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Crusades  
Volume 9, 2010

# *Crusades*

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## Abbreviations

AA	Albert of Aachen, <i>Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem</i> , ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington. Oxford, 2007
AOL	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
Autour	<i>Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East: Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995</i> , ed. Michel Balard. Paris, 1996
Cart Hosp	<i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310</i> , ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx. 4 vols. Paris, 1884–1906
Cart St Sép	<i>Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem</i> , ed. Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 15. Paris, 1984
Cart Tem	<i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple</i> , ed. Guigue A.M.J.A., (marquis) d'Albon. Paris, 1913
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis
Chartes Josaphat	<i>Chartes de la Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat</i> , ed. Henri F. Delaborde, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 19. Paris, 1880
Clermont	<i>From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095–1500. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10–13 July 1995</i> , ed. Alan V. Murray. International Medieval Research 3. Turnhout, 1998
Crusade Sources	<i>The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton</i> , ed. John France and William G. Zajac. Aldershot, 1998
CS	<i>Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R.C. Smail</i> , ed. Peter W. Edbury. Cardiff, 1985
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
EC, 1	<i>The Experience of Crusading 1: Western Approaches</i> , ed. Marcus G. Bull and Norman J. Housley. Cambridge, 2003
EC, 2	<i>The Experience of Crusading 2: Defining the Crusader Kingdom</i> , ed. Peter W. Edbury and Jonathan P. Phillips. Cambridge, 2003

FC	Fulcher of Chartres, <i>Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)</i> , ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer. Heidelberg, 1913
GF	<i>Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum</i> , ed. and trans. Rosalind M.T. Hill and Roger Mynors. London, 1962
GN	Guibert of Nogent, <i>Dei gesta per Francos</i> , ed. Robert B.C. Huygens CCCM 127A. Turnhout, 1996
Horns	<i>The Horns of Hattin</i> , ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar. Jerusalem and London, 1992
Kreuzfahrerstaaten	<i>Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert</i> , ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer with Elisabeth Müller-Luckner. Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 37. Munich, 1997
Mansi. <i>Concilia</i>	Giovanni D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MO, 1	<i>The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. Malcolm Barber. Aldershot, 1994
MO, 2	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare</i> , ed. Helen Nicholson. Aldershot, 1998
MO, 3	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 3: History and Heritage</i> , ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes. Aldershot, 2008
Montjoie	<i>Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer</i> , ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Riley-Smith and Rudolf Hiestand. Aldershot, 1997
Outremer	<i>Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer</i> , ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer and Raymond C. Smail. Jerusalem, 1982
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society Library
RHC	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
Darm	<i>Documents arméniens</i>
Lois	<i>Les assises de Jérusalem</i>
Oc	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
Or	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
RHGF	Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
NS	New Series
ROL	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>
RRH	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Regesta regni hierosolymitani</i> . Innsbruck, 1893

<i>RRH Add</i>	Reinhold Röhricht, comp., <i>Additamentum</i> . Innsbruck, 1904
RS	Rolls Series
Setton, <i>Crusades</i>	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , general editor Kenneth M. Setton, 2nd edn., 6 vols. Madison, 1969–89
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
WT	William of Tyre, <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. Robert B.C. Huygens, with Hans E. Mayer and Gerhard Rösch, CCCM 63–63A. Turnhout, 1986

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# *Orientalis Ecclesia: The Papal Schism of 1130 and the Latin Church of the Crusader States*

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When the deep division among cardinals in February 1130 produced the dual, irregular, election of Gregory of St. Angelo as Innocent II and Peter Pierleoni as Anacletus II, the latter, thanks to his connections with Roman families, quickly gained control of Rome and compelled his rival to take refuge in France, where Innocent arrived in the subsequent August. Cardinals of both factions tried to publicize their own account of the disputed election to gain support all over the Christian world. One of their preferred instruments for this purpose was the position of the church established in the crusader states, that is the *Orientalis ecclesia*.<sup>1</sup>

On 11 May 1130, Innocent's supporters wrote a rhetorical letter to Emperor Lothar III showing that their candidate had won the support of the entire *Orientalis et Occidentales ecclesiae*, whilst Anacletus was only able to hide in his dark mansions of Rome.<sup>2</sup> However, a fragmentary letter preserved at Montecassino in the so-called "register of Anacletus" (MS Cassinese 159) seems to demonstrate that Pierleoni looked to the crusader states for confirmation immediately after his election, in particular to the Latin kingdom and church of Jerusalem. Following his predecessors' policy, and in particular Paschal II's interpretation, the pope claimed

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This paper is based on a relevant chapter of my book, *Orientalis Ecclesia. Papato, Chiesa e regno latino di Gerusalemme nel XII secolo (1099–1187)* (Milan, 2010). My particular thanks are due to Professor Jean Richard, who encouraged me to write this essay, and to Jonathan Weatherill, who helped me with the English text.

<sup>1</sup> For the papal schism of 1130, see Hans W. Klewitz, "Das Ende des Reformpapsttums," *Deutsches Archiv* 3 (1939), pp. 371–412; Pier Fausto Palumbo, *Lo Scisma del MCXXX. I precedenti, la vicenda romana e le ripercussioni europee della lotta tra Anacleto II e Innocenzo II col regesto degli atti di Anacleto II*, Miscellanea della regia Deputazione di storia patria 13 (Rome, 1942); Franz J. Schmale, *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130*, Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und Kirchenrecht 3 (Köln-Graz, 1961); Pier Fausto Palumbo, "Nuovi studi (1942–1962) sullo scisma di Anacleto II," *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 75 (1963), pp. 71–103; Luigi Pellegrini, "Osservazioni per la duplice elezione papale del 1130," *Aevum* 39 (1965), pp. 45–65; idem, "La duplice elezione papale del 1130. I precedenti immediati e i protagonisti," in *Raccolta di studi in memoria di G. Soranzo* (Milan, 1968), pp. 265–302; Werner Maleczek, "Das Kardinalskollegium unter Innocenz II. und Anaklet II.," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 19 (1981), pp. 27–78; Mary Stroll, *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 8 (Leiden, New York and Köln, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> "Udalrici Codex," in *Monumenta Bambergensia*, ed. Philippus Jaffé (Berlin, 1869) no. 248, pp. 429–31: "Orientales et occidentales ecclesiae praedictum invasorem pari voto parique consensu unoque spiritu anathemate condemnant; dominum verum Innocentium papam, a catholicis catholice electum, catholicis consecratum, sicut universalem patrem et beati Petri vicarium amplectuntur, venerantur suisque nuntiis frequentant."

