against heathens, could be both politically necessary and spiritually beneficial.

It is difficult to enumerate just what the Cathars in the Languedoc believed because many of their documents were destroyed by the crusades in the first half of the century and the Inquisition which they spawned.²¹ Their theology seemed to have been a reformulation of ancient Donatism, Gnosticism and Manicheism--a dualist religion that believed in both a good and an evil God ruling over separate realms. It emerged from the northern Byzantine Empire and Bulgaria. In fact they were often called "Bougres" or "Bogomiles," reflecting these origins.²² The material world was the snare of the evil god, therefore the exploitation of animals for food, the sacraments of the eucharist or infant baptism, even the act of procreation, were disdained by the initiated. Their Christology went so far as to argue that Christ's ministry and death were only appearances since, of course, the good god would not have condemned his son's soul to the elemental world.²³

Although obviously anti-Catholic in most respects, there were a few striking similarities. The sect, for example, had an "episcopal" structure. In fact they grew to be called Albigensians because Albi was the first known "bishopric." To escape the imprisonment of the body, the soul had to be freed in a quasi-sacramental ceremony called the *consolamentum* which brought one into the company of the *perfecti*.²⁴ One could petition for the intercessions of the *perfecti* for one's own soul without taking the *consolamentum* oneself. With such a practice, it would be easy to see how difficult it must have been for the crusade or the Inquisition to sort out the believing non-*perfecti* from the general population.²⁵ The first incursions by the orthodox authorities in the Midi were ones of oration and disputation. The guiding lights were the monks of the Cistercian Order including Bernard of Clairvaux, who

himself went there for the first time in the summer of 1145, i.e. before his involvement with Louis VII's crusading council at Bourges.²⁶ In fact, one of two councils held in 1163 that had the Albigensian heresy on its agenda took place in the cathedral, which marked the beginning of a long association between St. Étienne and the Albigensian crusades.²⁷

Many bishops from the south participated in these discussions,²⁸ which shows that while Catharism was an entrenched theology, it had not eradicated orthodoxy within the beleaguered episcopacy there. In 1172 Louis VII even considered a military excursion, although Pope Alexander III decided instead on another preaching tour. The pope soon offered, however, a limited indulgence at the Third Lateran Council in 1179 to those who would enforce their bishops' sentences against heretics. Those who did so would enjoy the same protection of their lands as crusaders to the Holy Land, and they would receive a full indulgence if killed.²⁹ This council put the responsibility of disciplining heretics on the shoulders of the episcopacy. Many of the thirteenth century archbishops of Bourges readily accepted this responsibility. It should be noted that the archbishop at this time, Guérin de Calardon (1174-1180), was himself a Cistercian,³⁰ and many of his successors in Bourges were members of this order.

If neo-Manicheism was known to have been making headway in the south of France since the Second Crusade, why was it not until after the Fourth that there was a systematic policy of action? As we shall see at the Fourth Lateran Council, Innocent III re-emphasized a social reform agenda in Rome. Addressing the Albigensian heresy would have been part of this policy. Bernard Hamilton presents a second probability which would have motivated Rome to take a stronger stand against the Cathars at this time.³¹ With the Latin capture of the Greek Empire, they would have absorbed the very area where the medieval manifestation of Manicheism is known to have originated. As attempts were made to supplant the Orthodox rites, Latin clerics in the Bulgar regions would have seen first hand this dualist church and reported it to Rome. In the south of France these heretics were, from the 1170's, also being associated with the *routier* forces used by local princes in their continual battles.³² Innocent, so keen to ensure ecclesiastical control, probably would have

seen this as a double-pronged threat both to Latin orthodoxy and to social peace.

The struggle with the heretics, at first depending upon disputation, turned in frustration to force after the murder of the Cistercian Peter of Castelnau, the papal legate in the Midi. He was killed just north of Arles on the Rhône River on 14 January, 1208. That this spurred the papacy into action should come as no surprise, but it also galvanized lay support for military intervention, which had been lacking up to this event. Innocent, the abbot of Clairvaux, and a group of a dozen cardinals excommunicated Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, the man tenuously held responsible for allowing the assassination, and the pope organized the preaching necessary to set the crusade itself in motion.³³

Why should Archbishop Guérin and his successors, and many of the laity in Berry, take such a special interest in the Albigensian question? There were, perhaps, two different, though not contradictory, obligations which were felt in central France at this time. The first was the growing loyalty to and association with Paris. When Philip I bought Bourges at the time of the First Crusade, it was the first unchallenged acquisition by the Capetians south of the Loire River. Accordingly, it was a critical power base for them, whether the thrust was toward Plantagenet Aquitaine or Cathar Languedoc. Also, the archbishops had a traditional claim to be the primates of all Aquitaine, which included much of the Midi at this time (map 2).³⁴ Accordingly, they would have had vested spiritual and political interests in eradicating any heresy and keeping Catholic hegemony within their precinct. One may see the crystallization of these loyalties and responsibilities in the structure and iconography of the cathedral itself, a point to which we shall return.

The Contributions of the Archbishops of Bourges to These Crusades

The Cistercian Order took an early interest in dealing with the Albigensians. Guy Devailly shows that many of the foundations of these white monks in Berry were begun in the mid-twelfth century by the lower aristocracy. Reynald de Bigne, a *chevalier*, founded Barzelle; the lords of Graçay, whose crusading heritage we have encountered, founded Olivet; finally, the lords of Châteauroux founded the monastery

at Varennes.³⁵ Such co-operation would have kept this struggle high on both the lay and the ecclesiastical agenda, and this can be seen with the influence the Order had on the office of the archbishop of Bourges. The career of Guérin in the 1170's has already been discussed, but he was the first of a group of prelates who were Cistercian and who actively tried to solve the Albigensian question in the southern regions of their archdiocese.

His immediate successor was Henri de Sully (1183-99), who initiated the rebuilding of the cathedral.³⁶ He should be briefly noted here for being the first of four from the family of the lords of Sully-sur-Loire to occupy the bishop's throne, and he was the only archbishop of the family who did not take any notable action against the Cathars.³⁷

While the records of Henry's life show little involvement with this issue, those of his successor, Guillaume de Donjon (1200-1209), report a concentrated, if tardy, attempt to deal with the heretics in the south of his archdiocese. Himself a member of the Cistercian Order, Guillaume initiated reforms in his bishopric which included the clarification of episcopal jurisdiction in the southwest, especially the area around Châteauroux recently returned from Plantagenet control by the Treaty of Goulet.³⁸ Just when he turned his efforts against heresy are rather difficult to pinpoint. Three years after his accession to his office, Innocent gave him the responsibility of overseeing the public reconciliation of the townspeople of La Charité-sur-Loire who themselves had been accused of Manicheist sympathies.³⁹ One could imagine that Eudes Arpin would have been sorely disappointed.

Guillaume's hagiographer, however, drops hints that he was slow to realize how great a threat he faced in the Midi, although here too Guillaume is portrayed as being aware of unspecified schismatics in his diocese quite early in his career.⁴⁰ The archbishop is described as preparing to wear "aliis armaturis fidei miles Christi," and also as a "medicus animarum." He is even compared to St. Stephen himself for the way he tried to dispute peaceably with "rebelles."⁴¹ When the Cathars are first mentioned specifically, in Chapter 29 of his *vita*, they are likened to the Babylonians who dragged the people of Israel into captivity; to the plague of locusts; and are even labeled as the accomplices of Satan.⁴² Yet they are not mentioned again until

Chapter 33 in which Guillaume reads a letter from Innocent III to his congregation concerning the heresy. He does so in 1208 with much emotion to help launch a crusade.⁴³ I have been unable to locate a letter written specifically to Guillaume from Innocent. Still, there are six letters in Migne's *Patrologia* that the pope sent to the clerics and people of France during that year in which he discusses the heresy.⁴⁴ The one which seems the most like a call to arms is an "indulgence for all the faithful in Christ who would fight against the provincial heretics." It closes with this summons:

Pugnastis fortassis hactenus pro gloria transitoria,
pugnate jam pro gloria sempiterna. Pugnastis pro
corpore, pugnate pro anima. Pugnastis pro mundo,
pugnate pro Deo. Non enim pro præmio qualicunque
ad tantum Dei servitium vos hortamur, sed pro regno
coelesti, quod ob hoc confidentissime pollicemur.

There seems no way of knowing if this was indeed the letter he read. Guillaume had been gripped by illness sometime before it arrived, a point his biographer emphasizes and compares to a personal cross he had to bear along with the one taken to fight the heretics.⁴⁵ While his biographer praises the archbishop's enthusiasm, despite his illness, he does say that Guillaume was rather embarrassed to discover that the heresy had grown to such proportions within his own jurisdiction.⁴⁶ Accordingly, he became one of the great preachers of the early Albigensian Crusade, heightening the passions of every one: "dives et pauper, nobilis et ignobilis, et infirmi accincti sunt robore."⁴⁷

Guillaume was not the first Cistercian archbishop of Bourges to take an interest in the struggle against the Cathars--nor was he the last. He was, nevertheless, the first to appeal to the people of Berry to take up the cross in this struggle. Let us recall that the Third Lateran Council granted a partial indulgence to those who joined their bishop to discipline heretics. Yet only in the last years of Guillaume's tenure did *Berrieurs* begin to respond with enthusiasm to the appeals. Perhaps this was because they now enjoyed the spiritual and temporal benefits of crusaders. Although he himself took the cross, this was not to be--celebrating mass that winter in what must have been a makeshift space within the works of the new cathedral, his illness

grew more severe, and he died in January 1209.⁴⁸ Quite quickly after his demise, three appeals were made to Rome to have the prelate canonized. The third, by his successor Girard de Cros at the Fourth Lateran Council, seemed to be decisive. Yet due to Innocent's death in the following year, canonization did not take place until January 1217 by Honorius III.⁴⁹ Guillaume was quite popular in central France, and his tomb soon became the site of a number of reported miracles.⁵⁰ The "Nation de France" of the University of Paris, the great centre of orthodoxy if not necessarily of blind obedience to Rome,⁵¹ adopted him as the protector and patron of its faculty. His relics were soon moved into the crypt of the new cathedral of Bourges which stimulated more revenue for the works in progress.⁵²

Girard de Cros (1209-18) dealt with the crusade on many fronts. For example he held a council in his cathedral in 1215 that dealt with who should take part in the Fifth Crusade. We shall return to this issue in subsequent sections, but let us now look at the personal contribution made toward the Albigensian Crusade that was continuing apace, despite Innocent's attempts to divert resources back to the Holy Land in 1214-1215.⁵³ Innocent's appeals for a crusade to the Midi, with a limited indulgence, were broadcast simultaneously with plans for a crusade to the Holy Land in 1208-09.⁵⁴ The former met with much more immediate success, although King Philip still could not be moved, and Raymond VI was himself willing to submit to Rome's demands.⁵⁵ By this time, however, the crusade had developed a momentum of its own which even Raymond's submission could not halt. Béziers and Carcassonne were captured, and Simon de Montfort was confirmed by the pope as the new secular leader of the lands the crusaders had acquired.⁵⁶

For Girard recruitment went on unabated. He convinced men such as the lords of Vierzon to find absolution by joining the crusade to the Midi in 1213. This town, as we have seen, had sent many of its men on the crusades to the Levant. Participants also seemed quite willing to accept the Church's vocation to fight its enemies in southern France as well. Louis Raynal claims that Hervé II, lord of Vierzon, was the first of his family to take up the cross against the Albigensians.⁵⁷ Yet the *Chronicon Virzonensis Coenobii* names the lord as William (the First).⁵⁸ Thaumassière seems to sort out the confusion, however, by showing that William died

before 1216, as the *Chronicon* states, while Hervé did not join the crusade until later, probably as William's successor.⁵⁹ Hervé returned from this expedition to join the Fifth Crusade which met disaster in the Nile Delta.

Raymonde Foreville argues that the Albigensian Crusade did not elicit the same response as those to the Levant because "it was in no manner a pilgrimage but continued to be a simple military expedition."⁶⁰ The sources, however, do not support this conclusion. The "Historia Albigensium" of the monk Peter of Vaux de Cernay writes for the year 1214, "Proficiscenties itaque à Montepessulano <Montpellier>, venimus propre Biterrim <Béziers> at castrum Sancti-Tiberii,...eramus autem tam equites quam pedites circiter centum millia peregrini..."⁶¹ William the Breton's "Gesta Philippi Augusti" reports that, after some delay on the king's part, he encouraged his son, Louis, to go to the Midi in 1215 to fulfill an earlier crusading vow: "arripuit iter eundi in Albigenses Ludovicus filius Philippi *crucesignatus*..."⁶² (emphases mine) Both these examples use the same vocabulary to describe soldiers of Christ going to war in either the Levantine or the southern French theatres.

That *Berrieurs* saw it as a pilgrimage, armed as the one to the Holy Land, may be inferred by the activity of Raoul III, the *seigneur* of Issoudun, Vatan and Châteauneuf-sur-Cher. He went with his wife, who was the elder sister of Pierre de Courtenay, in 1211.⁶³ Their lives seem strikingly parallel to those of Bernard and Havoise, whom we encountered in the cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre in the twelfth century, for they too were the last in their family line. This condition would suggest a religious motive, rather than one of personal or family aggrandizement via the conquest of the Midi. While the destruction of the wealth of Languedoc certainly is a feature of this period, the crusade against the Albigensians offered the same spiritual benefits as those to Jerusalem. The enrollment of the lesser aristocracy from Berry, and from other regions of northern France, however, suggests a desire to fulfill crusading vows and receive crusading indulgences, but at a less ruinous cost.

Having encouraged many of the lords of Berry to join the expedition, Girard also took up his cross, as did Archbishop Guillaume before him. Girard's health did not fail him, and the forces of knights and sergeants he gathered joined Simon de

Montfort's campaign of 1216-1217.⁶⁴ Girard's contingent was at the siege of Toulouse in 1218 that witnessed the death of Simon himself and eventually failed.⁶⁵ Raymond VI was able to press his advantages against Simon's son and successor, Amaury. Pope Honorius III, who succeeded Innocent in 1216, was aware that much would be lost unless he could convince the Capetians to contribute to this crusade. Prince Louis made a second voyage to the Midi in the early summer of 1218. Yet he seemed even less enthusiastic about this visit than the first one, and he abandoned a token siege of Toulouse some forty days after it had begun.⁶⁶ If Louis's expedition were cut short due to any question of the legality of the crusade against the Count of Toulouse, then such doubts were removed at the Council of Bourges held in 1225. It clarified the legality of the endeavor and the efficacy of such a crusade for the participants of northern France including, significantly, Louis, now King Louis VIII (1223-26).

