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Abbreviations

BSB = Bayrische Staatsbibliothek

ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

OI 2 = P.P. Damiani, Odulphi van den Eynde, P. Angelini Rijmersdael O.F.M. (eds.), *Gerhohi Praepositi Reichersbergensis Opera Inedita*. Vol. 2, *Expositionis Psalmorum Pars Tertia et Pars Nona*, 2 pts. (Rome, 1956).

MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

- *Libelli III* = *MGH*, *Scriptores*, *Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum III*, (Hannover, 1897)

BNF = Bibliothèque nationale de France

PL = Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*

Holy War and Reform in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Tractatus in psalmos*

Introduction

Even though all the holy Scripture is the book of the wars of the Lord and the book of the just in which we are being taught to “fight against flesh and blood as well as against the princes of this world, the rulers of darkness, against the spiritual wickedness in the heavens” (*Ephesians* 6:12); yet the *Book of Psalms*, which distinguishes itself to a certain extent among the other Scriptures, can in some way more fittingly be called the book of the Lord's wars and the book of the just ...¹

The whole Bible is the book of the wars of the Lord – What might seem to be the sharp-tongued and mordantly cynical wit of the anti-clerical philosopher Voltaire is in fact a passage from Gerhoch of Reichersberg, a twelfth-century theologian and provost of Reichersberg Abbey.² This passage concludes his voluminous exposition of the *Book of Psalms*. It introduces the present inquiry which is concerned with exactly how Gerhoch of Reichersberg interprets and describes these wars of the Lord. By “wars of the Lord” Gerhoch means holy war, both spiritual and material, which in his exposition takes the form of crusading but also includes the fight against enemies within Christendom. Hence this essay examines the different manifestations of warfare in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Tractatus in psalmos*, *De quarta vigilia noctis*, and other exegetical works. It argues that for Gerhoch, the crusading endeavours of the first half of the twelfth century fundamentally constituted a manifestation and facet of Church reform. Based on that premise, this thesis furthermore shows how both crusading in the Near East and the fight

¹ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tractatus in Psalmum 150*, in: *PL*, 194, col. 0997d: “Cum ergo sacra Scriptura tota sit liber bellorum Domini et liber justorum, quo docemur praeliari adversus carnem et sanguinem, etiam adversus principes mundi, rectores tenebrarum, contra spiritalia nequitiae in coelestibus, recte liber Psalmorum quodammodo insignitus inter caetera scripta *liber bellorum Domini, et liber justorum* dici potest [...]”.

² There are several variants of his name such as Gerhoh or Gerhoch. Following the arguments in Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg. Eine Biographie mit einem Anhang über die Quellen, ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und ihre Chronologie* (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 11 n. 1, I will use the latter.

against other enemies of the Church, such as heretics, schismatics, or simoniacs, belonged to a single religious framework which rooted in and was refined by a long tradition of Christian exegesis of violence. Moreover, it analyses how these exegetical mechanisms themselves are able to legitimate and contribute to religiously motivated violence.

* * * * *

In the Latin West, Christian religion was omnipresent and constituted an integral part of everyday life. At the basis of the Christian belief were (and today still are) the sacred Scriptures (lat. *sacra scriptura* or *sacra pagina*) which in their collected form have been simply referred to as the Bible (*biblia*) since the twelfth century. In the view of medieval clergy, all legitimacy in the world derived from these holy texts. Hence, the bible was not only the central authority for the religious, but also for medieval society's social order. In that sense, the interpretation of the Bible, the so-called exegesis, constituted a fundamental resource for Christianity.³ Due to the interwovenness of Christianity and medieval society, exegetical commentaries did not just tackle theological questions, for example regarding the nature of Christ, but also aspects such as power or gender.⁴ As Gerhoch of Reichersberg's works show, the subject of war and warfare also found their interpretation in Bible commentaries. It is the latter aspect that this essay tackles.

Gerhoch of Reichersberg was born in Polling, today's Bavaria, in 1092 or 1093, and died on 27 June 1169 in Reichersberg. During his career in the Church, he was known as an ardent reformer. In the aftermath of the so-called Gregorian reforms and the Investiture Struggle initiated by Pope Gregory VII,⁵ the cantankerous theologian Gerhoch of Reichersberg

³ For an introduction on this topic, see Guy Lobrichon, "Making Sense of the Bible", in: Thomas F.X. Noble, Julia M.H. Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3, *Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 531-553; Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952); as well as the classic Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1954–1964), Am. trans. Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, 1998-2009).