that the Roman church was the main defender and patron of the Holy City since the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. So he himself would engage in preserving and paying honour to the Latin church and kingdom.<sup>3</sup> We do not know if this statement implied the confirmation of the royal title of Jerusalem, which Baldwin II obtained from Honorius II in 1128, and the subsequent supremacy of the church of Jerusalem over the see of Antioch (as Gilles of Toucy, cardinal of Tusculum, now sided with Anacletus, suggested during his legation to Antioch in the same year).<sup>4</sup>

In any case, both Innocent and Anacletus tried to use the *Orientalis ecclesia* to demonstrate the validity of their election according to Pope Pelagius I's theory regarding the pre-eminence of the apostolic sees. In actual fact Pelagius had stated that, in case of dispute and schism within the Church, the judgment of the five apostolic sees (that is, Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria) was to be considered as conclusive in solving the question.<sup>5</sup> Pierleoni's situation, however, was strengthened by his favoured relationships with the church of southern Italy. In October 1130, Anacletus II wrote to John, the provost of St. Bertin, who was struggling against his archbishop, Rainald II of Reims, that he had received homage from Roger II. Pierleoni also stated that he was recognized as rightful pope by "all the archbishops and abbots of Apulia and Calabria" and that "the whole *Orientalis ecclesia* – that is Jerusalem, Antioch and Constantinople – sided with him."<sup>6</sup> On 25 February 1131, Pierleoni wrote to the people and clergy of France, Bourgogne, Aquitaine and Normandy to publicize the sentence of excommunication expressed against Innocent II and his party during the Council of Canosa (9 November 1130). In the same letter, Anacletus called for a Christendom-wide great council on 1 October 1131 at Rome and emphasized the presence of "all the *Orientalis ecclesia*" and the severe sentence pronounced at Canosa against his rival.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Anacletus, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 179:711 (*Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. Philippus Jaffé and Samuel Loewenfeld, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–88), no. 8393; hereafter cited as JL); Palumbo, *Lo Scisma del MCXXX*, no. 25, p. 660; idem, "La cancelleria di Anacleto II," in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici* (Florence, 1944), pp. 79–131; Herbert Bloch, "The Schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil Forgeries of Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino," *Traditio* 8 (1952), pp. 159–264.

<sup>4</sup> Rudolf Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius*, III: *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse III/136 (Göttingen, 1985), no. 32, pp. 141–42 (JL 7341; *RRH*, no. 122), dating the papal letter 29 May 1129 (but Fulk sailed in April 1129 at the latest: see Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), p. 143, n. 23). For Gilles of Tusculum, see Daniel Misonne, "Gilles de Toucy," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques* (hereafter cited as DHGE), 20:1402–3; see also *The Historia vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris*, ed. C. W. Grocock and Elizabeth Siberry (Oxford, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Michele Maccarrone, "'Fundamentum apostolicarum sedium.' Persistenze e sviluppi dell'ecclésiologia di Pelagio I nell'Occidente latino tra i secoli XI e XII," in idem, *Romana Ecclesia cathedra Petri*, I, Italia Sacra 48 (Rome, 1991), pp. 395–400.

<sup>6</sup> Anacletus, *Epistolae*, PL 179:717–18 (JL 8413); Palumbo, *Lo Scisma del MCXXX*, no. 44, p. 666, and pp. 342–43 (where the addressee is specified).

<sup>7</sup> Paul M. Baumgarten, "Ein Brief des Gegenpapstes Anaclet (II.)," *Neues Archiv* 22 (1897), pp. 576–78: "Notificamus dilectioni vestre, karissimi, de illis quondam fratribus, nunc autem sue matris

The inclusion of Byzantium within the *Orientalis ecclesia* was a device used by Cardinal Cono of Preneste back in 1111, when the papal legate, shocked by the news about Pope Paschal II's imprisonment by Henry V, chose to anathematize the emperor by means of councils held not only in Jerusalem and in Europe, but also in Constantinople. Cono clearly referred to Pelagius's theory. Even if the Byzantine see was held by a Greek patriarch, Pelagius's idea applied to the authority of the see in itself, and not to the rite of the actual patriarch.<sup>8</sup> So it is possible that Anacletus II used this notion of *Orientalis ecclesia* and extended its meaning also to the Greek church established in southern Italy – as it had already been used during Pope Urban II's tour in 1089 – in order to summon, for the planned council in Rome, a vast majority of clergy coming from Roger II's lands and well disposed to condemn Innocent II.<sup>9</sup>

Anacletus's scheme of 1130–31 regarding the *Orientalis ecclesia* was especially conceived to gain favour in the kingdom of France. Even though the pope numbered among his French supporters Archbishop Gerard of Angoulême, backed by the powerful William VI of Aquitaine, and Hildebert of Lavardin, the lettered bishop of Tours, between the autumn of 1130 and March 1131, Innocent II succeeded in strengthening his position thanks to the Council of Etampes and some successful meetings with Louis VI of France, Henry I of England and Emperor Lothar III.<sup>10</sup> In 1130–31 the choice of the *Orientalis ecclesia* seemed the best way to overturn Pierleoni's difficult situation. Recent historiography, based upon the report of the Council of Canosa, seems to consider that at first Jerusalem and Antioch sided