This council was presided over by Simon de Sully, who succeeded Girard de Cros as archbishop in 1218. Simon also was in the vanguard of the battle in the Midi. In 1224 Honorius entrusted him to be Rome's liaison with King Louis.⁶⁷ The Sully family enjoyed special ties to the Capetians by virtue of marriage and their military service,⁶⁸ so it is not surprising that Honorius would make this appointment, or that Simon would be more successful than any of his predecessors in procuring royal assistance. Their struggle was now against Raymond VII who followed his father, and inherited his conflicts, in 1222. Raymond and Amaury of Montfort were the litigants at the Council of Bourges held in a cathedral that had just undergone a second major building programme to complete the *westwerk* and install most of the stained glass.⁶⁹ The first in a series of conferences associated with the council was held at the end of November 1225. Fourteen archbishops and over one hundred bishops and perhaps five hundred abbots--not to mention the embassies of the king and the legate, Romanus, Cardinal of Saint Angelo, attended the council in Bourges.⁷⁰ After half a decade of military stalemate, this council seems to have been a legal debate between Raymond and Amaury over who should possess the lands for which their fathers had fought some ten years before. Although the council did not seem to be completely convinced by Amaury's plea, it voted against Raymond. At this time,

the decision did not include excommunication or plans for a new crusade.⁷¹ The legate Romanus was at the University of Paris before this meeting, and he returned in January of the new year to pronounce the excommunication of Count Raymond in a letter from the fourteen archbishops and himself.⁷²

Bourges was the agreed-upon meeting place for the armies who were to go to the Midi and enforce the legate's sentence. This would lead one to believe that many from Berry joined them, but unfortunately the sources are not any more specific than this. The "Gesta Ludovici" states only that, in May 1226, "Louis, King of France, and all the *cruce signati* of Bourges (Biturgis) convened." Not unlike Eudes Arpin in 1101, they made a rendez-vous with the Count of Nevers before heading south to Lyon.⁷³ Simon de Sully was one of many ecclesiastics who took the cross. It seems he made two trips. He had to go back to the north because of the death of Louis in November of that year. Simon went to Paris to pay his homage to the young Louis IX, then returned to the Midi to be with the entourage of Humbert de Beaujeu in 1228.⁷⁴ Simon's family's support for the crusade went beyond his own recruitment and participation. His nephew, Henry de Sully was one of the nobles of central France who entered the lists.⁷⁵ Archambaud de Bourbon and Stephen III, the fourth Count of Sancerre and the fourth to take the cross, also joined.⁷⁶

In the letter which Romanus wrote in January 1226, he described how the crusade was to the honour of God and for the benefit of the Church. He also offered an indulgence identical to the one given to those who went to Jerusalem and just like the one offered at the Fourth Lateran Council.⁷⁷ Romanus saw the journey as a penitential activity comparable to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As we have seen, chroniclers and some of the laity of Berry exhibit this same attitude. Nonetheless, there is a difference to which historians have not drawn much attention and which seems especially pertinent to the crusading culture of central France. This is the theme of public order being policed by the episcopacy.

After Romanus declared Raymond an excommunicate, he then went on to excommunicate those who made war or invaded the kingdom of France. This warning was sent to those in the kingdom, of course, but he also made what seems a startling claim that it applied to those outside the realm as well.⁷⁸ He threatened

ostracism against those who followed neither the truce nor the peace made by the king.⁷⁹ This peace was not a direct descendant of the eleventh century ecclesiastical peace movement; by now the king in Paris was strong enough to declare, and to support, his own initiative. But in the case of the Albigensian Crusade, the bishops again take a leading role in enforcement. We have seen how the episcopal peace survived into the early twelfth century *communia* of Bourges. We have seen how, later in that century, Urban III required the local nobility to offer their support of the peace to the archbishop. Earlier crusades to the Holy Land relied on a symbiotic relationship between secular and ecclesiastical powers, i.e. churchmen preached to, and sometimes led expeditions made of, noble and popular armies. Against the Albigensians, the bishops played an even more prominent leadership role. This was probably because contemporaries viewed the Cathar problem as a spiritual and ecclesiastical issue. The enemy was not a pagan who had captured territory of the early Church, but a deviant poisoning the Church from within.⁸⁰ True, great lords like Hervé of Nevers or the Duke of Burgundy were quick to take up their crosses, but they would not assume the responsibility for the conquered lands in the way crusaders carved up the Levant after 1098. No one claimed a separate, independent state as had happened in the Holy Land.

The archbishops of Bourges played a critical role from the end of the previous century with preaching, and by attending, if not convening, important councils. They themselves took the cross and assisted in the campaigns, although it is unlikely they actually fought. This does sound quite reminiscent of Archbishop Aimon's Peace League in the 1030's. Perhaps contemporaries were aware to some degree of the eleventh-century precedence and were trying to recall the earlier peace initiatives to stop the *routiers* and Cathars. There is, of course, a time lag of almost two centuries, and it is not suggested that my hypothesis is unassailable. However, in 1224, the year Louis first considered returning to the Midi,⁸¹ the king demanded that those who succeeded as rulers of fiefs in central France had first to make an oath to the archbishop of Bourges to uphold his peace. In 1228 Archambaud of Bourbon was forced to make this oath when Pope Gregory IX put the pressure of ecclesiastical censure on him.⁸² These examples obviously do not pertain to the Albigensian

Crusade *per se*, but they show that the ideas of a communal peace association responsible to the prelate in Bourges were still in circulation. In fact, considering the strengthening bonds between Berry and Paris, especially through the *seigneurs* of Sully, it would not be out of the question to assume that the archbishops were the intermediaries between the king and his nobles. If we remind ourselves that Rome was keen both to establish the political order of northern Europe and to rid the Languedoc of its *routiers* and their pillaging of the churches, then the crusading culture of Berry does suggest that there were indeed some links between the eleventh century peace movement and the thirteenth century Albigensian Crusade.

These crusades and then the Inquisition attempted to subdue Catharism in the Languedoc into the early fourteenth century. In 1229, Raymond VII agreed to a truce with king Louis IX, ruler only in name as his mother, Blanche of Castille, held control of the court.⁸³ But again and again events in the Midi outran what were probably sincere attempts by the count to keep the peace. In 1239-1240 Raymond's inclusion into the Catholic fold was again put in jeopardy because of conflicts with the abbey of Moissac. In July of 1240, according to Mansi's *Sacrorum Conciliorum*,⁸⁴ there was another council held at Bourges. In fact, however, this council does not seem to have been convened to discuss the continuing conflicts in the south. There was, argues Yves Dossat, a confusion between a meeting at Bourges among Louis, his mother, Archbishop Philip Berruyer (1236-1261) and Gregory IX's legate, Jacques de Pécoraria, and a meeting at Viviers held later in the year.⁸⁵ One of Philip's uncles was Guillaume de Donjon.⁸⁶ It seems that this colloquium at Bourges discussed the Capetians' support of the struggle against Frederick II. It is quite possible that arrangements were also made for Jean de Beaumont's campaign to Carcassone against the Trencavel lords who had earlier retaken the town.⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the real council concerning the Cathars that summer was at Viviers, down the River Rhône from Lyon.⁸⁸ Was this confusion due to the appreciable role Bourges had played in previous meetings and the assumption that this *tete à tete* must also have been held largely to discuss the continuing Albigensian conflict?⁸⁹

St Étienne as an Icon of Capetian Hegemony and Catholic Orthodoxy

From the early eleventh century Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre served as a model and a reminder of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem, the goal of countless pilgrims. It brought the "presence of Jerusalem" to central France, and may be seen as a manifestation in the local culture of the ideal of lay piety as well as the *iter*. Now let us study an example of this phenomenon in reverse--namely, how the crusade effected the artistic or iconographic milieu of Berry. Because the Albigensian crusades took place largely in the early and middle thirteenth century, and the cathedral was being rebuilt and developing its iconographic programme during these same decades, the struggle against Catharism seems to have left a significant impression both on the west front and on some of the stained glass windows of the apse of St. Étienne.⁹⁰

In the broadest sense, the cathedral itself could be seen as its own iconographical statement, reflecting the two directions to which it was looking in the first half of the century. The various aspects of this style, the *opus Francorum*, was brought together for the first time at the royal abbey of St. Denis by Abbot Suger and the remarkable artists he gathered.⁹¹ Bourges was begun at the same time as Chartres and in a similar style to Notre Dame de Paris. In Bourges is the first complete gothic style edifice built south of the Loire.⁹² Nonetheless, it has an originality of spaces which confounds art historians searching for precedents.⁹³ That it is a high gothic cathedral is without question, and the reason this style was employed is, I think, an iconographic statement of the ties and loyalties the area had to the Capetian court.⁹⁴ As noted in the last chapter, Bourges's defenses were rebuilt thanks to the protection of Philip Augustus, and both he and his father assisted the economy of Berry with the granting of charters for fairs. Although the king did not seem to play an appreciable part in sponsoring the rebuilding of St. Étienne,⁹⁵ the influences of his Ile-de-France may still be seen in the use of the gothic.

But as well as looking north, the ecclesiastical patrons of St. Étienne also were aware of the tensions mounting in the south, as they tried to put into stone and glass the spiritual and theological tenets of the Catholic faith. As we have seen, the cathedral was home to many councils pertaining to the Cathar threat, and the decisions of these councils were made in a great space destined to be coloured with references

to divine intervention in history. If, as some art historians suggest,⁹⁶ Archbishop Guillaume du Donjon directed the iconographic design of the edifice, this would not be at all surprising. The religion of the middle ages is, it seems to me, animated throughout by attempts to put the history, miracles and exempla of the Church into concrete contemporary action. This action could mean endowments, the veneration of relics, crusades, or the elaboration of such iconographic programmes as seen here.⁹⁷ Moreover, "since each cathedral was meant to contradict the Albigensians in their negation of creation, of incarnation and redemption, its decor conveyed before all else the omnipotence of a God who was three and one, a creator God, a God made man, a savior God."⁹⁸

As we move from a view of the building as a whole to its west portals, let us focus on the main central entrance of five doors.⁹⁹ The tympanum placed over these polylobed doors presents the traditional image of the Last Judgement, but the figures in the drama are presented in a strikingly corporeal manner. This style may reflect a new emphasis on the bodily resurrection which was a point of contention with the Cathar sect. The portal to the right, or south, is devoted to the life of St. Stephen himself. If we compare the main portal to this one, the fluidity of design and movement visible in the former contrasts sharply with the stylized rigidity of the saint's portal (fig. 5). The Last Judgement tympanum has been dated to the 1240's while the latter one was installed the decade before.¹⁰⁰ Although probably works of different artists,¹⁰¹ what is crucial for the central tympanum is the desire to show the physical reality of the resurrection. One can see the attention to anatomic naturalism and the individuality of each person portrayed harking to the trumpets. Many are identified by their respective headwear, including a mitred bishop who is being tossed head first into the boiling cauldron of Hell. Also, to support my thesis that the cathedral was a symbol of Capetian hegemony, the first to arrive at the bosom of Abraham, in the second register, is a Franciscan friar. He is leading a king holding the fleur-de-lys of the royal dynasty. This propagandized the link between French royalty and sanctity, between Louis IX and St. Francis of Assisi. It also suggests that the tympanum was reworked at the end of the thirteenth century.¹⁰²

In reference to the struggle against the Albigensians, Émile Mâle argues that

the gateway into the cathedral also conveys "traces of doctrinal teaching" in the presentation of the imps carrying off the damned. Many have images of human faces on their bellies suggesting "they have displaced the seat of intelligence and put their souls at the service of their lower appetites."¹⁰³ This bodily realism also betrays a rather more "classical" image of humanity and "the tension between the eschatological and incarnational perspectives, which...reached a high degree of intensity" in the first part of this century.¹⁰⁴ As the people of central France entered through the west doors, it is unlikely that they admired the central tympanum in so didactic a light. It would seem plausible, however, that they would be struck by the physical naturalism of the persona: the child-like joy of the blessed and the excruciating pain of the damned.

How contemporaries viewed medieval iconography is a difficult field of enquiry. St. Augustine understood memory as the translation of stimuli into images in the mind.¹⁰⁵ The Synod of Arras in 1025 restated a maxim associated with Gregory the Great when it described illustrations as "the Bible for the illiterate,"¹⁰⁶ and the typological/allegorical tradition of Biblical exegesis is too well known to the historians of philosophy, theology and art history to be restated here.¹⁰⁷ Illustrations must have been understood at many levels, although it would be impossible to be sure of the degree of understanding to which any group or individual could attain. These images offered events or morals in a way which would have reached the perceivers' memories in the most direct and unencumbered manner.¹⁰⁸ If Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre could be seen as a model of the Sepulcre in Jerusalem, despite its physical discrepancies, then surely iconographic examples within St. Étienne could also be seen both in terms of their concrete subject and as basic theological themes. Since Bourges played such a critical role in the crusades against the Cathars, it should not be surprising if much of the imagery reflects this struggle, particularly since the programmes must have been designed during the height of the crisis (i.e. ca1210-1230).¹⁰⁹ Because the cathedral replaced the monastery as the disseminator of knowledge and power, didactic and moralistic iconography expanded both in terms of its themes and of its uses in the edifice. It also had to be standardized and simplified to reach the unlettered who had a much better chance to come in contact

with it here than in the cloister.¹¹⁰

Sharpening our focus to the stained glass in the chevet, we find that there did not exist a specific crusading window analogous to the one known to have been at St. Denis, Paris.¹¹¹ The influence the windows of St. Étienne had on their audience was more of moral theme than concrete subject. The latter presented such stock narratives as Old Testament stories, the lives of the saints, and the Nativity, miracles and Passion of Christ. Nonetheless, there are specific examples of how the cathedral strove to symbolize catholic morals for the benefit of the observers. For example, viewers could again be enlightened on the theme of judgement in the apse with a window showing the same event in fairly similar terms to the tympanum: Christ in glory surrounded by angels, while the twenty four elders look over the scene (fig. 6). The instruments of Christ's passion are again presented: his wounds flow with crimson blood which could not have been portrayed in stone, despite the fact the tympana probably were painted.¹¹² All this emphasizes Christ's corporeal presence. Souls are weighed either to go to his right, into the bosom of Abraham or to his left, or *sinister*, side into the mouth of Leviathan himself.

There is nothing, as yet, iconographically striking about this window, although I would argue that it emphasizes bodily resurrection just as the tympanum does. However, at the bottom register of the window we see a fascinating commentary on the sacrament of the eucharist--a ritual obviously shunned by the Albigensians (fig. 7). This part of the window is just above head height, making it quite accessible to the observer. The image presents communion being offered from the centre altar. On Christ's right the recipient takes the sacrament while kneeling respectfully. Farther to his right the communicant dies, and an angel bears his soul to heaven. On Christ's left, the observer's right, another layman turns his back on the priest, the sacrament and an open Bible in the cleric's hand. After his death, this second person participates in the grotesquely humorous act of kissing the buttocks of the little blue devil who first tempted him away from the altar and the Church's salvation. Such an image is full of allusions to the saving nature of the orthodox Latin church and its sacraments--here, crucially, represented by the eucharist or the symbol of Christ's humanity and passion as presented by a priest.¹¹³ It must be significant that the two

men who come to receive the host are not tonsured clerics because this implies that the laity are the ones who should heed the warning to participate in the eucharist. The belief in transubstantiation had just recently been codified at the Fourth Lateran Council. That the characters in question are members of the laity, and the position of the images is at the very bottom of the window, point quite clearly to the probability that the window was designed to "preach" to this very order. One must assume that the clergy would not have needed to be taught such a moral, just as David Rollason argues that the eleventh century monks of St. Benôit-sur-Loire would not have needed the exempla concerning the intercession of their own saint.

