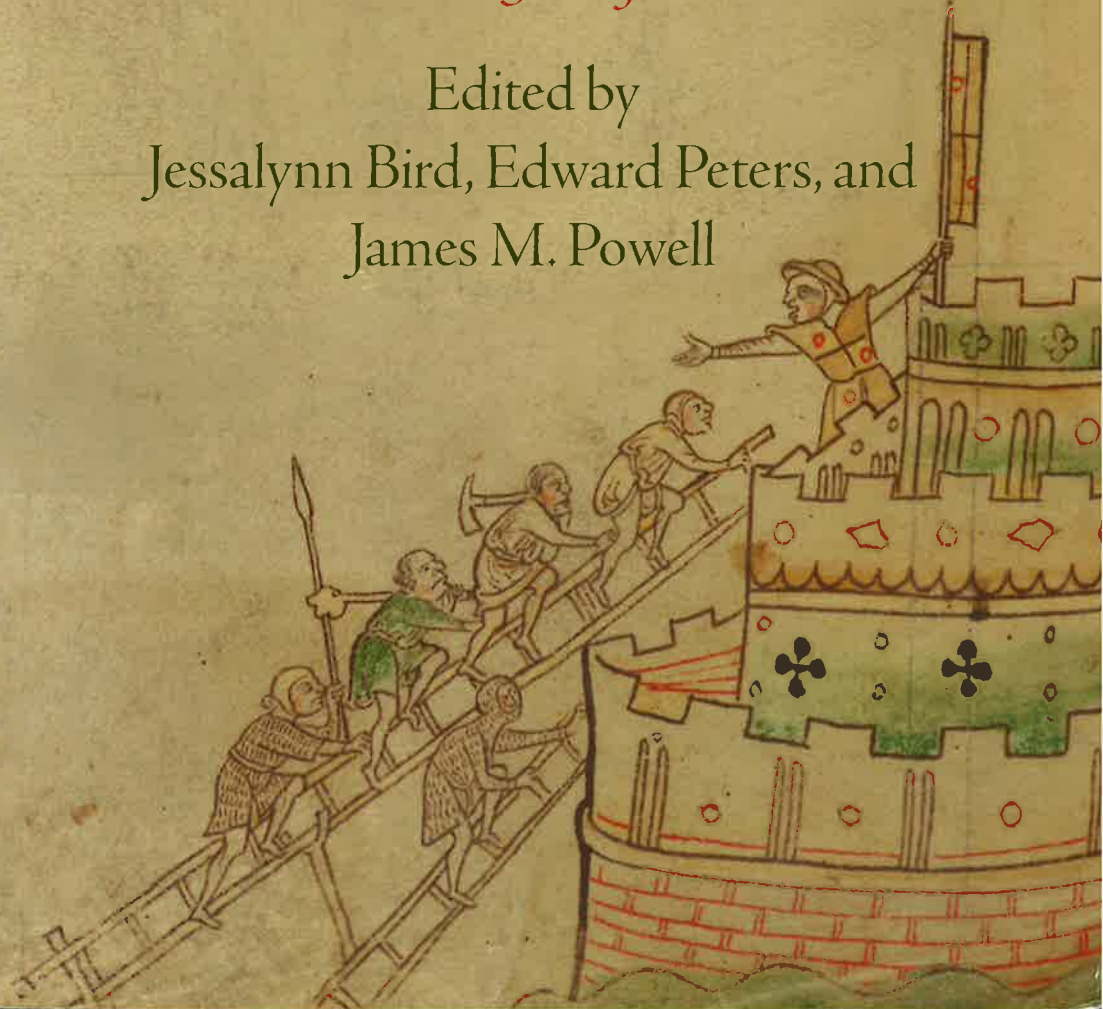


Crusade and Christendom

*Annotated Documents in Translation from
Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*

Edited by

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all my *mansi* which are nearby and around Bouloc, and nearby and adjoining La Bastide. In addition I bequeath to the same Hospital half of all the land which I purchased from Hugh of Launhac, and the entire vineyard which I purchased from the same person.