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et ecclesie catholice inimicis, qui a nobis exierunt et ad vos confugerunt, ut eos pro excommunicatis habeatis et nullatenus eis communicetis, siquidem iudicio sedis apostolice et totius orientalis ecclesie in concilio Canusino, quod ibi Deo auctore cum omni orientali ecclesia V idus novembris solemmniter celebravimus, eos excommunicavimus, quippe qui canonice admoniti respiscere noluerunt”; “Veniant igitur securi, veniant et ex nobis quicumque voluerint archiepiscopi, episcopi et alii, nosque faciemus orientalem ecclesiam ibidem convenire, et quidquid ibi virtute Spiritus Sancti universalis ecclesie sententia iuxta actionem cause fuerit diffinitum, nos absque ulla ambiguitate subibimus.”

<sup>8</sup> For Cono of Praeneste, see Charles Dereine, “Conon de Préneste,” in DHGE 13:461–71; Rudolf Hiestand, “Legat, Kaiser und Basileus. Cuno von Praeneste und die Krise des Papsttums von 1111–1112,” in *Aus Reichsgeschichte und Nordischer Geschichte. Festschrift Karl Jordan*, ed. Horst Fuhrmann, Hans Eberhard Mayer and Klaus Wriedt (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 141–52; Attilio Cadderi, *Conone di Preneste: cardinale legato di Pasquale II, Gelasio II, Callisto II (?–1122)*, Collana di studi storici, religiosi, letterari 6 (Rome, 1974). For the implications of Pelagius's theory, see Maccarrone, “Fundamentum,” pp. 397–99.

<sup>9</sup> For the meaning of *Orientalis ecclesia*, see Paolo Tomea, “In merito al concetto di Apostolicae Sedes in Gerhoh di Reichersberg,” *Aevum* 49 (1975), pp. 91–93; Miriam R. Tessera, “Tra Oriente e Occidente: Guglielmo di Tiro, l'Europa e la nascita degli stati latini di oltremare,” in *Studi sull'Europa medioevale. L'Europa di fronte all'Oriente cristiano tra alto e pieno Medioevo*, ed. Annamaria Ambrosioni, Studi di Storia greca e romana 6 (Alessandria, 2001), pp. 112–13. For Urban II, see Alfons Becker, “Urbain II et l'Orient,” in *Il concilio di Bari del 1098. Atti del Convegno storico internazionale e celebrazioni del IX Centenario del Concilio*, ed. Salvatore Palese and Giancarlo Locatelli (Bari, 1999), p. 124.

<sup>10</sup> Palumbo, *Lo Scisma del MCXXX*, pp. 324–44; Bloch, “The Schism of Anacletus II,” pp. 169–72; Aryeh Graboïs, “Le Schisme de 1130 et la France,” *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 76 (1981), pp. 593–612.



with Anacletus II, because of the existing relationship between Pierleoni and Roger II, a redoubtable neighbour for the crusader states.<sup>11</sup> However, Baldwin II of Jerusalem, who may have already received news regarding the papal schism in late spring 1130, had no interest in supporting someone whose candidacy might result in heavy interference in Antiochene internal affairs, as the connections with Sicily suggested. Bohemond II of Antioch was killed in battle in February 1130 and at the end of the summer, after the election of William of Messines as the new patriarch of Jerusalem, King Baldwin II travelled north to oversee the succession in the principality, where his daughter Alice had maintained the regency in the name of the little princess Constance.

A decisive element in engaging the king and the Latin clergy of Jerusalem in Innocent's favour was the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, and his connections with the newborn Order of the Temple. Already committed to Innocent II's defence, the abbot of Clairvaux had displayed personal acquaintance with both the late Patriarch Stephen and his successor William of Messines (who endowed Bernard with relics of the True Cross), as well as with the king of Jerusalem himself.<sup>12</sup> Right at the outset of the papal schism Baldwin II made use of Bernard's activity to help the development of the Templars in the East. Men like the Templars Andrew of Montbard, Bernard's uncle, or Hugh of Troyes, former count of Champagne and Bernard's close friend, allowed the abbot of Clairvaux's propaganda to reach the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>13</sup> As for the Templars, their leading role is clear from the outcome of the Council of Pisa in 1135. During the assembly, Innocent II praised their activity during the papal schism and fostered a *fraternitas* between the poor knights of Christ and the bishops assembled there.<sup>14</sup>

Close relations with Bernard and with the Templar Order were also shown by Cardinal Matthew of Albano. The former prior of Cluny cooperated with the abbot of Clairvaux in ratifying the Templar rule during the Council of Troyes in 1129, and was one of the staunch allies of Bernard in the Roman curia at the outset of the papal

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<sup>11</sup> Rudolf Hiestand, "Antiochia, Sizilien und das Reich am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 73 (1993), p. 88 (stating that Bohemond II of Antioch was still living in summer 1130).

<sup>12</sup> For Bernard and the patriarchs of Jerusalem, see Rudolf Hiestand, "Bernhard von Clairvaux, Norbert von Xanten und der lateinischen Osten," in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Franz J. Felten and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin, 1999), p. 315; Simonetta Cerrini, *La rivoluzione dei Templari. Una storia perduta del dodicesimo secolo* (Milan, 2008), pp. 74–75.