A window which has drawn more attention from students of iconography is the one representing the Apocalypse (fig. 8). Émile Mâle once again argues that here too we see ingenuity in presenting doctrinal exposition through the narrative.¹¹⁴ This window pictures the symbols used by John's Apocalypse which had begun to replace those used by St. Matthew around the end of the twelfth century.¹¹⁵ This does not in itself distinguish the work of the *atelier* and the ecclesiastics who designed this window. However, not only does it emphasize John's more mystical version of the events, the window also seems to be presenting a commentary upon it. This pictorial gloss focuses on the eternal manifestation of the victorious Church and Christ's presence in it, themes which must have been discussed in the scholastic disputes and military battles going on at the time. The window itself depicts, from the bottom,¹¹⁶ Peter preaching to the multitude as a symbol of the Church Militant while Christ with the sword, and the seven seals, stars and candlesticks presides over the grouping. In the middle scene are the twenty four elders with Christ enthroned in the heavens. Above this, we again see Peter preaching in the lower two roundels. Christ is twice portrayed in triumph. Firstly, he is symbolically represented by the lamb and then in the centre of the upper ensemble as the risen Christ in his nimbus. Finally Ecclesia, the Church Triumphant, suckles both Jew and Gentile from her breasts. From the temporal to the eternal symbols of the Church, Christ is represented in the centre of each group of images and, by extension, at each stage of the eschatological drama. To cite Mâle's response to the iconography of Bourges once more, "This great theological scheme was the most subtle and profound work of art inspired by the

Apocalypse in the Middle Ages. It is an entirely doctrinal work, and one which borrows nothing from traditional types."¹¹⁷ Doctrinal probably due, in no small part, to the conflicts with the Cathars of which the cathedral was the centre.¹¹⁸

The last window which seems to offer useful evidence for this theory,¹¹⁹ concerns the New Testament. Its links to the Albigensian Crusade are more tenuous, but it does seem to represent a new mode of presentation that seems to be coming into its own into the thirteenth century. It may reflect iconographically what the Latin Church was doing philosophically with the delineation of dogma in canon law, itself part of the reaction to the need for reform and for a response to the heresies which threatened the Church. The Last Judgement window represented an episode in the Bible, as do the other windows in Bourges. The stories of the Nativity and Passion, the Annunciation and Visitation, Joseph of the Old Testament or the miracles of saints abound in the iconographic programmes in Bourges, and indeed in Chartres--the only other cathedral to have so much surviving thirteenth century glass. They represent what might be called "narrative" or perhaps "historic" accounts of events. Although, of course, the Last Judgement is prophetic, not historical, it is understood as a series of events which would occur at a given time. There were also a few instances of secular history, but not, unfortunately, at Bourges. The crusading window of St. Denis has been cited above, and Chartres had a window of the life of Charlemagne.¹²⁰ However, this window at Bourges presents a new type of iconography--that which might be called "typological" (fig. 9). Reading the central images of Christ we see him carrying his cross before his sacrifice, his sacrifice on the cross, then his being raised on the third day. But around each of these is not a part of the story, but types which parallel the central theme. They are not all Biblical.

In the bottom circle the story of Abraham's requirement to sacrifice Isaac is not an uncommon parallel theme found in other programmes--neither is the painting of the Tau cross on the Jews' doors to mark the Passover. In the centre, more interestingly, are the parallels drawn to the crucifixion which shows not the historical iconography of Mary and St. John, but those of Ecclesia and Synagoga. The spatial play of sinister/dexter is again evident as Ecclesia catches in her grail the healing

blood of Christ flowing from his side. Farther to his right, Moses strikes the rock from which healing water flowed for the Jews in the desert. To his left a defeated Synagogue turns her back on the cross as she has been superseded, just as the serpent raised by Moses and prefiguring Christ raised on the cross, was superseded. Bourges did not suffer any anti-Jewish pogroms like those witnessed in the Rhineland during the First Crusade. The city did, nevertheless, have a significant Jewish population. I will return to discuss their presence when I examine the coming of the Shepherds' Crusade in 1251.

Finally, Christ rising from the tomb is compared with two Biblical allusions and two from cosmology (fig. 10). To the lower left--to Christ's right--a pelican pierces her breast to nourish her young with her blood. To the lower right the male lion breathes on his young as it was believed this stirred the still-born cubs to life on the third day after their birth.¹²¹ Elijah raising a widow's son (1 Kings 17: 17-24) and Jonah emerging from the serpent (Jonah 1 and 2), situated right above the lions' image, complete the typologies. Louis Grodecki dates this window, along with the one of the Last Judgement in the 1220's-early 1230's¹²²--again in the heat of the crusade in the Midi and the councils held in the cathedral.

The types themselves come from Honorius of Autun's *Speculum Ecclesiae*, written early in the twelfth century, although Honorius was quite likely building on earlier traditions.¹²³ Bourges is not alone in possessing such a window as a very similar one exists in the cathedral of Lyon; and Rouen, Le Mans and Tours all have later, and less complete, examples. Lyon does, however, include images of the unicorn (a symbol of Christ, for only a virgin could hold it) and the Charadrius bird (thought to be able to remove illness from a faithful person), which are not found at Bourges.¹²⁴ Lyon, Rouen, Le Mans and Bourges all also include the image of Jacob blessing Joseph's sons while crossing over his hands. At Bourges, however, this scene is placed at the summit of this window--a position which Mâle argues suggests the typological, rather than historical, aspects of the ensemble. Lyon, he continues, is simply a faithful illustration of Honorius's texts, while Bourges, as before, is a commentary on it. Lyon, like Bourges, was often utilized by the northern armies as their base in the Midi before moving west.¹²⁵ Accordingly, it too would probably

have had an interest in portraying orthodoxy in its iconography.

I must make it clear that I have found no documentary evidence that draws links between the iconography found in St. Étienne and either the Albigensian Crusade or the ties to the French kings. It is therefore conceivable that any one attempt to prove my theory, namely that the cathedral designers intentionally incorporated these themes in their building, could be looked at with skepticism. However, all the examples discussed above portray imagery that could have been in response to the tensions felt in the area at this time concerning loyalty to Capetian hegemony and to Catholic orthodoxy. The iconography was designed during the very time that the French and English kings were disputing the east and southeast of France. More importantly, it was designed during the height of the Albigensian crisis in the Midi. The edifice itself is built in the gothic style of the Ile-de-France, and its iconography reflects Catholic dogma. Portraying such tenets of the faith is, of course, a trait of any medieval cathedral. Yet I believe I have shown some examples within the programme specific to Bourges. Traditional stories are told in ways that envision an intellectual commentary, and specific images emphasize the sacraments of Catholicism. It is perhaps impossible to say if these illustrations were meant as preaching aids, but there seems no other reason for their doctrinal emphasis unless they were in response to challenges to that doctrine. The archbishops of Bourges had long supported the crusades against heresy in their archdiocese. Their preaching motivated a number of *Berrieurs* to take the cross against the Cathars. The bishops surely had an influence on the iconography, so it is not at all surprising that they included references to the philosophical war they were currently waging. The laity's participation shows that they fully backed their ecclesiastical lord. Therefore, they were probably not blind to many of the moral and allegorical messages found within the literal images of their cathedral.

Berry and The Fifth Crusade

It is worth noting that although Innocent withdrew the full indulgence from the Albigensian Crusade in 1213, participants from Berry continued their activities in the Midi. Innocent had done this to draw attention back to Outremer so he could launch

the Fifth Crusade. At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 he declared his policy of social reform which included, and would benefit, the launching of the crusade. Innocent himself, not unlike his predecessor Urban II, seemed to have brought together a set of expectations and ideals which altered the idea of crusade early in this century. Intimately entwined with preparation for the trek to Jerusalem was the call for church and social reform, since the council was convened for

...the extirpation of vices and the implanting of virtues,
for correcting excesses and reforming customs,
eliminating heresies and strengthening faith, for quieting
discords and establishing peace, for restraining
oppressions and favoring liberty, for inducing Christian
princes and peoples to aid and support the Holy
Land.¹²⁶

No doubt this policy would have included a lively preoccupation in suppressing heresies and extending papal control into the Languedoc. Innocent had passed away, however, long before he heard that his legate, Pelagius, had overplayed his hand and lost the advantages gained with the capture of that city.¹²⁷ Pelagius had been playing for time to allow the crusading armies of the Emperor, Frederick II, to arrive in Egypt--forces which came much too late. This was the first crusade which did not include a large contingent, if not a majority, of French nobles, and this is quite likely due to the Albigensian struggles in their homelands. Nevertheless a few more men from Berry who participated in the Fifth Crusade are mentioned in the records at about the same time as King Philip gained greater control over his realm after his victory at Bouvines in 1214. The Archbishop of Bourges, Girard de Cros, was the host of a church council held the following year to discuss limiting participation to those who would be physically and financially fit enough for such an arduous undertaking.¹²⁸ James Powell states that the papal legate, Robert Courçon, had travelled throughout France from the autumn of 1213 trying to muster support for Innocent's second crusade to the Levant.¹²⁹ Robert traveled from Montpellier in the south to Flanders and the English Channel. In May of 1215 he summoned a council in Bourges to discuss these plans, but he met with stiff opposition from the French prelates who did not appreciate his zealous interference. In fact, Bourges hosted the only assembly that Robert was allowed to convene concerned with this issue.¹³⁰

The "Gesta Philippi Augusti" by William the Breton and the continuation of the "Chronicum Sti. Mariani Autissiodorensis (Auxerre)"¹³¹ refer to the problem that those incapable of fighting were taking the cross and trying to join the armies. The Chronicle of St. Martin of Auxerre presents these motives for Robert's convoking the conference: "cum jam fere per biennium ob negotium crucis Franciam peragrasset, et propter temeritatem suam omnibus se fecisset exosum, tandem concilium apud Bituricas convocavit." William the Breton points out that the conflict arose because Robert was giving the cross to the very young and old, wives, the lame, blind and deaf, or lepers who wanted to participate on the crusade. The chronicle states that the barons were not pleased by this indiscriminate policy and the legate had to appeal to the pope.¹³² The issue was brought up again at the following council in Rome, most likely referring to the Fourth Lateran held in November of that year.¹³³ Nothing more than a stalemate on this question in Bourges is implied in these accounts. As noted in the previous chapter, Étienne Delaruelle argues that the crusade grew more aristocratic, to the exclusion of its "pilgrimage" nature, throughout the twelfth century. Yet only here in the early thirteenth century do we first find a concerted effort in central France to control those who could go. The ideas of crusade and of pilgrimage may have been diverging, perhaps it may have indeed become more aristocratic; but not until the thirteenth century, and even then quite slowly did it crystalize in this manner. The Council of Bourges in 1215, whether held to its completion or not, was one of the many small steps on that path.

Girard also received a letter from Innocent dated 30 January 1216, the year of the pope's death, in which the pope wanted Girard to gather forces to fight the rebellious barons of King John, "qui crucis assumpto caractere."¹³⁴ He encourages the archbishop to muster "principes, milites et barones per vestras dioceses." They are to be sent to England to stop the aristocracy who are obstructing those who wish to undertake the work for the holy land ("negotium terra sancte"). The taking of the cross *per se* is not mentioned for this campaigning, yet Innocent does state that, for his part, remission of the sins of the participants will be included: "ac inducere procuretis, ipsis ex parte nostra in remissionem peccaminum iniungentes..." Not much came of this petition, yet it suggests the willingness with which Innocent

interfered in national affairs to further the goals of the Church and of the crusade. Pertaining to the office of the archbishop of Bourges, it suggests the intimacy between it and the papal *curia*, and the commitment to the crusading ideal shown by its occupants.

Some of the nobility of central France also began again to participate in campaigns to the Holy Land. The Count of Sancerre, William II, had no better luck than his ancestors. He did not return from Egypt, although the circumstances of his death are not recorded.¹³⁵ Hervé of Vierzon, the son and successor of William who fought in the Midi, also was killed in Egypt.¹³⁶ It is worth commenting on how the *Chronicon Virzonensis* describes his expedition: "Herveus qui Hierosolymam adiit cum Simone de Montfort anno MCCXXI." First, Simon the Elder (the leader of the Albigensian Crusade) died while trying to capture Toulouse in 1218, and the younger Simon was not yet of an age to go on crusade. Also, the pilgrimage never in fact reached the Latin East. Hervé of Nevers was in Berry before his departure, where he probably mustered an army.¹³⁷ Although the source which discusses this mentions his being at the capture of Damietta, it does not mention the crusade as the subject of his visit to Berry.¹³⁸ Another possible participant was Radulfus of Bengeiacum,¹³⁹ who probably came from Bengy-sur-Craon, the town whose *chateau* was attacked by Archbishop Aimon's Peace League in the early eleventh century.

Another type of evidence, however, may be used to suggest that the number of crusaders from central France at this time was indeed considerable. Coin hoards unearthed in the Levant have been traced back to mints in Déols, Celles-sur-Cher and Vierzon.¹⁴⁰ There were certainly local mints at these cites, but the coins they were striking were being replaced by the *Livres parisi* at about this time, which may explain why so many were taken to the Levant.¹⁴¹ The difficulty lies in the fact that these coins are "immobilized," meaning that they are dated no more specifically than to the rule of the local lord. Nevertheless, A.M. Stahl argues the ones pertaining to Berry were minted between 1190-1220.¹⁴² The Fifth Crusade would seem the most obvious excursion to have brought this specie to the Holy Land, as other evidence points to a reduced number of *Berrieurs* participating before ca.1215. Still, it is quite difficult to infer the number of crusaders by the number or size of the findings. Guy

Devailly does argue that many left Berry about this time. This was perhaps due to the freedom and stability offered to the region after the Treaty of Goulet, or perhaps as a reaction against growing Capetian interference.¹⁴³ Nonetheless, a few crusaders might have carried large amounts of local coinage with them, thus distorting the demographic picture.