Moreover, I bequeath to the house of the [Order of the] Temple¹⁸ one of my horses, that is, the same horse which used to belong to William of Roquelaura, and the grain which he owes me. And concerning the dispute which I used to have with the Temple over the matter of Badalecum, I want Brother John of Fontaine's word to be trusted concerning the entire matter and Miron of La Roche to be appointed to settle that dispute according to the wishes of the Temple. And I leave to the same house of the Temple the allod and grazing rights which I have around and bordering Saint-Martin-de-Limouze. In addition I desire that the countess and my son and all my successors should understand that I very much commend the house of the Temple, in that it was of great assistance to me in these parts; and for that reason I ask the lady countess and the boy and all my successors and descendants to guide, defend, protect, and guard the house of the Temple as much as they are able to . . .

Moreover, I gift to the house of the [Order of the] Hospital [of Saint John] all my possessions and horses, and everything else which I have here [in the army], and the master of the Hospital shall make a repayment for this aforesaid gift to all my household through his representatives, as was arranged beforehand; and if my possessions should not suffice in value, I wish and urge the master of the Hospital to repay from the possessions of the house of the Hospital the aforesaid sum to my household, as was arranged. And regarding all losses and expenses which the house of the Hospital made on my behalf and in paying my household, I wish that it be repaid completely and entirely from my lands and from all my revenues, and from the settlement of the case concerning Alverasa. And I ask and command the lady countess and my son to make full repayment in all the aforesaid matters to the house of the Hospital for the great services and honors which they conferred upon me in the region of Syria, that is, in messengers and in all their expenses and outlays, which they made on my behalf and that of my household. I approve of this present document and wish it to be considered binding and to be valid in perpetuity according to the law of codicils; and if it should not be valid according to the

18. The Order of the Temple was another name for the Templars, whose original headquarters were on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.

law of codicils, I wish that it should be valid according to whatever other law can validate it. Drawn up in Acre in the house of the Hospital [of Saint John]. These were the sworn witnesses called upon for this matter: Master Bertrand, Master Peter Maurinus, the physician, Brother Pontius, draper of the house of the Hospital, Brother Marsilius, and Brother Stephen de Malavilla and Bertrand de Masserebolis, and Gilbert de Boi and Mirus de Rupe, knights; and Bernardonus and Berardus and Peter Cornutus and Gerard, servants of the lord count, and the venerable William, archbishop of Bourges, who was present in his own person.¹⁹ I, Bernard de Villa Franca, public notary of the imperial court, was there, and when asked I wrote out the will, and at the command of the aforesaid count, I firmly validated it with both of his personal seals.

68. Ignoble Pilgrims: Entries from the Register of Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, 1275

These entries from an archiepiscopal register in England illustrate the increasing commonness of commuting the vows of even the militarily capable into money donations to the crusade by the mid- to late thirteenth century. When Innocent III and his successors removed the stipulation that individuals be assessed as to their capability of fulfilling the crusade vow before they undertook it, the floodgates to recruitment were flung open, and many who voluntarily took the crusader's cross later found themselves unwilling or unable to fulfill the duties implied by this legally and spiritually binding action. There were several remedies open to them provided they petitioned the appropriate authorities (although, theoretically, dispensation from crusade vows was reserved to the pope and his designated agents, some obtained dispensations from fraudulent operators or bishops, abbots, or other spiritual authorities who believed themselves capable of offering dispensations from such serious vows). Those trapped by crusade vows could seek a delay (typically granted in cases of temporary disability such as illness or a sudden drop in cash flow), a commutation (this changed the obligation of the vow into an alternative obligation, which tended in practice to be less onerous), or a redemption (normally the payment of a donation to the crusade or another charitable cause equivalent to the sum the individual would have spent in fulfilling a vow).

19. Master Bertrand and Master Peter Maurinus were physicians who may have been in the count's service and survived the campaign of the Fifth Crusade (many of the campaign's survivors headed to Acre to recover), or they could have been physicians practicing in Acre, either working for the Hospital of Saint John or called in important cases to minister to sick notables. Both men witnessed the will of Henry, count of Rodez (1214–1227), dated October 18, 1221 as he lay sick in the house of the Hospitallers in Acre. Master Peter may perhaps be identified with the same Master Peter who was *medicus* for the princess Isabella, daughter of John of Brienne. See Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades*, 18–19.