<sup>13</sup> *Sancti Bernardi Vita et res gestae libri septem comprehensae*, PL 185:316; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Lettere*, in idem, *Opera*, ed. Ferruccio Gastaldelli, VI/1–VI/2 (Milan, 1986), VI/1, no. 175, pp. 738–39; Hiestand, "Bernhard von Clairvaux," pp. 304–8, 317–19. For Bernard and Hugh of Troyes, see also Cerrini, *La rivoluzione dei Templari*, pp. 64–65.

<sup>14</sup> Dieter Girgensohn, "Das Pisaner Konzil von 1135 in der Überlieferung des Pisaner Konzils von 1409," in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971* (Göttingen, 1972), pp. 1098–99; Cerrini, *La rivoluzione dei Templari*, pp. 160–61.

schism.<sup>15</sup> According to the *Annales Reichersbergenses*, written after 1166, “the sees of Antioch and Jerusalem rejected Pierleoni and approved Innocent because the latter had two of the three rightful *ordinatores* at his side, that is Cardinals Matthew of Albano and John of Ostia, while the former had only one, that is Peter of Porto.”<sup>16</sup>

Cluniacs also seem to have had great influence over the choice made by the Latin church of Jerusalem. In addition to Matthew of Albano’s position, additional evidence comes from the *Epistola de schismate*, written in December 1130 by Reimbald, canon of St. Lambert in Liège, to defend Gerard of Angoulême’s work. Reimbald ascribed the recent acceptance of Pope Innocent II in the *Orientalis ecclesia* to Cluniac propaganda. Indeed, in the same period, Cluny’s new abbot, Peter the Venerable, maintained friendly relationships with the church and the kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, the reference to Gerard of Angoulême’s firm support of Anacletus II is much more significant in this context. The archbishop’s choice had caused open rebellion in many local canonical communities, which were severely persecuted by Gerard himself. Amongst these, Fulcher, abbot of Cellefrouin, pretended to sail for the Holy Land *causa orationis* (that is, to pray there) to escape Gerard’s wrath, but on his arrival in Jerusalem he entered the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre and began a brilliant career in the East.<sup>18</sup> Shortly after 1130 the kingdom of Jerusalem was considered to be a good shelter for Innocent II’s supporters. Consequently, we can conclude that in the same period the Latin church of Jerusalem – and the king too – quickly recognized Pope Innocent, offering him the spiritual and political authority originating from both the presence of the Holy Sepulchre and the old patriarchal see of Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> For Matthew of Albano’s role, see Rudolf Hiestand, “Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 99 (1988), pp. 295–325; Annamaria Ambrosioni, “Bernardo e il papato,” in *Bernardo cistercense. Atti del XXVI Convegno storico internazionale. Todi, 8–11 ottobre 1989*, Atti dei Convegni dell’Accademia Tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, n.s. 3 (Spoleto, 1990), pp. 65–66; Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, pp. 53–54.

<sup>16</sup> *Annales Reichersbergenses*, MGH SS 17:454; Tomea, “In merito al concetto,” p. 93, n. 81.

<sup>17</sup> Reimbald of Liège, *Libellus de schismate anacletiano*, in idem, *Opera omnia*, ed. Carolus de Clercq, CCCM 4 (Turnhout, 1966), pp. 117–21; (see Stroll, *The Jewish Pope*, pp. 176–77). Reimbald was interested in news coming from the Latin East; in 1119 he possibly wrote a complaint about Baldwin I’s death: *Chronicon rhythmicum Leodiense*, in Reimbald, *Opera*, pp. 132–33, vv. 281–84. For Peter the Venerable’s letters, see *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), nos. 82–83, pp. 219–20.

<sup>18</sup> Hubert Claude, “Autour du schisme d’Anaclet: Saint Bernard et Girard d’Angoulême,” in *Mélanges Saint Bernard* (Dijon, 1954), pp. 80–94. For Fulcher, who witnessed at first as a canon of the Holy Sepulchre between 25 December 1133 and 31 August 1134 (*RRH*, no. 152): WT, p. 643; Charles Dereine, “Foucher,” in DHGE, 17:1255–57; Klaus-Peter Kirstein, *Die lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem. Von der Eroberung der Heiligen Stadt durch die Kreuzfahrer 1099 bis zum Ende der Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1291*, Berliner Historische Studien 35 (Berlin, 2002), pp. 273–91.

<sup>19</sup> As for the schism of 1130, William of Tyre expresses no clear reference to the position of the *Orientalis ecclesia*, focusing his interest on the division among cardinals: WT, pp. 642–43.

Reference to the *Hierosolymitana ecclesia* among Anacletus's supporters at Benevento in October 1130 derives from single members of the Latin clergy of Jerusalem who were in southern Italy by chance and whose presence was emphasized by Pierleoni in his letter.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, during the papal schism of 1130 some religious crusader establishments in the Latin East received rich endowments in those territories controlled by Anacletus's powerful ally, Roger II. For example, the abbey of St. Mary of Josaphat received many gifts in tithes and estates from the Norman nobility connected with the Aleramici family, that is the family of Adelaide del Vasto, Roger II's mother. In 1126 and 1137 Roger himself supported the monks of Josaphat when they were involved in disputes over the properties of the abbey in southern Italy.<sup>21</sup> It is therefore highly probable that envoys of Josaphat could not immediately recognize Innocent II, and were obliged to side with Anacletus before taking notice of the "official" position of the church and kingdom of Jerusalem.