If there was a noticeable reduction in the support offered by the men of central France to the Fourth and Fifth Crusades, then the answer must surely be found on the home front where the threat of the Albigensian heresy took centre stage. The bishops obviously had an interest in this struggle, and their preaching and recruiting energies largely focussed on this issue. By the middle of the century however, although the heresy was not yet obliterated,¹⁴⁴ Rome had been able to redirect much of the resources of Latin Europe back to the Levant. This policy was greatly assisted by Louis IX who took the vow of a crusader in December of 1244.¹⁴⁵

Berry's Contributions To, and Rewards From, Louis IX's First Crusade

If any of the motivation for the participants of the Fifth Crusade from Berry came from their desire to escape increasing encroachment by Philip Augustus, then this certainly does not apply to the expeditions of his grandson. The crusades led by Louis IX were perhaps the period of closest co-operation between the royal house and central France. Louis came from families of crusaders on both sides,¹⁴⁶ and his involvement could not have been a great surprise, even if his mother, Blanche of Castille, was upset about his plans. Both the laity and the clergy of central France continued to offer their services to their king, and they were rewarded with relics acquired during their journey. Despite Louis's initiative, however, it was not until the first Council of Lyon in 1245 that the logistics for the crusade were set out. Innocent IV promulgated *Afflici Corde* and sent legates and preachers throughout Europe.¹⁴⁷ The council also attempted to establish peace in Europe and to solve a recurring problem that threatened the participants since 1096: financial security. It attempted to establish, or in some cases re-establish, taxes on clergy or collection of vow redemptions.¹⁴⁸

One of the men who had a great impact on both of Louis's crusades was Eudes

of Châteauroux. Eudes's crusading career is quite useful for historians because it can be traced from his youth to his preparation and association on the crusade, and his return to France from the east. He was not a nobleman and was probably born at Neuvy. His career began in southwestern Berry and moved him to Paris and then to the Orient. His first known post was as abbot of Déols. From there he became a canon, then the chancellor, of Notre Dame de Paris.¹⁴⁹ While chancellor, he presided over a council there after the one in Lyon which included the Archbishop of Bourges, Philip Berruyer. Both men had been, in fact, *scholæ Parisi*.¹⁵⁰ Keeping with the thirteenth century tradition of his office, Philip took the cross with Louis, yet pressing administrative problems in his diocese meant he could not make the trip.¹⁵¹ It was in his latter role as chancellor that Eudes consecrated the Sainte Chapelle for the housing of the relic of the crown of thorns which Louis had bought from the Latin Emperor of Constantinople in 1134. Before the general passage, he was managing the crusading taxes brought in from England and the northeastern areas of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as of France itself.¹⁵² It is not surprising, considering his relationship with the Capetian king, that Eudes became the papal legate in France with the express task of assisting the preparations for the crusade.¹⁵³ There are a number of narrative sources which refer to his preaching to prelates, barons, chevaliers and, less often, the general public.¹⁵⁴

Many throughout France were willing to join Louis's expedition, and their origins show that even in the mid-thirteenth century, the popular model of pilgrimage had not been wholly replaced by an aristocratic crusade.¹⁵⁵ William II, the lord of Vierzon, prepared for his departure by making personal and financial arrangements with the abbey of St. Pierre de Vierzon. In the end, however, circumstances apparently relating to his health precluded his participation.¹⁵⁶ The abbot of Vierzon himself, Evrard, did join the entourage--as did the *chevaliers* Eudes de Maneuil, Stephen Aguillon and Herbert de la Châtre.¹⁵⁷ William's son, Hervé II, also went, perhaps to fulfill his father's vow. He arranged a will which would give money to the Templar foundation in his hometown in the event of his death.¹⁵⁸ He was, in fact, killed in Tunis during Louis's second campaign.¹⁵⁹ William II de Chauvigny, the grandson of André who fought in the crusade of the king's grandfather, Philip II,

had given his barony to Louis in 1240. He went with the company of his namesake, William, *seigneur* of Mornay-sur-Allier in the far southeast of Berry, and Roger de Brosse of Boussac and Ste. Sévère on the border between Berry and the Limousin.¹⁶⁰ William's loyalty extended to both of the king's crusades, for he died in Palermo in January 1270 while making his way to the rendez-vous with the royal armies of the king's second crusade.¹⁶¹ Also, Archambaud IX, Count of Bourbon and ancestor of Archambaud VI who accompanied Louis VII to the Levant, died in Cyprus upon his return from Louis IX's first crusade.¹⁶²

For contemporaries, perhaps the most famous, or infamous, crusader was Gautier, *seigneur* of St. Aignan and Châtillon-sur-Cher in northeastern Berry. He took the cross in 1248 with his uncle, Hugh de Châtillon, and he did so as the last direct male heir in his line.¹⁶³ Before his departure he tried to enlist the aid of he archbishops of Tours and Bourges to found a Cistercian monastery in St. Aignan, although no record of such a foundation has been noted by regional historians.¹⁶⁴ His support of local ecclesiastical foundations continued even after his arrival in Egypt, for he asked William de Chauvigny, the legate Eudes and Louis himself, to witness a gift he wanted to send to St. Amand-Montrond in the southeast.

As for his contributions to the crusade itself, he is often mentioned in Jean of Joinville's narrative, although the author's memory seems to fail him concerning Gautier's *vita*. Having captured Damietta, Louis's army prepared for a sortie to drive away a Saracen raiding party. "Gautier d'Autrèche" is introduced by Joinville as arming himself and attacking the guerrillas before the king's men were prepared.¹⁶⁵ Autrèche is an extremely small town just north of his holdings on the Cher River. He is said to have launched his foolhardy assault with the war cry of "Châtillon!" Before he reached the Muslims, however, he fell off his horse, allowing the enemy to wound him quite badly before he could be brought back to camp. Joinville claims to have seen him dead that night. He also reports that Louis "would not care to have had a thousand men like Gautier, for they would want to go against his orders as this knight had done." Yet when the army moved into the town of Mansourah, Joinville recalls that he was in the king's audience when he received the request that "the lord of Châtillon" wanted the responsibility of covering the rear of the army. "The king

consented very willingly, and then rode on."¹⁶⁶ In the ensuing battles Gautier is mentioned by name as having a troop "containing a full complement of gallant men, all noted for their knightly deeds."¹⁶⁷ Joinville does not list him among the prisoners or the dead after their defeat in the town, but historians are confident that he met his death in Mansourah.¹⁶⁸ The obvious discrepancy concerning Gautier's death could be explained by the fact that Jean was an octogenarian at the time of his writing around 1309.

Let us now return to Eudes of Châteauroux's own contributions on the crusade. Having assisted in recruitment, he himself departed with Louis and remained in his company throughout the voyage. The Mongol army was a potent new variable in the Levant. The Latin war leaders, both royal and ecclesiastical, often wavered on how best to deal with the invaders because they would just as often attack Christian cities in Hungary and Bulgaria as those in Moslem-held regions of the eastern Mediterranean coast.¹⁶⁹ In 1248-49, while Louis's army was in Cyprus on its way to the Nile delta, Eudes wrote to Pope Innocent IV concerning an embassy which might be sent to the khan. Envoys from the Mongol ruler were received in Kyrenia in November of 1248. Eudes helped arrange the return visit and gave letters to his ambassadors for the khan. While the Latins hoped to arrange trade and military alliances, the Mongols instead demanded tribute from the king to keep them from attacking his forces.¹⁷⁰ Although further embassies were sent into the early 1250's, Louis would not allow his crusading enterprise to be sidetracked by this issue.¹⁷¹

In 1249, Eudes was with the army when they captured Damietta, just as the participants of the Fifth Crusade had done. They overstretched their resources and were trapped between the violent vagaries of the Nile and the Muslim army, just as was the Fifth Crusade.¹⁷² Louis himself was captured during the retreat back to Damietta when Mansourah was lost after the rash attack which was mentioned above. After his release in the spring of 1250, Louis continued his pilgrimage by going to Acre, although many of his fellow crusaders returned to France.¹⁷³ Eudes stayed by his king, and he, like Bernard of Clairvaux a century earlier, was forced by events to become an apologist for a crusade which had looked so sure of victory upon its departure.

Two of his sermons develop the theme of God's testing His faithful with defeat and of His using what seems a setback to Christianity for a greater good.¹⁷⁴ In the more developed of the two homilies, Eudes compares recent events to the misfortunes which befell Kings Saul and David in the Old Testament.¹⁷⁵ In a more direct manner, he parallels the crusaders to the people of Israel: "*Considera ergo Israël, id est, vos Christiani, super hiis qui mortui sunt.*" In fact, when speaking about their enemies, he also uses similar vocabulary to that used two centuries earlier to describe those who had broken the Church's peace in France: "...Sarraceni regem et omnes alios pugnatores..."¹⁷⁶ Eudes used these sermons both to defend the crusading ideal itself as a penitential test of the faithful, and to encourage the Christians to rise up to the challenge and reverse their setbacks. He was, as we have noted, abbot at Déols, which had a strong crusading tradition and which suffered at the hands of Archbishop Aimon in the eleventh century Battle of Cher. Was he referring to these events? Certainly not consciously. The record of this battle at Châteauroux was transcribed in the north of Berry, so perhaps he would not even have seen the *Miracula Sti. Benedicti*. Nonetheless, I would argue that this is another, albeit meager, example of the continuity in the crusading culture found in central France throughout the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Apologists, at least in the evidence considered here, tended to use similar terms to describe both the enemies and the soldiers of Christ, no matter what the conflicts were. An enemy of the Church was labeled with similar defamatory remarks, whether he was a *routier*, a Cathar or a Moslem.

Eudes's own contributions were not limited to encouraging the troops, however. He was a member of the king's council in Damietta,¹⁷⁷ and he celebrated a number of masses for the king while in the Holy Land.¹⁷⁸ It seems that Eudes was respected for his discretion because he was given the responsibility of informing Louis of his mother's death.¹⁷⁹ Her passing made Louis return from his pilgrimage sooner than he perhaps intended. It is quite probable that Eudes stayed behind in Acre when Louis embarked for France,¹⁸⁰ but when he did return to France, he was bearing two passion relics as gifts for Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre. These relics complemented the iconographic links between Neuvy and the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. The inventory included stones from the grotto of the original Anastasis and a few drops

of blood from Jesus himself.¹⁸¹ With the stones taken from Jerusalem, a second grotto was built in Neuvy which survived until 1806. It included the inscription "Hic sunt reliquie. de Sepulchro Domini. et. de. loco. Calvarie."¹⁸²

These were not the only relics pertaining to the passion which were brought back to Berry. Louis himself donated a splinter of the true cross to a church at Orval, near St. Amand-Montrond in the southeast on the River Cher. The relic is housed in a gold crucifix with fleurs-de-lys on each end. Included with the rood is a stone which, if placed in water, dissolves into a milky liquid. This was taken as a representation of the milk of the virgin, nourishing humanity just like the image in the Apocalypse window in the cathedral.¹⁸³ The cross probably served as a gift both to the number of *Berrieurs* who accompanied the king and to Henri II de Sully in particular, who was the lord of the town.¹⁸⁴ Henri's father had gone on crusade against the Albigensians after the Council of Bourges in 1225, and we have seen that a number of archbishops of the city also came from the family. Henri's son continued this tradition, as we shall see. It is also possible that Gautier de Châtillon, who gave gifts to St. Amand during the crusade, had some influence in Louis's patronage, but I have found no reference to such a connection.

With these relics, the presence of Jerusalem comes full circle, so to speak, in the culture of Le Berry. The church in Neuvy was built by noble pilgrims as a model of their goal in Jerusalem, and it also served as an iconographical link to the Holy Land before the crusade of 1095 was launched. Now the church received specific relics related to the passion of the Lord and his entombment because of the influence the crusades had on the home front. The cross at Orval also recalls the sufferings of Christ, sufferings which Eudes de Châteauroux asked the crusaders themselves to endure.¹⁸⁵ This latter artifact also, like the cathedral, shows the growing affinity between Paris and Berry because Louis IX wanted to reward the people of central France for their contributions to his *iter* of 1248-51.

The 'Pastoraux'

News of Louis's struggles in the Nile Delta and his eventual incarceration stirred great pity among his subjects, and a group of shepherds and itinerant peasants

and artisans mobilized from Brabant and Flanders to go to his aid.¹⁸⁶ Their crusade came to a violent end in Bourges. The queen-mother, Blanche of Castille, welcomed them to Paris, thinking that they could indeed assist Louis.¹⁸⁷ In Paris they began to incite anti-clerical riots, perhaps because their leader, the Master of Hungary, was probably a lapsed cleric himself.¹⁸⁸ Having left Paris, they separated into two or three divisions--one of which went to Bourges. They were allowed into the city sometime in the middle of June, despite the protests of Archbishop Philip Berruyer.¹⁸⁹

In Bourges the *Pastoraux* found few clergy because the latter had heard of the attacks committed in Paris and had fled.¹⁹⁰ The mob's anger turned toward the indigenous population and, according to some sources, especially against the Jews, who seem to have been quite numerous in the city. I have not pursued Christian-Jewish relations in Berry far at all. It is, I believe, significant that the riots were started by an outside group, as this implies there was not an indigenous anti-Jewish sentiment. Raynal discusses the Jews' economic presence in the city and the fact that both Bourges and Vierzon had Jewish quarters. The "Rue des Juifs" still exists in the former city.¹⁹¹ The *Chroniques de France* mentions nothing about the Jews, although William de Nangiac's "Gesta Sti. Ludovici" and "Chronicon" both refer to their being attacked; as do the chronicles of John de Columna and St. Laud of Rouen.¹⁹² It is probable that the Master was killed in the ensuing riots,¹⁹³ and although this greatly weakened the movement, it still carried on toward the seaports in the south. The royal bailiff of Bourges sent messengers ahead of the surviving throng to Marseilles and Burgundy, and the *Pastoraux* seem to have dispersed rather more peaceably after their shepherd was killed.¹⁹⁴

They were seen by contemporaries as crusaders, which may explain why the people would have allowed them to enter their city. William de Nangiac's "Chronicon" and "Gesta," offer fairly developed accounts of their activities before and during their visit with the queen.¹⁹⁵ He calls them "cruce signato pastorellum" and praises their earlier behavior, despite condemning the later excesses. If, as Dickson suggests,¹⁹⁶ these peasant-crusaders hoped to avenge Louis's defeat in Egypt, and, as seems evident from the sources presented here, Blanche saw no reason to be hostile

to their mission, then the people of Bourges might also have felt keen to continue its support for this movement and for their imprisoned king. It is also worth noting that this was the last violent upheaval the area would suffer until the Hundred Years War.

Louis's Second Crusade

King Louis would not allow the grave setbacks he had suffered on his campaign of 1248 to deter him from his goal to free Jerusalem. He planned a second campaign in the late 1260's; a campaign which would hasten his death.¹⁹⁷ Less is known about this crusade, in part because contemporary writers probably did not want to draw undue attention to its failure.¹⁹⁸ Nonetheless, the records that are available make it clear that some *Berrieurs* joined their king on this expedition of 1269. A list of crusaders compiled for Louis's second crusade includes "Monsieur Guillaume de Fresnes," with ten "chevaliers." William was also responsible for the hostel of the king. The muster does not, unfortunately, state if he was a Templar from their foundation in Fresne. Archbishop Jean de Sully (1262-71) also took the cross and so did John de Chaumes.¹⁹⁹ It is important to realize that contemporaries still called it a pilgrimage, even though the army landed in Tunis, the farthest any army had landed from Jerusalem on an expedition specifically "for the recuperation of the Holy Land."²⁰⁰ Eudes of Châteauroux again preached to recruit members. Unlike his king, however, Eudes returned to Orvieto, Italy, where he died in February 1273.²⁰¹

It seems that with Louis IX's death died much of the general backing for the crusades. While many armed pilgrimages were still proclaimed and undertaken after 1270, none enjoyed the broad support of those earlier in the thirteenth century. No French king would again leave France for such an undertaking. Political and economic changes made crusading more an aristocratic activity or missionary exercise than a popular, military endeavor.²⁰² The second Council of Lyon in 1274 seems to be something of a watershed in this transition.²⁰³ In less than twenty years after this council, Acre, the last Latin stronghold in the Levant, was lost. There is nothing in the documentary records of central France that suggests *Berrieurs* became crusaders specifically in response to this crisis. In fact, Louis IX's first crusade to Egypt seems to have been the last one that motivated a significant number of people from the

region.