There was also a long and venerable tradition of ecclesiastical and royal authorities' imposing mandatory penitential pilgrimages on various categories of criminals and sinners (including adulterers, converted heretics, those who committed violence against ecclesiastics, homicides, and arsonists) as an alternative to other potentially harsher or less honorable legal or spiritual penalties (such as humiliating public penances, fines, mutilation, or the death penalty). The crusader's cross and its financial obligations quickly became offered or imposed upon various categories of criminals by ecclesiastical and secular courts, thus preserving a modicum of respectability for the offender and helping to restore a good reputation. While reformers complained of unregenerates corrupting the Holy Land or crusading armies, there was a long tradition of criminals, repentant or otherwise, taking the cross as a more honorable means of exculpating themselves than painfully humiliating public penances or legal penalties. With the potential of death and certitude of expense and temporary exile, the crusade punished offenders while protecting them from an irate community or victim's family. Those unable or unwilling to fulfill the obligations of their vow (voluntary or imposed) often passed its obligations to their heirs, who were forced to fulfill it in person, send a substitute, or pay a stiff fine. Drawn from the registers of Walter Giffard, archbishop of York (1266–1279), the cases printed here illustrate how various social, legal, and religious factors impacted an individual's decision to take the cross, and whether or not their vow was personally fulfilled or dispensed. The first case cited shows how one individual took advantage of the ability to absolve from excommunication imposed for serious offenses (which normally required a journey to Rome for absolution) commonly granted to those preaching the cross and organizing the crusade.

See Jessalynn Bird, "Vows," in Murray, *The Crusades*, 4:1233–1236; Michael R. Evans, "The Commutation of Crusade Vows: Some Examples from the English Midlands," in Alan V. Murray, ed., *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500* (Turnhout, 1998), 219–229; *Mary Mansfield, The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France* (Ithaca NY, 1995); *Maureen Purcell, Papal Crusading Policy*.

Walter writes to the parish priest of Driffield, August 5, 1275.

... WILLIAM of Driffield deserved to be signed with the character of the cross by us. Because of this, by the apostolic [papal] authority specially entrusted to us we were led to absolve him according to the form of the law from the sentence of excommunication which he incurred because he had rashly laid violent hands upon the clerics Simon Orre and Robert of Langtoft, since the injuries were not grave or enormous, and since he had

Source: *William Brown, ed., The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266–1279, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 109* (Durham, 1904), 280–282.

made competent satisfaction to the victims for the injuries suffered.²⁰ And we enjoined upon the same [William of Driffield] that he go personally to the Holy Land in the general passage, or that he donate half of all his possessions in aid to the said land if he is led to choose this option. And so we command that you cause the same to be publicly pronounced absolved of excommunication on these terms. . . .

Walter, archbishop of York, writes to Helewysae Palmer and her daughter Isabella, September 2, 1275

... AS WE gather from your account, at some point you uttered a vow to personally visit the threshold of the shrine of Saint James of Compostela. However, because you cannot fulfill the aforesaid vow by reason of your poverty, at your request we are led to convert that vow by apostolic [papal] authority to aid for the Holy Land by conferring the sign of the cross upon you. We enjoin you to pay two silver solidi in subsidy to the aforementioned Holy Land, when you are required to do so through the collectors specially deputed for this.

Walter writes to the dean of Herthil, 1275

... THAT in the octave of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year of grace 1275, at Skeffling [*Skelling*] the nobleman, S., called Constable, a knight, appeared in our presence . . . and confessed with humble and contrite spirit that he carnally transgressed with Katherine wife of the knight John Danthorpe. While touching holy things [relics], he completely abjured her and any association with her and all suspect places, and bound himself at our decision . . . to aid the Holy Land with one hundred pounds sterling if he should relapse with the same woman. And weighing in our heart his contrition and mitigating the rigor of the sentence on account of his strengths, we entrusted to him the sign of the cross in that very place, such that he should go to the Holy Land in his own person or send a fitting warrior there at his own expense on account of the offense he committed.

20. That is, Walter informs William's parish priest of the lifting of the sentence of excommunication and the terms William must meet.