⁴ See, for instance, Philippe Buc, *L'ambiguïté du Livre: Prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1994); Ibid., "Principes gentium dominantur eorum: Princely Power Between Legitimacy and Illegitimacy in Twelfth-Century Exegesis", in: Thomas N. Bisson (ed.), *Cultures of Power. Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 310-328; for a historiographical overview of the scholarship after Beryl Smalley's seminal *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* as well as the different thematic approaches it encouraged, see Christopher Ocker, Kevin Madigan, "After Beryl Smalley: Thirty Years of Medieval Exegesis, 1984–2013", in: *J Bible Recept* 2/1 (2015), pp. 87–130.

⁵ For fundamental works on the investiture contest, see Gerd Tellenbach, *Libertas. Kirche und Weltordnung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreits* (Stuttgart, 1936); Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *Gregor VII. Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform* (Darmstadt, 2001); on the relationship between the high medieval papacy and violence (including the papacy of Gregory VII and his reform program), see Gerd Althoff, "Selig sind, die Verfolgung ausüben". *Päpste und Gewalt um Hochmittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2013).

vociferously condemned the so-called secular canons for not obeying any ecclesiastical rule, criticising their loose and unregulated lifestyle.⁶ Furthermore, he harshly condemned heretics and the practice of simony. In the year 1131 he became Provost of the Reichersberg Abbey, a house of Augustinian canons located at the Inn River in today's Upper Austria. Gerhoch's involvement in the papal schism of 1159, got him into the crossfire between the emperor and the pope. Taking sides with pope Alexander III resulted in attacks on Reichersberg Abbey, which temporarily forced the provost into exile in 1167.

Although the tradition of his works is relatively meagre compared to other medieval authors, the rather unsung Gerhoch of Reichersberg was a prolific theologian and exegete of twelfth-century central Europe. Theologically, he belongs to a cluster of exegetes which is commonly referred to as "German symbolism" (deutscher Symbolismus) or "reformist apocalypticism".⁷ Besides Gerhoch, Rupert of Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis, Anselm of Havelberg, Hildegard of Bingen, Hugh of Saint Victor, and Joachim of Fiore are also commonly associated with this exegetical tradition. Opposing the new scholastic method coming from the French schools and universities, they favoured a more traditional form of exegesis which was based on the historical and allegorical method.⁸ Characteristic of this group of theologians is their "historical sensibility", their awakened sense of history which is based on the Bible and which is used to understand the past as well as the present and future alike. Hence, by examining the past and connecting it to the present and future, they did not just deal with religious but also with social and political matters. Ideologically, the symbolists were the heirs of the great eleventh-century reforms which are also known as the Gregorian revolution or Gregorian reforms; as such, they strived for a reformed, a purified Christendom.⁹

⁶ On the topic of medieval monasticism see Clifford Hugh Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London and New York, 2015); Gert Melville, *Die Welt der mittelalterlichen Klöster. Geschichte und Lebensformen* (München, 2012).

⁷ Cf. Brett E. Whalen, *Dominion of God. Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge MA and London, 2009), n. 8 and n. 9 on pp. 264-246: The term "German symbolism" was coined by Alois Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium. Geschichts- und Staatsphilosophie des Mittelalters und der politischen Renaissance* (Darmstadt, 1929) and was taken up by many scholars. However, the label "German" was criticised due to its restrictiveness and the existence of several non-German theologians belonging to this theological strand such as the Calabrian exegete Joachim of Fiore. The term "reformist apocalypticism" was coined by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton in her *Reformist Apocalypticism and Piers Plowman* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁸ Egon Boshof, *Europa im 12. Jahrhundert. Auf dem Weg in die Moderne* (Stuttgart, 2007), p. 263.

⁹ Cf. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, pp. 73-75; for a broader study of the reform movement in the twelfth century, see Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996); on the ecclesiology of Gerhoch, Rupert, and Honorius as well as their relationship, see Wolfgang Beinert, *Die Kirche – Gottes Heil in der Welt. Die Lehre von der Kirche nach den Schriften des Rupert von Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis und Gerhoch von Reichersberg. Ein Beitrag zur Ekklesiologie des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1973).