Conclusions Concerning Berry's Crusading Culture and How That Culture Changed in Subsequent Generations

In central France, we have seen how pilgrimage was a means of expressing one's spirituality through worldly action. The church of Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre was built specifically to commemorate this aspect of lay piety. The aristocracy also developed strong familial links with other local monastic and ecclesiastic foundations which would help promulgate the ideas of crusading into the twelfth century. These attempts to make one's spiritual life meaningful and its expression tangible manifested themselves in many other ways, and the crusade was just one, albeit the most dynamic and visible, means of doing so. Berry France supported crusades at all social levels and in both the Holy Land and the Midi. These expeditions had a profound effect on the home front as well. The cathedral of Bourges presented images of Catholic piety, and some churches under its jurisdiction, like Neuvy or Orval, augmented their relic inventories thanks to the gifts of returning crusaders. Eudes Arpin and Jean d'Alis even became enshrined in the poetic crusading "mythhistories"²⁰⁴ of the twelfth century. This legend of Arpin was resurrected in a later fourteenth century romance entitled *Lion de Bourges*. While the crusade cycle of the twelfth century stayed fairly true to historical fact, this later romance knew no such constraints. Arpin and his wife, named Alis instead of Mahaut, have a son, Lion, to inherit the *vicomté*. Although fighting in the Holy Land makes up only a percentage of this later work, it does show that ideas pertaining to the crusade were still vital to central France's literary culture. A few of the true aspects of Eudes Arpin's life still remained like his loyalty to the king and his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Still, the audiences of the fourteenth century obviously expected something different in their entertainment from their later-twelfth century counterparts. Almost every theme found in the *chansons de geste*, early romances and Arthurian cycle can be found in this one work, and it deserves more thorough treatment than I can give it here.²⁰⁵

In the thirteenth century, the influences of the crusades to the Midi were especially visible in the culture because Bourges was the linchpin between the north

and south. This loyalty to both Roman and Capetian hegemonies found sublime expression in St. Étienne, which was being rebuilt at the height of the anti-Cathar struggles. The traditions of a number of families in Berry encouraged their members to embark on the Albigensian crusades. We have seen numerous examples of how each of these families had its own crusading legacy, and how many felt that crusades against heretics were just as necessary as those against Muslims. The common links seem to be that both were against enemies prescribed by Rome, that Rome offered similar spiritual benefits for wars against each, and that the vocabulary used to describe both types of crusade is the same.

And yet, toward the end of the thirteenth century fewer people in Berry seemed eager to go on one of these expeditions. This change seems largely due to the fact that many of the older aristocratic families began to die out. As they did, they were often replaced by ones established by the king in Paris.²⁰⁶ As these more established families died out, so too did their particular links to local churches and their own crusading traditions. The new families brought in with royal sponsorship had links to the king's court, and their traditions focussed instead on proto-national policies. Bourges was still a site for royal and ecclesiastical councils, for in 1280 Philip III was there to discuss a conflict with King Peter of Aragon. The vocabulary of the crusade is not evident in the chronicles, however.²⁰⁷ Was this a conscious displacement of ideas by the Capetians and later the Valois? Most probably not because, for example, Philip IV took the cross in 1313, although he never departed.²⁰⁸ Berry enjoyed a period of great prosperity which lasted about a century and a half after the *pastoraux* left, and this was certainly a period of heightened royal intervention in the region. The latter decades of this affluence was overseen by Jean, third son of King Jean *Le Bon*, who became the Duke of Berry from 1360 to 1416.²⁰⁹ It was probably in his court that *Lion de Bourges* was written. One wonders if he had political motives for romanticizing the life of this last *vicomte* of Bourges--especially if giving him descendants helped legitimize Jean's own claim as duke. He turned the region into one of the great artistic centres of the early French Renaissance, sponsoring such works as *Les Tres Riches Heures* by the Limbourg Brothers and the diamondesque rose window, which has adorned the cathedral façade

since the early fifteenth century.²¹⁰

Yet the shift of interest from Christendom and the crusade to the emerging nation-state of France had begun long before. If a reason can be proposed as to why the people of central France no longer supported the crusades, it is because they had replaced this service with political duties which kept their attentions closer to home.²¹¹ A new nobility was replacing the old, and with it came new policies. When Jacques Coeur endowed a chapel dedicated to St. Ursin in the cathedral in 1450, he placed the fleur-dy-lys in the centre of the tracery of its window.²¹² Jacques, despite the circumstances of his death in Outremer, was himself both a product and a producer of this new culture.

Notes for Chapter 4

1. Ladner, G.B. "The Life of the Mind in the Christian West Around the Year 1200," *The Year 1200: A Symposium*. (J. Hoffeld, ed.) (New York Metropolitan Museum: 1975) p.1.
2. Alphan  ry, vol.2, p.41.
3. *Ibid.*, p.42 argues quite differently: "Jusqu'  son av nement au tr ne pontifical, rien dans les oeuvres d'Innocent III qui sugg re une pens e de la Croisade. Mais les circonstances imposent."
4. Riley-Smith, pp.140-41.
5. *Ibid.*, p.119. Contrast this with Mayer, p.196.
6. Cole, P.J. *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*. (Cambridge, Mass.: 1991) pp.80-82.
7. Geoffroy Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople" in *Chronicles of the Crusades*. (M.R.B. Shaw, trans.) (Harmondsworth, England: 1963) p.29. Hereafter cited as "Villehardouin". For fuller studies of Fulk and his preaching, see especially Alphan  ry, vol.2, pp.45ff and Cole, pp.87-91.
8. Villehardouin, pp.29-30. See also Riley-Smith, p.123.
9. Godfrey, J. *1204--The Unholy Crusade*. (Oxford Univ.: 1980) pp.42-45; See also the map on p.41. The Cistercians would neither preach nor pay tax for the crusade until they came to terms over their share of the tax with Innocent in the summer of 1201. See Godfrey, pp.37-38 & 54; and Siberry, *Criticism*, p.111.
10. Godfrey, p.36.
11. Riley-Smith, pp.147-48.
12. For the controversy over the relics of Dionysus, see Setton, "Fourth Crusade," pp.48-49 and the *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, pp.132-33; for the rest of the inventory see Godfrey, pp.149-54 and Riant, P.E.D. (Comte de) "Inventaire-Sommaire des D pouilles Religieuses de Constantinople Envoy es en Occident (1204-1261)," *Memoires de la Soci t  des Antiquaires de France*. 4e ser. (6: 1875) pp.1-214.
13. Villehardouin, pp.125-26.
14. *Les Compagnons de Villehardouin*. (Geneva: 1987) p.88.
15. *RHGF*. vol.18, p.247.
16. Herv  II was the seigneur (1197-1219 or 1221). *Thaumas de la Thaumassiere*, vol.2, p.198.
17. *Ibid.*, pp.252-53 dates his departure to December 1212, while Raynal (vol.2, p.222) states it was in 1216.
18. Riant, pp.178-211.
19. Cole, pp.98-100. As recently as 1202 the king had to send a force to Ch teauvieux against Andr  de Chauvigny who, with the seigneur of Bourbon, were fomenting a revolt on behalf of the Plantagenets. See Devailly, "Comment les Capetiens," p.23 and Fawtier, p.157.

20. Housley, N. "Crusades Against Christians: Their Origins & Early Development ca.1000-1216," *Crusade & Settlement*. (P. Edbury, ed.) (University College, Cardiff: 1985) pp.18-20.
21. Belperron, P. *La Croisade Contre Les Albigeois & L'Union du Languedoc a La France (1209-1249)*. (Paris: 1946) pp.63-64.
22. Belperron, pp.66-68.
23. Hamilton, B. "The Albigensian Crusade," *Historical Association Pamphlet G.85* (London: 1974) pp.3-10 presents a fuller treatment of this and what follows in the text.
24. Sumption, J. *The Albigensian Crusade*. (London: 1978) pp.50-51. There is a translated text of the rite in Strayer, J.R. *The Albigensian Crusade*. (New York: 1971) pp.178-82.
25. I am referring to the directive claimed to have been given by the papal legate, Arnald-Amaury, during the capture of Béziers in 1208: "Kill them all; God will recognize His own." See Sumption, p.93 and Strayer, p.62.
26. Sumption, p.44 and Strayer, p.41. Belperron, pp.121-22, dates his journey to 1147.
27. Fawtier, pp.19-20. The second was in Tours. I have not found any reference as to whether the Archbishop of Bourges, Pierre de la Châtre, was at the gathering in the neighboring cathedral.
28. Belperron, p.123.
29. Riley-Smith, p.135.
30. Belperron, p.124.
31. "The Albigensian Crusade," p.17.
32. Vicaire, M.-H. "«L'Affaire de Paix & de Foi» Du Midi de la France (1203-1215)," *Paix de Dieu & Guerre Sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe Siècle*. (É. Privat, ed.) (Toulouse: 1969) pp.106-09.
33. Vicaire, p.77.
34. Devailly, *Le Diocese de Bourges*, p.38.
35. Devailly, *Histoire du Berry*, p.96.
36. Branner, p.10.
37. See Thaumais de la Thaumassière, vol.1, pp.66-69 and Branner, p.211, n.39, which shows a family tree from the marriage of William de Champagne and Agnes de Sully to the death of Guy, the last Archbishop of Bourges to have come from the family (d.1281).
38. Hallam, p.130 and Devailly, *Le Berry*, pp.513-14.
39. Chénon, E. "L'Hérésie a La Charité-sur-Loire & les Débuts de l'Inquisition Monastique," *Nouvelle Revue Historique & Droit Français & Étranger*. (1917) pp.20-23. See also RHGF. vol.19, p.426 for the letter, including: "...in causa quorundam burgensium de Charitate, qui de crimine hæresos fuerant accusati...examinatione præmissa, post confessiones eorum, tu, frater archiepiscopo [Guillaume], catholicos judicasti, sicut in prædictis literis continetur expressum,

pro suis injungatis delictis poenitentiam competentem..."

40. "Vita Sancti Gulielmi Archiepiscopi Bituricensis, Miracula Post Mortem & Canonizatio," *Analecta Bollandiana*. (3: 1884) pp.271-361. The *Acta Sanctorum* (tom.1, January) contains two other vitæ (pp.636-69 and p.639 respectively). Both are somewhat shorter and offer no significantly different information concerning the Albigensian Crusade. In fact the shortest of the three does not mention it at all. All subsequent excerpts will be from the "Vita Sti. Gulielmi"; here, p.277: "Periculosius discrimen schismatis, quod jam quasi in januis erat, prævidens imminere, et in tam gravi perplexitate animi constitutus distulit usque in sequentem diem totius negotii processum..."

41. "Vita Sti. Gulielmi," pp.292 and 302.

42. p.305: "Contigit manque eo tempore quod Ecclesia Dei, cujus supra dorsum fabricare non desinunt peccatores, in regione Aquitania in extremis regni finibus hæreticorum flagitiis et persecutionibus vehementer attrita langueret,...Obsederat muros Heirosalem princeps Babylonis cum exercitu magno, ut captivos traheret filios Israel in terram suam, de terra promissionis in manu forti potenter ejiciens. [and] ...satellites Satanæ."

43. p.307: "Quorum primus inter principes sacerdotum, beatissimus primas noster Willermus, quem defectio tenuit pro peccatoribus derelinquentibus legem Domini, inspectis sanctissimi patris apicibus nec sine amaritudine cordis fletuque largissimo lectis in pulico, zelo Phinees inflammatus exarsit."

44. Migne, J.P. (ed.) *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*. Series Latina, vol.215. (Paris: 1885). They are entries 156-158 & 230-231. The excerpt which follows in the text is 230, cols.1545-46.

45. *Ibid.*: "Quique crucis mortificationem jugiter in suo corpore pro Christi nominis honore portavit, pro defensione fidei contra inimicos crucis crucem bajulans, in anteriori parte vestimentis consuit exterius cujus jugis memoria non recessit interius."

46. *Ibid.*: "Erubescit, tanquam præveniente sua culpa contigerit quod qui diu iniquitate suppressa latuerant, nunc eandem palam sine metu et verecundia protestantur, per pastorum suorum fortassis incuriam palmites suos latius protendentes." I think Branner overemphasizes this when he states (p.10) "It was only under royal and papal insistence that he prepared, reluctantly, to join the Albigensian Crusade." Firstly, Philip Augustus's influence is noticeable only in its absence. Secondly, while the "Vita" does suggest he was unaware of the severity of the situation, there is nothing to imply that Guillaume was reluctant to press ahead after receiving word from the pope. Innocent himself had not stated any clear policy until the death of his legate, Peter, and the propagation of these letters.

47. "Vita Sti. Gulielmi," p.307.

48. Raynal, vol.2, p.163.

49. Vauchez, A. *La Sainteté en Occident Derniers Siècles du Moyen Age*. (Rome: 1981) pp.143-44. I would guess, judging by the balance of discussion in his vita, that his efforts in crusade recruitment were not the main reasons for his beatification.

50. See Chapters 51-74 in the "Vita Sti. Gulielmi."

51. Chamberlin, E.R. *Life in Medieval France*. (London: 1967) pp.116-18 and Méslié, p.67.

52. Boinet, A. *La Cathedral de Bourges*. (Paris: 1952) p.7.

53. Foreville, R. "Innocent III & la Croisade des Albigeois," *Paix de Dieu & Guerre Sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe Siècle*. (É. Privat, ed.) (Toulouse: 1969) pp.214-15. Peter II of Aragon, one of the victorious leaders at Las Navas de Tolosa, appealed to Innocent on behalf of his vassals in the Midi, and this was one of the reasons Innocent felt

justified in reconcentrating on the Levant. See Riley-Smith, p.137-38.

54. Foreville, pp.194-97.

55. RHGF. vol.19, p.78: "Ego R. <VI> Dei gratiâ Dux Narbonnæ, Comes Tolosæ et marchio Provinciæ, pro animæ meæ remedio et pro genitorum meorum, omnibus ecclesiis et domibus religiosis provinciarum...immunitatem secundum statuta canonum et plenissimam libertatem concedo...Præterea possessiones omnes et jura ecclesiarum, si qua injuste detineo, eis restituto plene jure."

56. Sumption, pp.88-103.

57. Histoire du Berry, vol.2, p.167.

58. RHGF. vol.18, p.247: "Anno MCCXIII Willelmus dominus Vierzionis profectus est contra Albigenses, qui obiit anno MCCXVI."

59. Histoire de Berry, vol.2, p.198.

60. "Innocent & la Croisade," p.204.

61. RHGF. vol.19, p.94. See also Dossat, Y. "La Croisade Vue Par les Chroniqueurs," Paix de Dieu & Guerre Sainte en Languedoc au XIIIe Siècle. (É. Privat, ed.) (Toulouse: 1969) pp.223-26.

62. Ibid., vol.17, p.107. See also Strayer, pp.101-02.

63. Thaumassière, vol.2, p.164.

64. Raynal, vol.2, p.166.

65. Belperron, pp.337-38.

66. Sumption, pp.204-05. It should be noted that forty days was the minimum time commitment set by the Church for the receiving of an indulgence. See Bruguère, M.-B. "Une Mythe Historique: «L'Impérialisme Capétien» Dans le Midi aux XIIe & XIIIe Siècles," Annales du Midi. (97: 1985) pp.245-67 which argues, perhaps too strongly, that the kings were more interested in the threats of the Plantagenets and the Holy Roman Emperors than in establishing their control in the south.

67. Raynal, vol.2, p.214 and Belperron, pp.361-62.

68. Devailly, Le Berry, p.365.

69. Branner, pp.56-61.

70. Histoire Generale de Languedoc. (Doms. C. Devic and J. Vaissete, eds.) (Toulouse: 1872-1904, repr. Osnabrück: 1973) vol.8, doc.242-CLX, cols.815-16. Belperron states (p.369) that there were 150 abbots. The document in the Histoire says "...abbates vero D et XX," but others I have consulted do not provide a specific figure.

71. The anonymous "Chronicon Turonensi" (Tours) presents a full account of this debate (RHGF. vol.18, p.390), as does Matthew Paris's "Majori Anglicana Historia" (RHGF. vol.17, pp.263-65). Belperron (p.369-70) gives a fuller secondary account than most. Kay, R. "An Eyewitness Account of the 1225 Council of Bourges," Studi Gratiana. (12: 1967) pp.63-79, only discusses the issue of an ecclesiastical tax deliberated there.