The case of the principality and the patriarchate of Antioch – openly mentioned by Pierleoni in his letter of October 1130 – is quite different. When Princess Alice of Antioch rebelled against her father Baldwin II in 1130 she was flanked by a consistent faction of her nobility; in contrast, however, the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the principality was deeply divided.<sup>22</sup> Patriarch Bernard of Valence led the pro-Jerusalem party and he was the man mostly responsible for summoning Baldwin II and for his subsequent regency in 1130–31. Thus it is possible that the Norman clergy who settled there after Bohemond II's accession tried to overcome the patriarch's position and sided with Alice, supporting her scheme because of the Antiochene clergy's connections with Roger II. After an initial (and failed) negotiation with Zengi, the atabeg of Mosul, the princess turned quickly to Roger II – a solution she tried to repeat one year later, in September 1131, against the new king of Jerusalem, Fulk of Anjou.<sup>23</sup>

Alice had no scruples about using ecclesiastical tithes to finance her vassals against the kings of Jerusalem in 1130–32, as was the case in Jabala, which was part of her dowry. She also hindered the patriarch's affairs in the region, as apparently shown by a papal privilege granted to Romanus, bishop of Jabala.<sup>24</sup> On 27 May 1133, Innocent II confirmed to the bishop of Jabala all the possessions of his church that had originated from Bernard of Valence's grants or from gifts disposed by

<sup>20</sup> See Maccarrone, "Fundamentum," p. 397.

<sup>21</sup> Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, "Les possessions des églises de Terre-Sainte en Italie du Sud (Pouille, Calabre, Sicile)," in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo. Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle prime giornate normanno-sveve* (Bari, maggio 1973) (Rome, 1975), pp. 17–25; Graham Loud, "Norman Italy and the Holy Land," in *Horns*, pp. 51–59; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, MGH Schriften 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 311–14.

<sup>22</sup> For Alice, see Thomas S. Asbridge, "Alice of Antioch: A Case Study of Female Power in the Twelfth Century," in *EC*, 2, pp. 29–47.

<sup>23</sup> For Bernard of Valence, see Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1986), pp. 21–30; Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 200–213.

<sup>24</sup> For the church of Jabala, see Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, p. 26; Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, pp. 75–76.

other nobles. But, as the papal chancery pointed out, Bernard's grant had to be a *canonica restitutio* and other grants were recovered by the bishop after having been unlawfully alienated – as a matter of fact by the princess and her vassals.<sup>25</sup> In his history, William of Tyre actually accused Alice of richly financing the nobles of her party, and again in 1145 Bishop Hugh of Jabala complained to the papal court that the princess had alienated the episcopal tithes of his see for herself.<sup>26</sup>

Links between Roger II's court and the Antiochene clergy loyal to Alice clearly aided the princess's scheme of governing her principality without any interference from Jerusalem. A case study is represented by Arnulf, the Calabrian archdeacon of Antioch who, after the end of the Antiochene crisis, played a leading role in the subsequent struggle against the new patriarch Ralph of Domfront and finally came back to southern Italy. Then, between 1141 and 1147, he was elected bishop of Cosenza with Roger II's favour.<sup>27</sup> Thus in October 1130 at Benevento, in the presence of Roger II, ecclesiastical envoys from Alice's faction represented that "church of Antioch" mentioned by Pope Anacletus II, who seems to have been unaware of the deep political division existing in the principality. In any case, internal factions among the Antiochene clergy persisted as shown by the irregular election of patriarch Ralph of Domfront in late summer 1135 and the subsequent struggle against the cathedral chapter of Antioch.<sup>28</sup>

In September 1131, with Fulk of Anjou's accession to the throne, the news that the kingdom and the church of Jerusalem had openly sided with Innocent II was well known all over the Christian world. Between June and October 1131 a letter written by Bernard of Clairvaux to the bishops of Aquitaine, in an attempt to persuade them to abandon Gerard of Angoulême, referred to "all the church of the East" (*universa Orientalis ecclesia*) and to other Western archbishops and bishops flanking Innocent's party. One year later, Bernard of Clairvaux repeated the same argument to Geoffrey "Babio" of Loroux, a famous preacher who had not yet decided between the two rival popes.<sup>29</sup> Thus, throughout the schism of

<sup>25</sup> Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, no. 33, pp. 142–44 (JL 7627; *RRH*, no. 143), previously edited in Dino Puncuh, *Liber privilegiorum ecclesiae Ianiensis*, *Fonti e studi di storia ecclesiastica* 1 (Genoa, 1962), no. 112, pp. 153–54. The Genoese heading for this entry speaks of the church of Gibelet (Byblos), but Hiestand showed that the privilege concerns the church of *Gibellum*, that is Jabala (*Gabula*).

<sup>26</sup> WT, pp. 624, 636, 639; Otto of Freising, *Chronica de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS 45 (Hannover-Leipzig, 1912), pp. 364–65.

<sup>27</sup> WT, p. 691; Norbert Kamp, "Der unteritalienische Episkopat im Spannungsfeld zwischen monarchischer Kontrolle und römischer 'libertas' von der Reichsgründung Rogers II. bis zum Konkordat von Benevent," in *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II. Atti delle terze giornate normanno-sveve. Bari, 23–25 maggio 1977* (Bari, 1979), p. 123, n. 89.

<sup>28</sup> For Ralph of Domfront, see Bernard Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront, Patriarch of Antioch (1135–1140)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 28 (1984), pp. 1–21.

<sup>29</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Lettere*, VI/1, no. 126, pp. 578–601, here p. 592: "Taceo multitudinem ceterorum, Tusciae, Campaniae, Longobardiae, Germaniae et Aquitaniae, Galliarum denique et Hispaniarum omnium, necnon et universae Orientalis Ecclesiae, tam archiepiscoporum, quam episcoporum quorum nomina sunt in libro vite (Phil. 4:3), sed epistolae brevis non admittit"; no. 125, pp. 574–77: "Alemanniae, Franciae, Angliae, Scotiae, Hispaniarum et Hierosolymorum reges, cum