Brett E. Whalen argues that these reformist apocalyptic thinkers who thought of themselves as participants in the battle for reform with the ultimate aim for salvation, emphasised three characteristics of history: “first, that the past was a record of conflict between the forces of evil and the elect; second, that the turmoil of their own days represented a new stage in that unfolding drama; and third, that history’s consummation was closer than many suspected”.¹⁰ Along with the reform a more rigid distinction between faithful and unfaithful was introduced. As a consequence, a long line of enemies emerged which comprised – among others – heretics, schismatics, pagans, Jews, Greek Christians, as well as bad or false Christians.¹¹

The ardent reformer Gerhoch of Reichersberg dedicated his entire life to the reform in the Church and to opposing its enemies. He did so in several exegetical works. For instance, in the *Dialogus inter clericum saecularem et regularem* (1131), the *Liber contra duas haereses* (1147), the *Liber de simoniacis* (1135), the *Tractatus contra Grecorum errorem negantium Spiritum Sanctum a Filio procedere* (1157 – 1164), or the *De quarta vigilia noctis* (1167). Probably the most famous among Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s works are *De investigatione Antichristi* (1160 - 1162), a tractate on the nature of the Antichrist, and the *Tractatus in psalmos* (1144 – 1167), a lengthy Psalm commentary.

The central primary source of this thesis, the *Tractatus in Psalmos*, constitutes Gerhoch’s most extensive work. He began it in 1144 and completed it in 1167, thus dedicating nearly twenty-five years to this voluminous *opus*.¹² Peter Classen asserts that for Gerhoch, the interpretation of the Psalter was of primary interest, as the prayer of the Psalms constituted an important part of the canons’ everyday routine (the Psalms were highly present in liturgy). Furthermore, neither Rupert of Deutz, nor Bernard of Clairvaux, whom Gerhoch both admired, produced a systematic and full commentary on the *Book of Psalms*, while several French theologians such as Peter the Lombard or Gilbert of Poitiers did so. The Psalms were, moreover, highly suited to tackle dogmatic questions in both an allegorical and typological exegesis.¹³

According to Classen, Gerhoch carried out an allegorical, typological, and moral interpretation of Scripture as was common to the twelfth century. His commentary on the

¹⁰ Whalen, *Dominion*, p. 75.

¹¹ Cf. Whalen, *Dominion*, pp. 75-75.

¹² For an overview of Gerhoch’s commentary on the Psalms, see Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 114-121 and pp. 412-416; Damian van den Eynde, *L’œuvre littéraire de Gérhoch de Reichersberg* (Rome, 1957), pp. 291-329 and pp. 345-396.

¹³ Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 114-115.

Psalms, however, exhibits three distinct individualities or characteristics. Firstly, Classen emphasises Gerhoch's homiletic style which does not confine itself to the simple explanation of the Psalms, but also involves the reader directly. This makes clear that the exegesis was aimed at its reader and audience. The second individuality is Gerhoch's inclusion of, and references to current events into his exegesis. Classen claims that all problems of the contemporary twelfth-century Church, both of spiritual or practical nature, were tackled and interpreted in his exegesis of the Psalms.¹⁴ Therefore, by correlating Scripture to actual events, Gerhoch's commentary on the Psalms becomes what Classen calls a "zeitkritische Schrift", a tractate engaging contemporary issues.¹⁵ The homiletic style and the "aktuelle Exegese" (actualised exegesis) are mostly to be found in Gerhoch's many excursuses, the third characteristic of his Psalm commentary. These excursuses tackle a variety of different themes, ranging from liturgy to reform ideas and Christology. The most important sources Gerhoch refers to in his exegesis of the *Book of Psalms* are Augustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus, Ambrose, Bede, and Gregory the Great. Among his contemporaries, he was also influenced by Hugh of Saint Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Rupert of Deutz.¹⁶

Gerhoch of Reichersberg wrote his *Tractatus in Psalmos* in ten parts, which survived in eight manuscripts. The fifth part, dealing with Psalms 44-50, is lost. The bulk of Gerhoch's Psalm commentary has been edited and published in Jacques-Paul Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (*PL*) vols. 193 and 194.¹⁷ Gerhoch's work, including some parts of the Psalms, was partially edited by Ernst Sackur in the *Libelli de Lite III* of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.¹⁸ The previously unedited parts of the *Tractatus* (Ps. 31-37 and Ps. 78-117), were published in P.P. Damiani's, Odulphi van den Eynde's, and P. Angelini Rijmersdael's 1956 edition *Gerhohi Praepositi Reichersbergensis Opera Inedita*.¹⁹ The *Tractatus in psalmum LXIV*, which Gerhoch personally presented to Pope Eugene III, has been recently edited and translated into Italian by Pierluigi Licciardello.²⁰

¹⁴ Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 115-116; quote on p. 116.