72. RHGF. vol.18, p.311: "...Ludovicus Rex Franciæ et legatus generale concilium Parisius celebrarunt, in quo idem legatus auctoritate domini Papæ, Raimundum Comitem Tolosanum et suos complices excommunicavit, et terram illius tanquam damnati hæretici Ludovico Regi Franciæ et hæredibus ejus in perpetuum confirmavit." It is worth noting that between the first council in Bourges and the one in Paris, this chronicle mentions Greek insurrections against their Latin rulers in Byzantium; fighting between the King of Gallicia and the Saracens; and the marriage of Emperor Frederick II to Yolande, daughter of the King of Jerusalem--keeping events in Bourges firmly placed in a crusading context. See *Histoire de Languedoc*, vol.8, doc.244-CLXII, cols.817-819, for the letter stating "noverit universitas vestra, quod cum dominus noster Ludovicus, rex Francorum illustris, ad hominorem Dei et fidei Christiane negotium Crucis assumpserit contra Albigenses hereticos et pravitatem hereticam expugnandam."
73. RHGF. vol.17, p.309 and *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, p.224. See also Siberry, "Counts of Nevers," p.67-68.
74. Raynal, vol.2, p.219 and Belperron, p.385.
75. *Thaumas de la Thaumassière*, vol.2, p.307.
76. Raynal, vol.2, p.219 and Belperron, p.372.
77. *Histoire de Languedoc*, col.817: "...ad honorem Dei et fidei Christiane negotium Crucis assumpserit contra Albigenses hereticos et pravitatem hereticam expugnandam...concessimus eisdem auctoritate Dei omnipotentis et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et nostra, indulgentiam quam habent cruce signati de terra Jerosolimitana, sicut etiam continetur in Lateranensi concilio."
78. col.817: "Item excommunicamus omnes illos, qui guerrearent vel invaderent regnum Francie, sive sint de regno sive sint de extra regnum..."
79. col.818: "Item excommunicamus omnes illos qui sunt de regno Francie, qui inter se guerram moverint, nisi treugam vel pacem facerent ad mandatum domini regis."
80. There is the philosophical question of whether Catharism was a heresy or itself a different religious tradition. Nonetheless, surviving evidence clearly shows that contemporaries viewed it as a Christian heresy.
81. *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, p.219.
82. Vermeesch, pp.43-44.
83. *Histoire de Languedoc*, vol.6, p.639.
84. *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova & Amplissima Collectio*. (Venice: 1779) vol.23, cols.519-20. See also "Chronicon Alberici, Monachi Trium Fontium," RHGF. vol.21, p.628. See n.97 in Dossat (below) for the source of the Mansi reference.
85. Dossat, Y. "Le Prétendu Concile de Bourges & l'Excommunication du Comte de Toulouse," *Bulletin Philologique & Historique du Comité des Travaux Historique & Scientifique*. (1960) pp.461-71.
86. Vauchez, *La Sainteté in Occident*, p.153 & n.10. Philip was also forwarded as a candidate for canonization, in 1265-66. Yet he was only beatified for his work in his diocese, and for his assistance in preparing Louis IX's first crusade. *Ibid.*, pp.211 & 318.
87. Méslé, p.69 and Belperron, pp.419-20.

88. Dossat, p.463.

89. *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* mentions crusaders from Berry only on two occasions. It does not mention any individuals, nor does it discuss the councils or armies gathered at Bourges. One of the most recent editions, in both Provençal and modern French, is Gougaud, H. *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* (Paris: 1989).

90. Branner, pp.101-02 and Quievreux, F. "Les Vitraux de XIIIe Siècle de l'Abside de la Cathédrale de Bourges," *Bulletin Monumental*. (101: 1942) pp.255-75. See Gauchery, R. and Branner, R. "La Cathédrale de Bourges aux XIe & XIIe Siècles," *Bulletin Monumental*. (111: 1953) pp.105-23 for what archaeology has uncovered concerning the earlier building. It also includes the embryo of Branner's argument (developed in *The Cathedral of Bourges*) concerning the movement of the two portals from the earlier west end to the north and south porches as they stand today.

91. The bibliography concerning St. Denis and early gothic is massive. See the Metropolitan Museum's (New York) *The Royal Abbey of St. Denis at the time of Abbot Suger (1122-51)*. (N.Y.: 1981), especially S. McKnight Crosby's article "Abbot Suger, The Abbey of St. Denis & the New Gothic Style," pp.13-23. Also, P. Kidson's "Panofsky, Suger & St. Denis," *JW&CI*. (50: 1987) pp.1-18, which attacks Panofsky's thesis that Suger was well-versed in pseudo-Dionysian light theology and designed the building to his specifications to reflect this.

92. Branner, pp.12-13. See his n.70 for aspects of the gothic used in the restoration or extension of other buildings, including Déols, in Berry. Also, one should remember that gothic buildings farther south, like the cathedral at Albi, were constructed after the Albigensian Crusade.

93. Branner, pp.2-6; but see Heliot, P. "La Famille Monumentale de la Cathédrale de Bourges & l'Architecture de Europe au Moyen Age," *Gedenkschrift Ernst Gall*. (M. Kuhn & L. Grodecki, eds.) (Munich & Berlin: 1965) pp.143-70.

94. Anderson, W. & Hicks, C. *The Rise of the Gothic*. (Salem, New Hampshire: 1985) pp.15-16 & 93. Branner, pp.8-9, points out that the archbishop became a vassal to the king.

95. Branner, p.12.

96. Monseigneur Lefebvre, Archbishop of Bourges, Gauchery, R. & Gauchery-Grodecki, C. *St. Étienne de Bourges*. (Paris: 1959) p.18 and Boinet, p.9.

97. Cahen, p.28.

98. Duby, *Au Temps des Cathedrales*, p.177.

99. Looking at the west front, the two left doors had to be rebuild in the sixteenth century after the north tower collapsed. Deshoulières, p.25.

100. Bayard, T. "Les Modifications du XIIIe aux Portals Ouest de la Cathédrale de Bourges," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. (34: 1975) cited in Ribault, J.Y. "Études Recents sur la Cathédrale de Bourges, C. d'A & d'H. du B. (47: 1976) pp.42-43. See also Branner, p.61. Photo 1, page xxx, shows the whole west front.

101. Joubert, F. "Le Jubé de Bourges, Remarques Sur le Style," *Bulletin Monumental*. (137: 1979) pp.363-64 argues that the second artist was from Paris. This does not, I think, diminish the impact of the tympanum within the culture of Berry.

102. Mâle, *Religious Art in France*, vol.2, pp.381-82, suggests it was done between the death of Louis IX (1270) and his canonization (1297).

103. Mâle, pp.378 & 380.

104. Ladner, p.10. He uses the term "classical" both in a sense of looking for perfection and in an art historical sense concerning the realistic portrayal of nature.
105. *Confessions*. R.S. Pine-Coffin, trans. (Harmondsworth, England: 1964) pp.214-16. It is Book 10, chapter eight.
106. Evans, *Art*, p.78.
107. I found Eco's *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* especially useful. See Chapters Five ("Symbol & Allegory") and Nine ("Theories of Art"). His binary semiotic model is challenged, however, by a tripartite system of Object, Representamen and Interpretant. See Ockerse, T. "De-Sign/Super-Sign," *Semiotica*. (52: 1985) pp.247-72.
108. Hahn, pp.71-72.
109. Grodecki, L. "Le 'Maitre du Samaritain' de la Cathédrale de Bourges," *The Year 1200: A Symposium*. (J. Hoffeld, ed.) (New York Metropolitan Museum: 1975) pp.339-40. While Mr. Grodecki has proven that the structure of the chevet was built at this time, contemporary documentation is not clear as to the extent of the glass installed.
110. Evans, *Art*, p.97.
111. Brown and Cothren.
112. The side portals betray much more polychrome than does the west front. Ribault, pp.41 & 43.
113. *Sumption*, p.50, for how this would have been such a virulent point of contention with the Cathars.
114. *Religious Art in France*, p.360.
115. *Ibid.*, pp.352-53. The symbols from the Book of the Apocalypse are dispersed throughout the window. For Matthew's version, see Chapter 24 of his gospel.
116. All the windows in the apse read bottom to top except the window of the Good Samaritan. This is a pun or rebus on Luke (Chapter 10; verse 30) which refers to the man "going down to Jerusalem from Jericho."
117. *Religious Art in France*, p.365.
118. Unlike Toulouse, Bourges did not found a university or even a cathedral school designed to train theologians to wage intellectual war against heretics. Louis XI did found a short-lived university in Bourges in 1463. *DHGE*. col.197.
119. The windows of the five radiating chapels portray the lives of various saints--the easternmost one being a fourteenth century reconstruction. They do not seem to present any specific references to Catholic doctrine although, like the cathedral itself, the cult of the saints was a canon not shared by the Cathars. See Quiévreux, pp.259-60 for a plan of the windows in the chevet. He believes that there were two master ateliers, although Louis Grodecki ("A Stained Glass Atelier of the XIIIth Century--A Study of Windows in the Cathedrals of Bourges, Chartres & Poitiers," *JW&CI*. (11: 1948) pp.87-111) argues more convincingly that there were three.
120. Miller, M. *Chartres Cathedral*. (Andover, Hampshire: 1980) pp.74-76.

121. These characteristics are given in most Christian bestiaries. For an early twelfth century French example, see *Le Bestiare de Philippe de Thaün*, (E. Walberg, ed.) (Lund, Sweden & Paris: 1900). Lines 25-392 pertain to the lion including "Sachiez Sainte Marie/Leüne signefie/E li leūncels Crist/Qui pur gent morz se fist;/Par treis jurz jut en tere/Pur noz anmes cunquere./Sulune humanité,/Nient sulun deïté,/Si cum Jonas fist/Ki el peissun se mist./Par le cri del leūn/La vertu Dé pernum/Par quei resuscitat/Crist enfer despuillat." Notice how Jonah and the whale are also referred to. The pelican is treated in lines 2323-2388, including, "Morz les laisse gisant./Puis repaire al tierz jur,/Morz les trove a dolur;/Dune en fait dol si fort/Quant ses oisels veit mort,/De sun bec fiert sun cors/Que li sans en ist fors./Li sans vait degutant/Surles oisels chaant;/Li sans at tel baillie/Par lui vienent a vie." An entertaining edition of a bestiary manuscript may be found in W.T. White's *The Book of Beasts* (Channel Islands: 1954 and 1984). His "introduction" at the end of the book discusses the genre and its developments from antiquity.
122. "A Stained Glass Atelier," pp.99-100.
123. Mâle, pp.42 & 46. Honorius seems to have been the first to link Old and New Testament typologies to popular zoological images.
124. *Ibid.*, p.147. See figs. 19-23 for examples at Lyon and 100-01 for Le Mans.
125. Strayer, pp.36-37 and Sumption, p.85.
126. Powell, J.M. *Anatomy of a Crusade--1213-1221*. (University of Pennsylvania: 1986) p.16. The letter is taken from Migne, vol.216, col.216.
127. Powell, pp.175-91.
128. Raynal, vol.2, p.166.
129. Powell, pp.40-41 for this and what follows. See also Delaruelle, "Paix de Dieu & Croisade," p.55.
130. Dickson, M. & Dickson, C. "Le Cardinal Robert de Courson, Sa Vie," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale & Littéraire du Moyen Age*. (9: 1934) pp.111-13.
131. *RHGF*. vol.17, pp.107-08 and n.'a'.
132. Dickson & Dickson, p.112.
133. *RHGF*. vol.17, pp.107-08: "...quem postea Romæ in generali concilio vehementissime reddidere confusum, adeo quod dominus Papa multiplices dicti cardinalis excessus a prælatis Franciæ sibi petiit relaxari."
134. Published in Cheney, C.R. and Semple, W.H. *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III Concerning England*. (London: 1953) pp.226-27. The editors point out that there are a series of letters missing from the papal register, and these quite probably were similar appeals sent to other prelates of France. Therefore, the conclusions in the text below are not meant to imply the diocese of Bourges was unique in addressing the problems in England.
135. Powell, p.225.
136. *RHGF*. vol.18, p.247. See notes 58 & 59 above, and the relevant text.
137. Powell, pp.115 and 117-18.

138. RHGF. vol.20, p.762: "MCCXXII Herveus Nivernensis comes, qui ante captionem Damiettiæ de partibus transmarinis redierat, venero occiditur, qui primo apud Castrum Aniani in Bituria tumultatus..."
139. Powell, p.257.
140. Stahl, A.M. "The Circulation of European Coinage in the Crusader States," *Two Worlds*. fig 2.
141. Lacour, "La Circulation des Monnaies Féodales en Bas-Berry," pp.26-35.
142. "European Coinage," p.90.
143. *Le Berry*, p.524. Stahl makes much more of the latter motivation than does Devailly himself, who states simply that much of it was due to "une piété at la fois naïve." Stahl (p.96) seems to make too much of the Capetian participation in the Albigensian Crusade at this time as well. As we have seen, their support was slow in coming, and this does not seem to be sufficient explanation in itself for the relative paucity of royal coins in the Levant at this time.
144. See Sumption, pp.236-43 and Belperron, pp.419-75. Only when the Inquisition established itself and the old aristocracy was eradicated, and with it the safe-houses of the *perfecti*, did the "church" collapse. See Barber, M. "Catharism & the Occitan Nobility: The Lordships of Cabaret, Minerve & Termes," *The Ideals & Practice of Medieval Knighthood*. (Offprint, publication forthcoming) pp.17-19.
145. Jordan, W.C. *Louis IX & the Challenge of the Crusade*. (Princeton Univ.: 1979) p.3. Louis did support the Church against the Albigensians, of course. His orthodox credentials were impeccable, and he benefitted politically as well as personally. Among other things, his ships now had direct access to the Mediterranean via Aigues-Mortes, the royal port built just west of the mouth of the Rhône River. See *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, pp.229-30 & pp.259-60; Strayer, J.R. "The Crusades of Louis IX," *History of the Crusades*. vol.2, pp.487-518, and Delaruelle, É. "St. Louis Devant les Cathares," *Septième Centenaire de la Mort de St. Louis--Actes des Colloques de Royaumont & de Paris* (1970). (Paris: 1976) pp.273-80.
146. Riley-Smith, p.157.
147. Cole, pp.164-65.
148. Siberry, *Criticism*, pp.135-38. See Jordan, pp.69-70 and 79ff, where he also refers to the primary sources available for an economic study of his crusades. In general, see also Cazel, F.A. Jr. "Financing the Crusades," *History of the Crusades*. vol.6, pp.98-115.
149. Richard, J. *St. Louis*. (Paris: 1983) p.192.
150. Vauchez, *La Sainteté*, p.464, n.47.
151. RHGF., vol.20, p.352: "Eodem anno infra octavias sancti Dionysii convocavit rex Francorum Ludovicus grande Parisius parlamentum, in quo prædictus legatus <Eudes> et plures regni Franciæ archiepiscopi, pontifices et abbates, barones quoque et comites affuere.... <including> Philippus bituricensis archiepiscopus." See also Jordan, p.69 and Raynal, vol.2, p.228.
152. RHGF. *ibid.*, p.166.
153. *Ibid.*, p.551: "Innocentius <IV> papa circum festum apostolorum Petri et Pauli apud Lugdunum concilium celebravit...Post illud autem concilium destinavit idem Papa Odonem de Castro Radulphi episcopum Tusculanum, sedis apostolicæ cardinalem, legatum in Franciam ut de ipso regno prælatos et barones atque populum su exhortatione ad crucis

Dominica signum recipiendum animaret..." See also *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, pp.285-86 and Raynal, vol.2, p.227.