1130 Bernard was instrumental in creating and spreading the idea of the authority acknowledged to the *Orientalis ecclesia*. Later on, around 1138, he was also able to exploit it to solve the disputed position of the see of Tyre (between the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch), to the advantage of the Roman primacy.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, at the latest in autumn 1131, an official delegation left Jerusalem to bring to Innocent II the recognition of the Latin church of the crusader kingdom. On 2 February 1132 the pope wrote a joyful letter to his staunch ally, Louis VI of France, recounting that when he himself had arrived at Cluny a day before, he had found news from Patriarch William of Messines and Anselm, bishop of Bethlehem, a copy of which (unfortunately lost) he had sent to the king. In this letter, the Jerusalem clergy proclaimed obedience and submission to Innocent II.<sup>31</sup>

The pope's success in gaining recognition from the *Orientalis ecclesia* also allowed him to employ this important instrument to solve the difficult situation the schism had created in northern Italy. Here, the pope had to confront the powerful alliance between Pierleoni and the commune of Milan, before he confronted Roger II's firm position in southern Italy. In 1133, the kingdom of Jerusalem took part in the great attempt Innocent II made to reconcile Genoa and Pisa. The two rival towns were struggling for the supremacy in the Tyrrhenian Sea and had just concluded the treaty of Grosseto (20 March 1133, renewed on 25 May), thanks to Bernard of Clairvaux and Cardinal Aimery, chancellor of the Roman church.<sup>32</sup> The oldest surviving copy of the Genoese *Libri iurium*, the so-called *Vetustior* (copied in the thirteenth century from a twelfth-century exemplar), preserves a puzzling

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universo clero et populis, favent et adhaerent domino Innocentio, tamquam filii patri, tamquam capiti membra, *solliciti servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis* (Eph. 4:3)."

<sup>30</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Lettere*, VI/2, no. 392, pp. 508–12; no. 393, pp. 512–19. For Bernard's role during the schism in France, see Elphège Vacandard, "Saint Bernard et le schisme d'Anaclet II en France," *Revue des questions historiques* 43 (1888), pp. 61–123; Jaqueline Bernard, "Bernard et le schisme d'Anaclet II," in *Papauté et épiscopat selon saint Bernard de Clairvaux* (Saint-Lô, 1963), pp. 349–54; cf. Ambrosioni, "Bernardo e il papato," pp. 71–75.

<sup>31</sup> Luc D'Achery, *Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1723, repr. Farnborough, 1967–68), 3:488 (JL 7531): "Sani, Deo gratias, et incolumes Kalendis Februarii Cluniacum pervenimus, ubi cum fratribus nostris, episcopis, abbatibus et aliis sapientibus et religiosis viris Purificationis beatae Mariae festivitatem solemniter et honorifice celebrantes, a fratribus nostris Guillelmo patriarcha Jerosolymitano, et A(nselmus) Bethlehemiticae civitatis episcopo, litteras obedientiae et subjectionis suscepimus. Quia igitur causam Ecclesiae cum omni constantia et fortitudine certis experimentis te nobiscum portare, et nostris prosperitatibus congaudere jamdudum agnovimus, earumdem litterarum transcripta serenitati tuae duximus transmittenda, ut quos nimirum tuae charitatis sinceritas sociabili foedere copulat, de prosperis quoque successibus nihilominus gratulentur" (same text edited in Mansi, *Concilia*, 21:401, and in RHGF 15:374).

<sup>32</sup> For Genoa, Pisa and the papal schism, see Valeria Polonio, "San Bernardo, Genova e Pisa," in *San Bernardo e l'Italia. Atti del Convegno di studi, Milano, 24–26 maggio 1990*, ed. Pietro Zerbi, Bibliotheca erudita 8 (Milano, 1993), pp. 69–99; Pietro Zerbi, "I rapporti di San Bernardo di Chiaravalle con i vescovi e le diocesi d'Italia," in idem, *Tra Milano e Cluny. Momenti di vita e cultura ecclesiastica nel secolo XII*, Italia Sacra 28 (Rome, 1991), pp. 14–29; Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut, "La sede metropolitana e primaziale di Pisa nei rapporti con i pontefici da Onorio II a Innocenzo II," in *Nel IX centenario della metropoli ecclesiastica di Pisa. Atti del Convegno di studi (7–8 maggio 1992)*, ed. Maria Luisa Ceccarelli Lemut and Stefano Sodi (Pisa, 1995), pp. 143–70.

letter written in Pisa to Archbishop Siro of Genoa and the Genoese consuls by Baldwin, chancellor of King Fulk, and by Bernard Vacher, a prominent *familiaris* of the king of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem envoys warned the Genoese not to proceed in ratifying a treaty – the tenor of which was not explicitly mentioned – with their rivals from Pisa, because of the Pisan consuls' opposition. Also, Baldwin and Bernard asked their correspondent to continue the effort involved in this mysterious task – where, they said, the Genoese had already earned honour and glory – and to send a complete account of the mission to the king and the patriarch of Jerusalem as soon as possible.<sup>33</sup>

This letter was written after 20 March 1133, when Bishop Siro of Genoa became archbishop by papal order to the detriment of the hostile church of Milan, and before spring 1134, the last possible sailing date to allow Bernard Vacher to be back in attendance on his king in that very autumn.<sup>34</sup> Both Baldwin and Bernard were prominent people in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The former, already in office from 1130 under King Baldwin II, carried out many diplomatic missions and became archbishop of Caesarea in 1141/43. The latter was one of Baldwin II's *homines novi* and expanded his influence at court especially after September 1134, having helped King Fulk against the native barons' uprising and become his standard-bearer.<sup>35</sup> Therefore the mission conveyed by Baldwin and Bernard could be the mirror of Innocent's intense activity to create a wide network of alliances in order to make peace between Genoa and Pisa, thus preparing the pope's travel throughout Italy with a strong support against Roger II and Anacletus II.