154. *Ibid.*, pp.67 & 551; and vol.21, pp.74-75 & 165. The chronicle in vol.21, attributed to Baudoin of Flanders, refers to Eudes's preaching at St. Denis with the king in attendance and to his recruiting "Gauchiers de Chastillon," to whose career we shall return.

155. See Kedar, B.Z. "The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Towards the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade," *Studi Medievali*. (13: 1972) pp.267-79, for an idea of the types of people who hoped to join Louis in Acre. Kedar does not mention anyone from Berry in the list.

156. *Thaumas de la Thaumassière*, vol.2, p.200 and Devailly, *Le Berry*, p.526.

157. Raynal, vol.2, p.225.

158. *Toulgoët-Treanna*, vol.31, p.150.

159. Raynal, vol.2, p.225.

160. *Ibid.*, p.226.

161. *Thaumas de la Thaumassière*, vol.2, p.410.

162. *Ibid.*, vol.3, pp.222-24.

163. Raynal, vol.2, p.231 and *Thaumas de la Thaumassière*, vol.3, p.65. See also Siberry, "Counts of Nevers," p.69, for his family's crusading legacy.

164. Raynal, *ibid.* See Devailly's *Histoire du Berry*, p.524, for his support of abbeys in Tours and Fontmorigny. He also lists Gautier's patronage at St. Amand-Montrond mentioned below in the text.

165. "The Life of St. Louis" in *Chronicles of the Crusades*. (M.R.B. Shaw, trans.) (Harmondsworth, England: 1963) pp.208-09. Hereafter cited as "Joinville."

166. *Ibid.*, p.25. The Continuation of William of Tyre by Rothelin (*RHC Occ.* vol.2, 567) does not seem to make this confusion.

167. Joinville, pp.232, 238 & 241.

168. See n.165 above and Richard, *St. Louis*, p.227.

169. Jackson, P. "The Crusades Against the Mongols," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. (42: 1991) pp.2-18.

170. Richard, *St. Louis*, pp.493-94.

171. Richard, J. "La Politique Orientale de St. Louis. La Croisade de 1248," *Septième Centenaire de la Mort de St. Louis*, pp.201-03. See also Delaruelle, "L'Idée de Croisade Chez St. Louis," p.199.

172. Joinville, pp.206-239. The chronology does not seem to be in historiographical dispute and, again, can be found in most any survey of the crusades referred to in the bibliography. It should be stated, however, that Joinville speaks of the legate to France but does not mention Eudes by name. The *Chroniques de France* offer a more sterile version of the main events as well.

173. Joinville, pp.249-76.
174. Published in Cole, pp.235-43.
175. Cole, p.235: "Sicut ergo David et filii Iuda habuerunt causam plangendi casum qui acciderat Sauli et Ionathe et ceteris nobilibus qui cum eis interfecti sunt, sic rex Francie et nobiles illius regni et totus populus necnon et omnes Christiani causam habent plangendi quia peccatis exigentibus populi Christiani..."
176. Both quotes, with italics, are in *Ibid.*, p.239.
177. *RHGF*. vol.20, p.31: "...de Damietta rex venire fecerat pro habeno concilio cum multis aliis magnatibus christianis;...una cum venerabili patre bonie memorie nomino Odone, Tusculano episcopo, apostolicæ sedis legato."
178. *Ibid.*, p.14: "XXII--De Peregrinatione ejus in Nazareth: ...Ibidem devotus Rex, Missa in altari Annunciationis à confessore suo celebratâ, sacram communionem accepit. Et dominus Odo Tusculanus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, ad majus altare ecclesiæ Missam solemnem celebravit et sermonem devotum fecit."
179. Joinville, p.315 and Wimbée, p.93.
180. Joinville, pp.317-18, tells of his desire to stay. This same passage foretells the sacking of Acre in 1291, however, suggesting that Jean's vita was adapted from memory to conform to subsequent events. Raynal, vol.2, p.229, dates Eudes's arrival at Neuvy to July 1257.
181. Wimbée, p.93 and Thaumais de la Thaumassière, vol.2, p.537.
182. Raynal, vol.2, p.230. The relic of the holy blood, in a late medieval reliquary with modern restorations, is claimed by Neuvy and is only brought out during the processions of Holy Week.
183. Deshoulières, p.189. Like the holy blood, the church of St. Hilaire jealously guards the putative relic and will only show it during Holy Week and certain other festival days. I have recently come across the article by Mallard, G. "La Croix d'Orval," (*Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*. (1923)) but have been unable to consult it.
184. Wimbée, p.84 and Deshoulières, p.189. It is worth noting that the testament of Mathilda of Charenton (1243) mentions gifts for a Templar house there. Original in Archives du Cher, fo. of the abbey of Plainpied; published in Buhot de Kersers, vol.3, p.107: "Item domui milicie templi de bineria templariorum decem solidos forc. reddituales et assignentur in denariis franchisie de Orvail."
185. Cole, pp.238-39: "Sic Dominus in hoc facto ostendit quod dictos nobiles pre aliis diligebat dando eis ut pro eo mortis supplicium sustinerent...Sicut in signum amoris et honoris Pharaon voluit Ioseph ascendere super currum suum, hoc est crucem seu mortem...In signum amoris potavit eos Dominus proprio calice ut hoc ei retribuerent pro omnibus..." See also Riley-Smith, "The Crusade as an Act of Love," p.182.
186. The origins of this movement do not necessarily pertain to Berry and have not been included. See esp. Dickson, "The Advent of the 'Pastores,'" Barber, M. "The Crusades of the Shepherds in 1251," *Proceedings of the 10e Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*. (Lawrence, Kansas: 1984) pp.1-23; and Delalande, J. *Les Extraordinaires Croisades d'Enfants & de Pastoreaux <sic> au Moyen Age*. (Paris: 1962) pp.41-54. Brabant was the very region brought under Capetian control as recently as 1214 with the Battle of Bouvines.
187. *RHGF*. vol.20, pp.382 & 554. See also the *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, pp.326-28. Barber, "Shepherds," lists the variety of primary sources available pertaining to this movement.

188. Dickson, "The Advent of the 'Pastores,'" p.257.

189. Méslié, p.70 and Torat et al, p.193.

190. *Chroniques de France*, p.329: "Les pastouriaux entrèrent en Bourges et s'espandirent parmi la ville; mais il n'y trouvèrent oncques né clerc né prestre; si commencierent à mener leur maistrises,...si commencierent à brisier coffres et huches, et à prendre or et argent; et, avec ce, il prisrent les jeunes dames et les pucelles, et les voudrent couchier avec eux."

191. Raynal, vol.2, pp.236-37. See also Ribault, J.Y. "Les Juifs à Bourges," *Archives Juif--Cahiers de la Commission des Archives Juifs*. (A9, no.3: 1972) and Goldman, P. "Elements Pour une Histoire des Juifs à Bourges," *Ibid.* (A23, nos.1-3: 1987).

192. *RHGF*. vol.20, pp.382 & 554, and vol.23, pp.123-24 & 395-96. From the Chronicle of St. Laudi: "Diende iverunt ad urbem Bituricam; et tunc dux et princeps eorem, quem vocabant magistrum Hungria, intravit synagogan Judæorum, destruxitque libros eorum et mona diriptuit..."

193. Dickson's article (p.253) discusses the fact that the reliable *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmund's* intimates, but does not state, that he died in Orléans. Winbée (p.99) and Méslié (p.70) argue that he was struck down in Bourges. The *Chroniques de France* mentions the fighting but does not say he was killed there. The chronicle of St. Laud states: "Sed cum recessisset inde ad urbem cum populo suo, Bituricenses armati et preperati secuti sunt eos viriliter, occiderunt que prædictum magister cum pluribus sociis suis..."

194. *Chroniques de France*, vol.4, pp.329-30: "Le Baillif de Bourges, envia deux messages et leur commanda qu'il alassent de nuit et de jour à Marseille; qui portèrent lettres au viguier, èsquelles toute la mauvaistié au maistre de Hongrie estoit contenue. Si fu tantost pris le maistre et pendus à unes hautes fourches; et les pastouriaux qui aloient après lui s'en retournèrent povres et mandians." Méslié, p.71, names the baillif as Michel de Dreux. See also Jordan, p.228.

195. Barber, "Shepherds," pp.6-7. See also n.187 above.

196. "Advent of the 'Pastores'," p.250.

197. For the missionary and eschatological motives of his ill-fated crusade, as contrasted to the political, see Delaruelle, "L'Idée de Croisade Chez St. Louis," pp.201-07. For his possible motives of going to Tunis, see Strayer, "Crusades of Louis IX," pp.508-13.

198. Jordan, pp.215-16. Joinville (p.346) does not try to hide his reaction against it: "I considered that all those who had advised the king to go on the expedition committed mortal sin."

199. *RHGF*. vol.20, pp.306-08.

200. *RHGF*. vol.21, p.5: "Anno Domini MCCLXX Ludovicus, rex Franciæ...iterato cum tribus filiis, adjuncto sibi rege Navarræ comiteque Campaniæ Theobaldo et quam plurimis baronibus et prælatiis, pro receperatione Terræ Sanctæ iter assumpsit...Quam feliciter autem prædictus terminaverit rex Ludovicus, rex Navarræ domino Tusculano <Eudes> per litteras nuntiavit."

201. Raynal, vol.2, p.230.

202. Riley-Smith, pp.208-210 and Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp.453-54.

203. Siberry's *Criticism* discusses the plans forwarded by theoreticians intended for this council. See, for examples, pp.194-96, 208 and 218. She points out, however, that criticisms tended to be toward specific policies, especially taxes, not toward the idea of crusading itself.
204. Dickson, "Stephen of Cloyes, Philip Augustus & the Children' Crusade," uses this word to describe the legends concerning the pueri.
205. See Chapter 1, n.40.
206. Devailly, "Comment les Capetiens," pp.26-27 and *Le Berry*, pp.446 & 450.
207. *RHGF*. vol.23, p.334 & vol.24, p.804.
208. Strayer, J.R. *The Reign of Philip the Fair*. (Princeton Univ.: 1980) pp.296-97.
209. *DHGE*. col.179.
210. Deshoulières, p.35.
211. Housley, *Later Crusades*, p.454.
212. Deshoulières, p.36 and Evans, *Art*, p.169. He repeated this motif in his private chapel of his palace which can be seen from the street.