The Jerusalem embassy, with its ideological halo of *Orientalis ecclesia*, intended to engage Genoa and Pisa to fight together against the Muslim expansion in the Latin East, as Baldwin and Bernard themselves wrote regarding the *honor et gloria* already earned by the Genoese people. Similar expressions referring to Genoese warriors had been used by Pope Innocent II in the above-mentioned privilege of

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<sup>33</sup> *I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, ed. Antonella Rovere (Genoa, 1992), no. 30, p. 48 (RRH, no. 153): "Ad responsa Pisanorum confusi sumus et sensus noster ebuat quia illud quod de illorum perfidia a vobis predictum fuerat, cum causas abbreviati termini opponerent, continuo claruit. Mandamus itaque vobis ne diem termini observetis, quia, ut aiunt, vobiscum non possunt hoc tempore, renuentibus consulibus, federari. Rogamus autem ne vestri ardor propositi sopiatur, ne gloria vestra et honor quem iam super hoc negotio acquisistis aliquatinus obscuretur. Petimus etiam ut sicut ex nunc et deinceps nominis vestri famam curabimus predicare ita et vos domino patriarche et regi laborem nostrum et conversationem quam cicius poteritis vestris studeatis litteris intimare."

<sup>34</sup> For Siro's primacy, see Polonio, "San Bernardo, Genova e Pisa," pp. 84–85. Favreau-Lilie ascribed the letter to 1131–32, connecting the Jerusalem embassy with the devolution of the principality of Antioch to Raimond of Poitiers: Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 156–57.

<sup>35</sup> For Baldwin's career, see Rudolf Hiestand, "Ein neuer Bericht über das Konzil von Antiochia 1140," *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 19 (1987), p. 345, n. 149; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, MGH Schriften 40 (Hanover, 1996), 1:48–49 (also Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener*, p. 156, n. 11). For Bernard Vacher, see WT, p. 683; Usama ibn Munqid, *Le lezioni della vita. Un principe siriano e le Crociate*, ed. Mirella Cassarino (Milan, 2001), p. 114; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), pp. 13–14; cf. idem, *Die Kanzlei*, 2:854.



27 May 1133 (two days after the renewal of the treaty of Grosseto), when the pope confirmed to Bishop Romanus of Jabala all the possessions belonging to his church. Retracing the origins of the church of Jabala back to the *liberatio ecclesie* model (Jabala had been under Muslim dominion for a long time, but now, according to God's plan, it has been delivered from slavery), Innocent II especially mentioned the great fighting effort made by the Genoese in order to assure freedom and dignity to this church.<sup>36</sup>

Between the years 1133 and 1135 the church of Antioch actually depended on political choices made by the church and kingdom of Jerusalem; thus, King Fulk may have offered the renewal – or the extension – of the Genoese privileges in the principality of Antioch in exchange for military aid against Zengi.<sup>37</sup> Papal involvement in securing privileges to the Italian communes at the eve of a military expedition in the Latin East was not a novelty. In 1120, sponsoring the so-called Venetian crusade, Pope Calixtus II assured the Venetians that he himself had obtained the confirmation of all the privileges granted to Venice in the principality of Antioch and in the kingdom of Jerusalem from King Baldwin II – who was also regent of Antioch, just as Fulk of Anjou was to be about ten years later.<sup>38</sup>

New tensions between Genoa and Pisa in 1134 caused the failure of Innocent II's scheme and dissolved the involvement of Jerusalem without any advantage for the defence of the Holy Land. As Baldwin and Bernard outlined in their letter, the failure was ascribed to Pisa (but the Genoese also entered negotiations with Roger II, according to two worried letters by Bernard of Clairvaux).<sup>39</sup> Not surprisingly, Fulk of Anjou immediately changed his policy towards the Pisans at the same time and possibly revoked all the privileges they had obtained in the city of Tyre and its surroundings.<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, Innocent II succeeded in obtaining the vast majority of consents and he summoned a great council at Pisa in late spring 1135 (30 May–6 June).<sup>41</sup> During the solemn assembly the pope renewed excommunication against

<sup>36</sup> Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, no. 33, p. 143.

<sup>37</sup> Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener*, pp. 351–57. See also Michel Balard, “Communes italiennes, pouvoir et habitant des états francs de Syrie-Palestine au XIIe siècle,” in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller, The Medieval Mediterranean 1 (Leiden, 1993), pp. 43–64.

<sup>38</sup> The involvement of the pope is clearly recorded in the so-called *Pactum Warmundi* between the patriarch of Jerusalem and Venice: see the new edition in Marco Pozza, “Venezia e il Regno di Gerusalemme dagli Svevi agli Angioini,” in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airal di and Benjamin Z. Kedar, Collana storica di fonti e studi 48 (Genoa, 1986), pp. 351–99, here p. 377; see also David Jacoby, “The Venetian Privileges in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: Twelfth and Thirteenth-Century Interpretations and Implementations,” in *Montjoie*, pp. 155–75. For the Venetian crusade, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, “The Venetian Crusade of 1122–1124,” in *I comuni italiani*, pp. 339–50.

<sup>39</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Lettere*, VI/1, no. 129, pp. 606–11; no. 130, pp. 612–14; cf. Erich Caspar, *Ruggero II (1101–1154) e la fondazione della monarchia normanna di Sicilia* (Rome and Bari, 1999), pp. 132–35.

<sup>40</sup> Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener*, pp. 156–57.

<sup>41</sup> For the Council of Pisa, see Robert Somerville, “The Council of Pisa 1135: A Re-examination of the Evidence for the Canons,” *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp. 98–114; Girgensohn, “Das Pisaner Konzil” (see n. 15).