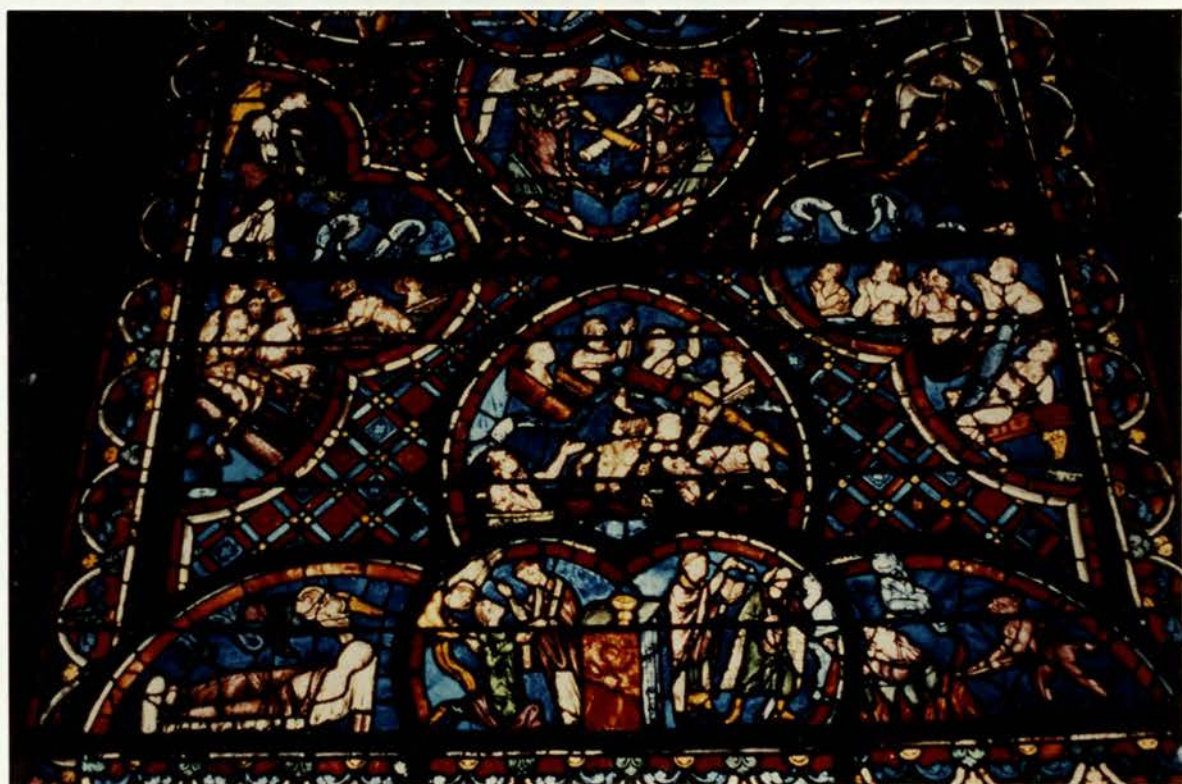
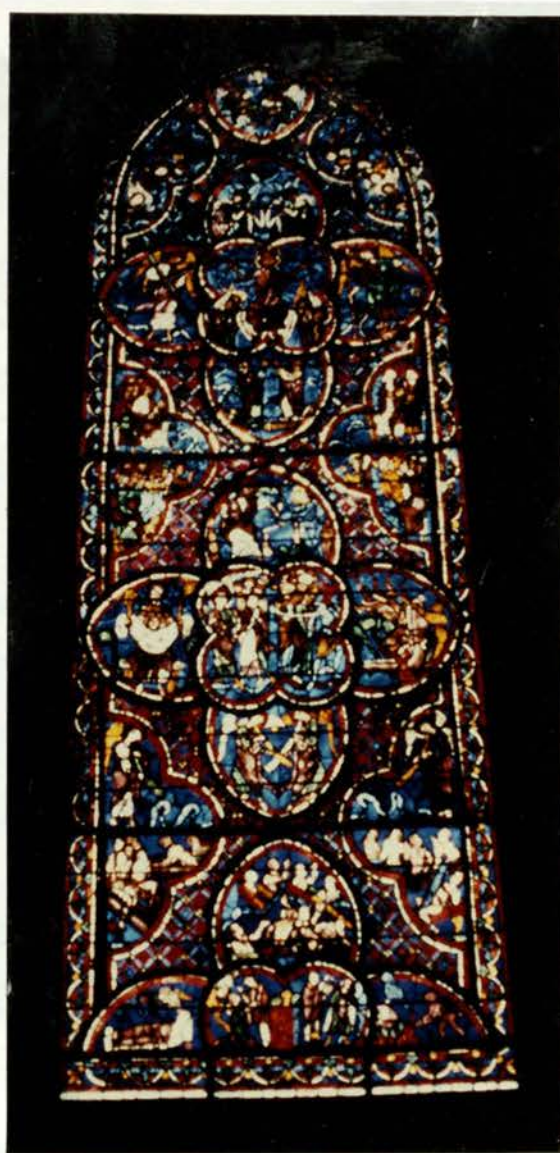
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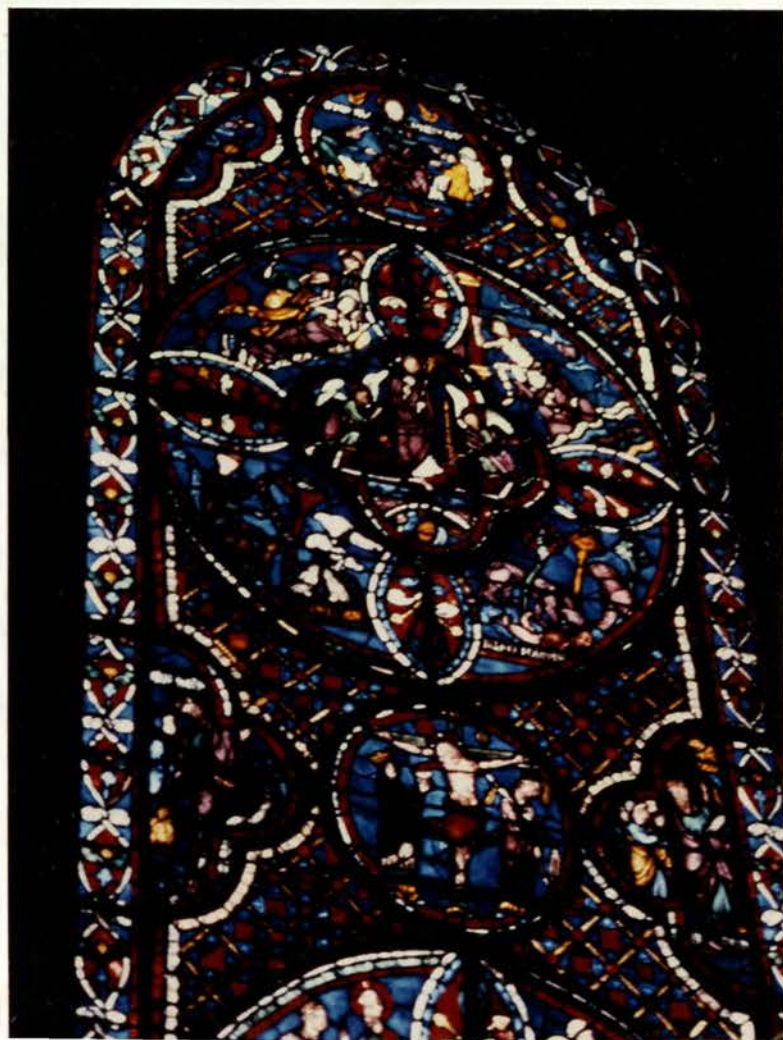
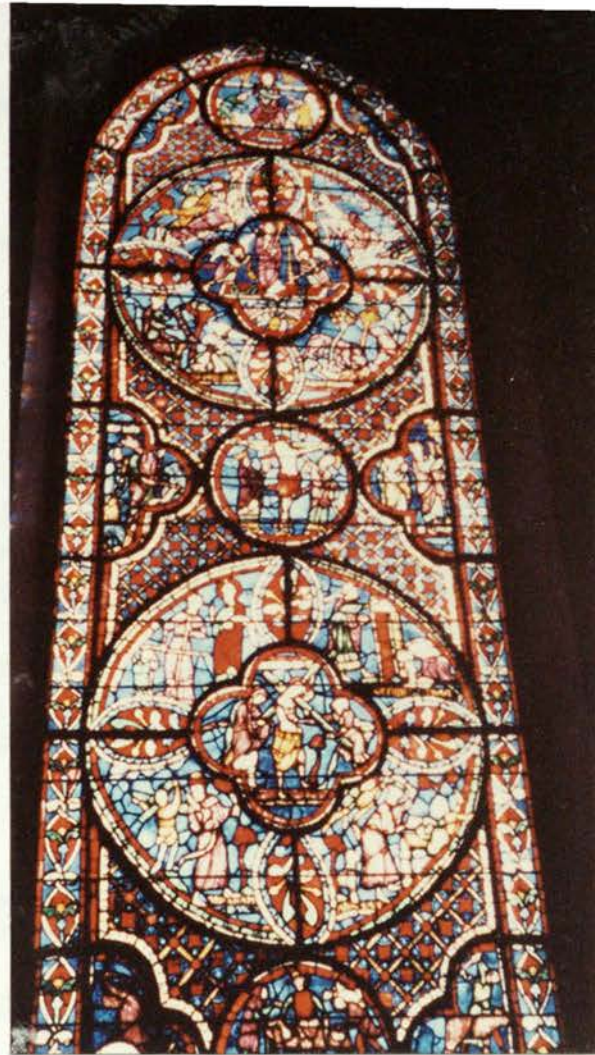
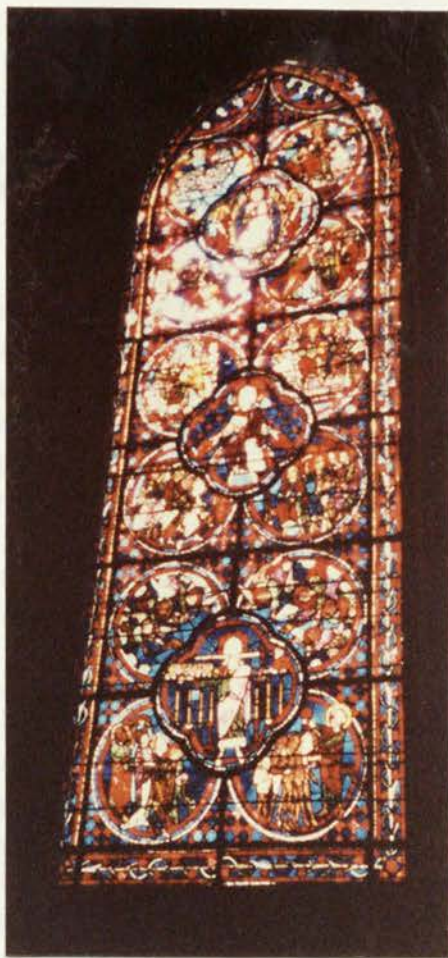
- Plate 1: Neuvy-St.-Sepulcre from the northeast (founded between 1020-49)
- 2: Capital in Plaimpied of Christ being tempted by two imps (first half of the XIIth century)
- 3: Funeral monument in Plaimpied, probably by the same artist who did the capital in plate 2 (1142?)
- 4: North side portal of St Étienne of Bourges (latter XIIth century)
- 5: Main central and northern portals on west front of St. Étienne (Last Judgement portal from 1240's (reworked in 1280's?). St. Stephen's portal from ca.1200)
- 6: Last Judgement Window (All the windows in the text are in the eastern apse and date ca.1220-1260)
- 7: Detail of bottom register of Last Judgement Window--The Eucharist
- 8: Apocalypse Window
- 9: Typological Window of the New Testament
- 10: Detail of Window of the New Testament, including zoological symbols and Joseph blessing his sons











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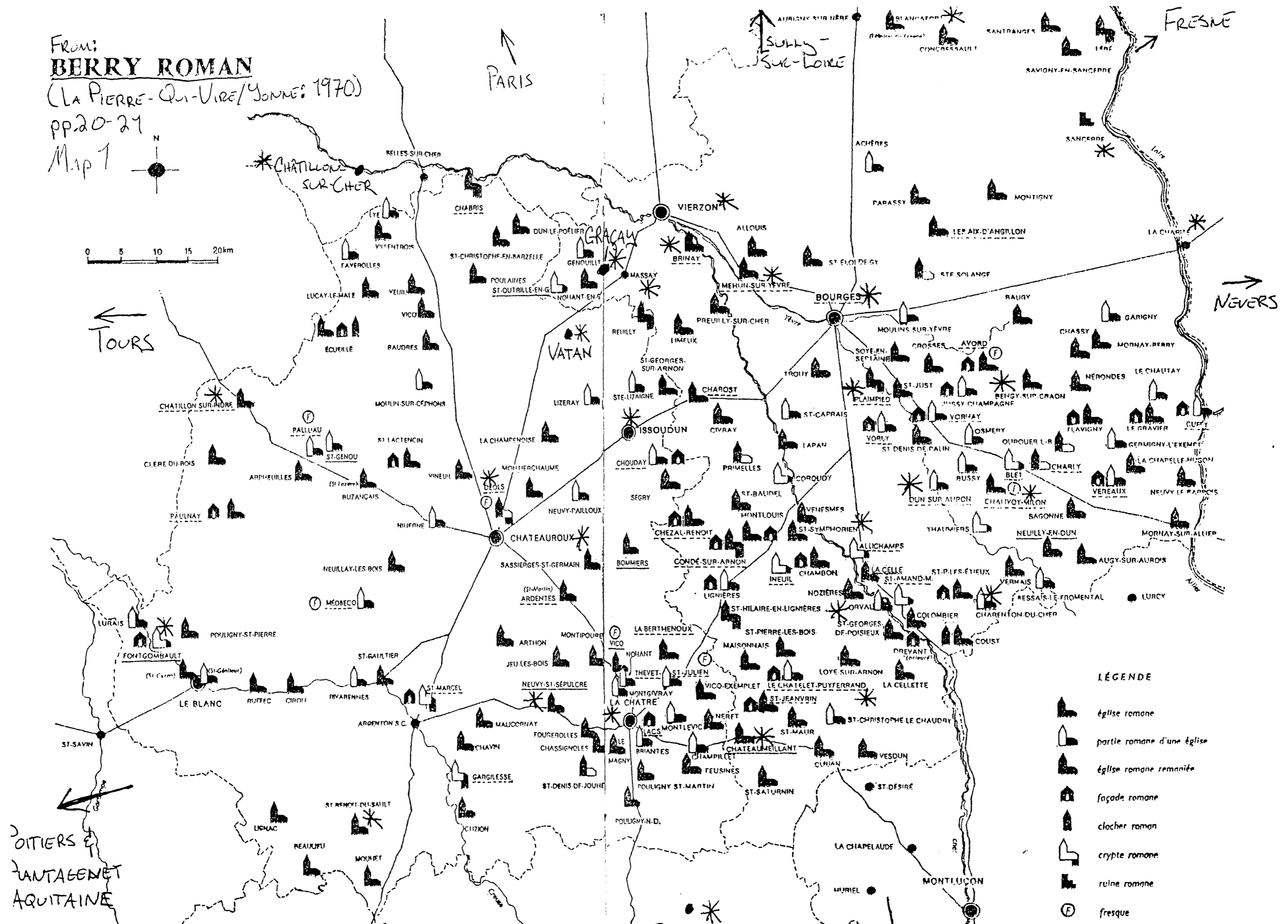
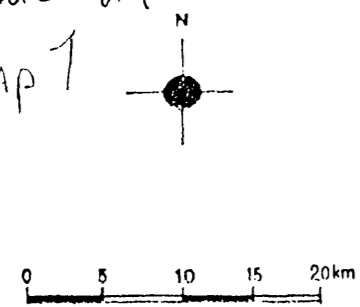
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 Map 1

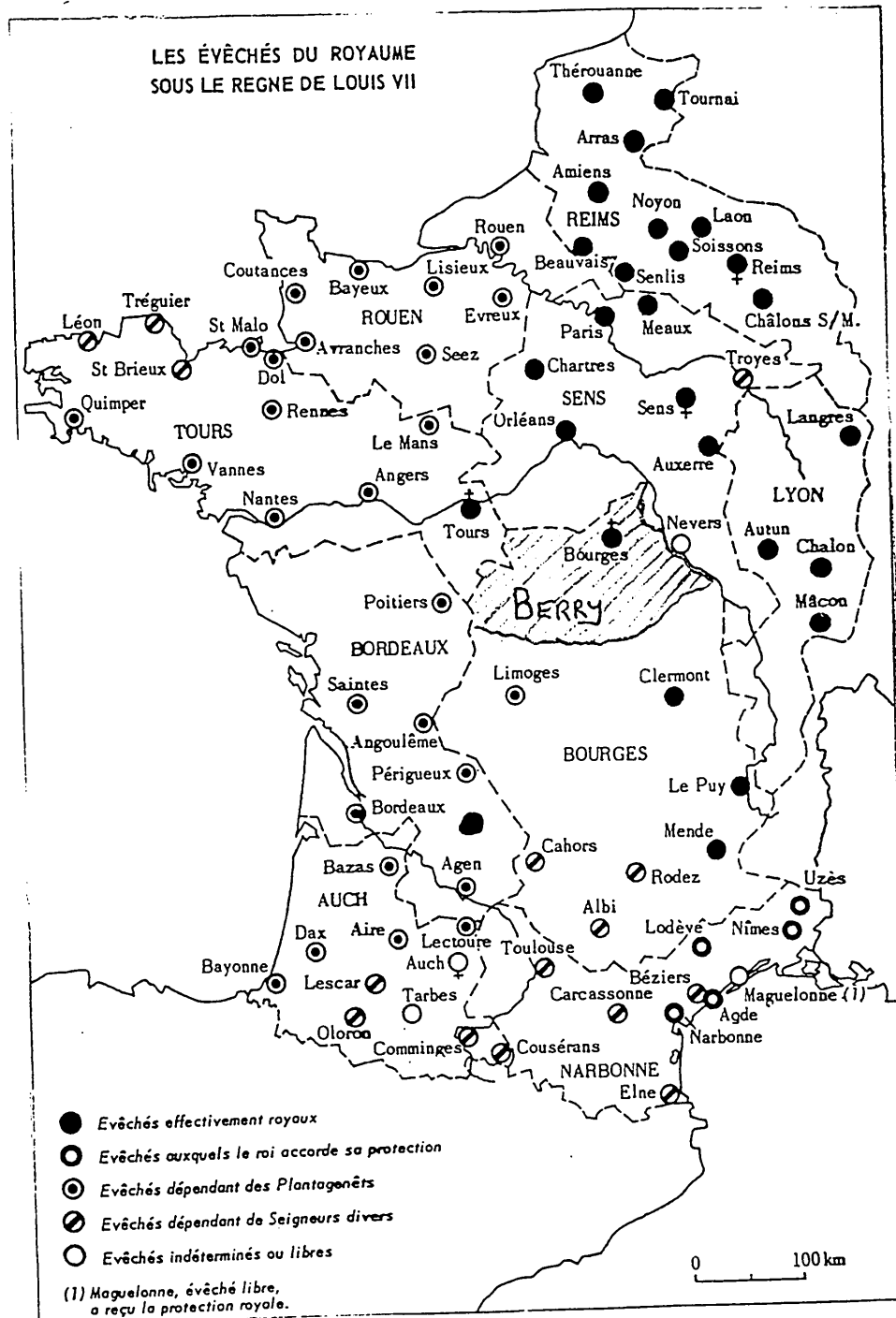


LÉGENDE

- église romane
- partie romane d'une église
- église romane remaniée
- façade romane
- clocher romane
- crypte romane
- ruine romane
- fresque

* DENOTES TOWNS AND/OR ECCLESIASTICAL FOUNDATIONS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Map 2



From: Louis VII & Son Royaume By M. PACAUT
 (PARIS: 1964) Between pgs 218-19