Pierleoni and his supporters. Then he also extended the same *remissio peccatorum* given by Urban II to the first crusaders on their way of Jerusalem to military service against Roger II and Anacletus II in the name of the *libertas ecclesie*. Thus Innocent II extended the original meaning of the *libertas ecclesie* moulded by Gregory VII and the canonical background of the crusade to develop a new idea of crusading to support the papacy against its own enemies within the boundaries of the Christian world.<sup>42</sup>

After 1135 the role of Jerusalem and of the *Orientalis ecclesia* came to an end. A new dispute over the ecclesiastical province of Tyre and the challenge posed to the Roman supremacy by the new patriarch of Antioch, Ralph of Domfront, allowed the papacy to apply to its own advantage the supreme authority all the Christian world had now acknowledged. In any case, the Latin church of Jerusalem retained the strong tie with Rome created by the papal schism of 1130. On 18 October 1138, right at the end of the schism, Bishop Roger of Ramla dated a grant for St. Mary of Josaphat with the clause: "Romanam ecclesiam regente Innocentio papa."<sup>43</sup>

As a matter of fact, in the final years of the papal schism Innocent II rewarded those ecclesiastical institutions of the Latin East which supported him during the difficult struggle against Anacletus II. First to be recognized was the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. On 26 July 1138, the pope confirmed the way of life of the canons, based on the so-called Augustinian rule, and he established a comparison between the *regularis militia* of the canons and the *secularis militia* exercised by those knights vowed to defend Christ's tomb with sword and shield. This privilege, renewed on 27 April 1139, specifically mentioned all the properties in southern Italy belonging to the Holy Sepulchre, which were threatened by Roger II.<sup>44</sup> So, around 1138, thanks to its prominence even in the principality of Antioch (where the lasting regency of the kings of Jerusalem had allowed the canons to recover all the properties the Holy Sepulchre held there before the Turkish invasion *in tempore Grecorum*),<sup>45</sup> the Holy Sepulchre gained royal favour and established itself as the richest and most powerful ecclesiastical institution of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Great impulse was given to liturgy and to cultural life, with production of luxury manuscripts, such as the so-called "Queen Melisende's psalter," and engraved gold crosses containing precious relics of the True Cross.<sup>46</sup> But the

<sup>42</sup> Girgensohn, "Das Pisaner Konzil," pp. 1099–1100; cf. Norman Housley, "Crusades against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c.1000–1216," in *CS*, pp. 17–36.

<sup>43</sup> *Chartes Josaphat*, no. 20 (*RRH*, no. 190, with a new dating in Mayer, *Die Kanzlei*, 2:858).

<sup>44</sup> Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten*, no. 37, pp. 147–48 (*JL* 7907; *RRH*, no. 177); no. 39, pp. 150–52 (*JL* 8019; *RRH*, no. 189). See also Kaspar Elm, "Die 'Vita Canonica' der regulierten Chorherren vom Heiligen Grab in Jerusalem," in *La vie quotidienne des moines et chanoines réguliers au Moyen Age et Temps Modernes*, ed. Marek Dervich (Breslau, 1995), pp. 181–92.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, *Cart St Sép*, no. 74 (*RRH*, no. 157, dated 2 August 1135), where Patriarch Bernard of Valence supported the canons of the Holy Sepulchre against the church of Antioch, a situation that mirrors the deep division of the Antiochene clergy.

<sup>46</sup> For a full discussion of these topics, see Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957); Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 97–105, 137–63, 166–69 and passim; Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons*



papal schism of 1130 also allowed other ecclesiastical institutions of Jerusalem to gain political independence from the overwhelming authority of the patriarch by means of a direct connection with the church of Rome. For example, in autumn 1138 Geoffrey, prior of the *Templum Domini*, obtained the title of abbot and major revenues from the Transjordan region.<sup>47</sup>

As for the papacy, the notion of the *Orientalis ecclesia* that developed during the schism was used as a favourite device to strengthen the position of the Roman curia when a crisis broke out, even if Pelagius's theory of the five apostolic sees never supplanted the primacy of Peter.<sup>48</sup> As a matter of fact, during the subsequent papal schism of 1159 Gerhoh, provost of Reichersberg, stated in his *Opusculum ad cardinales* (dated to 1165) that the final condemnation of Anacletus II and the full recognition of Innocent II was due to the apostolic sees of Outremer (*rei veritate comperta de consensu apostolicarum sedium transmarinarum*) conferring a special place to Jerusalem and Antioch.<sup>49</sup> In any case, in 1159 the roles of the church and the kingdom of Jerusalem were completely different and were largely confined to papal propaganda. At the beginning there was no agreement between Patriarch Amaury of Nesle and King Baldwin III over the rightful candidate for pope, and the crusader states played no major part in the political struggle that involved Alexander III and Victor IV.

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*Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Bibliotheca Victorina 16 (Turnhout, 2004); Laura Minervini, "Produzione e circolazione di manoscritti negli stati crociati: biblioteche e *scriptoria* latini," in *Medioevo romanzo e orientale. Il viaggio dei testi. III Colloquio internazionale, Venezia, 10–13 ottobre 1996, Atti*, ed. Antonio Pioletti and Francesca Rizzo Nervo (Venice, 1999), pp. 79–96; Miriam Rita Tessera, "Dalla liturgia del Santo Sepolcro alla biblioteca di Sidone: note sulla produzione libraria latina di oltremare nei secoli XII–XIII," *Aevum* 79 (2005), pp. 407–15.

<sup>47</sup> For Geoffrey, see Rudolf Hiestand, "Gaufridus abbas Templi Domini: An Underestimated Figure in the Early History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *EC*, 2, pp. 48–59.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Maccarrone, "Fundamentum," pp. 403–4.

<sup>49</sup> Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Opusculum ad cardinales*, ed. Peter Classen, in idem, *Opera inedita*, 1 (Rome, 1955), p. 328; Maccarrone, "Fundamentum," pp. 400–401; Tomea, "In merito al concetto," pp. 77–80.