¹⁵ Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 116.

¹⁶ Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 116-121.

¹⁷ Jaques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vols. 193-194.

¹⁸ Ernst Sackur, *MGH, SS, Libelli de Lite III* (Hannover, 1897), pp. 131-525.

¹⁹ P.P. Damiani, Odulphi van den Eynde, P. Angelini Rijmersdael O.F.M. (eds.), *Gerhohi Praepositi Reichersbergensis Opera Inedita*. Vol. 2, *Expositionis Psalmorum Pars Tertia et Pars Nona*, 2 pts. (Rome, 1956).

²⁰ Pierluigi Licciardello (ed.), *Tractatus in Psalmum LXIV. Esegese ed ecclesiologia nel secolo XII* (Florence, 2001).

There are two fundamental books dealing with Gerhoch of Reichersberg's life and work: Peter Classen's 1960 *Gerhoch von Reichersberg. Eine Biographie mit einem Anhang über die Quellen, ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und ihre Chronologie* and Damian van den Eynde's 1957 *L'œuvre littéraire de Gérhoch de Reichersberg*.²¹ While van den Eynde was the first to give a systematic overview of Gerhoch's literary work, Classen wrote the first detailed biography of the Provost. In addition, Heinrich Fichtenau's *Studien zu Gerhoch von Reichersberg* (1938) counts as a seminal work in the historiography on Gerhoch and his ideas; in it, the Austrian historian examined the provost's role in the economic and legal administration of Reichersberg Abbey, his role as the author of the oldest manuscript containing the *Annals of Reichersberg*, and analysed his theological-political works.²² Building on these, several other studies explored the various aspects of his life and work. For instance, Peter Classen, Donatella Frioli, and Christoph Egger discussed Gerhoch and his *scriptorium* through the lens of the auxiliary sciences of history;²³ moreover, several scholars such as Erich Meuthen, Anna Lazzarino del Grosso, Karl Frederick Morrison researched his vision of the Christian church and his ardent reform ideas;²⁴ focusing on Gerhoch as theologian and exegete, Meuthen, Morrison, Michael Cruschmann, or Pierluigi Licciardello have shed light on his vision of history, exegetical practice, and interpretation of the apocalypse.²⁵

²¹ Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg. Eine Biographie*. The latter contains a bibliography of the literature on Gerhoch until 1960 on pp. 452-454; van den Eynde, *L'œuvre littéraire*.

²² Heinrich Fichtenau, "Studien zu Gerhoch von Reichersberg", in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 52 (1938), pp. 1-56.

²³ Peter Classen, "Aus der Werkstatt Gerhochs von Reichersberg. Studien zur Erstehung und Überlieferung von Briefen, Briefsammlungen und Widmungen", in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 23 (1967), pp. 31-92; Donatella Frioli, "Per una storia dello Scriptorium di Reichersberg: il prevosto Gerhoch e i suoi 'segretari'", in: *Scrittura e civiltà* 23 (1999), pp. 177-212; Christoph Egger, "Quellen zur Frühgeschichte des Schismas von 1159 im bayerisch-österreichischen Raum. Ein unbekannter Brief Gerhochs von Reichersberg?", *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 112 (2004), pp. 163-176.

²⁴ Erich Meuthen, *Kirche und Heilsgeschichte bei Gerhoch von Reichersberg* (Köln and Leiden, 1959); Anna M. Lazzarino del Grosso, *Società e potere nella Germania del XII secolo: Gerhoch di Reichersberg* (Florence, 1974); Karl Frederik Morrison, "The church as play: Gerhoch of Reichersberg's call for reform", in: James Ross Sweeney, Stanley Chodorow (eds.), *Popes, Teachers and Canon Law in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, New York, 1989); Peter Classen, "Gerhoch von Reichersberg und die Regularkanoniker in Bayern und Österreich", repr. in: Josef Fleckenstein (ed.), *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Peter Classen* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 431-460; Idem., "Der Häresie-Begriff bei Gerhoch von Reichersberg und in seinem Umkreis", repr. in: Josef Fleckenstein (ed.), *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Peter Classen* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 461-473.

²⁵ Erich Meuthen, "Der Geschichtssymbolismus Gerhochs von Reichersberg", in: Walther Lammers (ed.), *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsbild im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1961), pp. 200-246; Michael Cruschmann, "Imagined Exegesis: Text and Picture in the Exegetical Works of Rupert of Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis and Gerhoch of Reichersberg", in: *Traditio* 44 (1988), pp. 145-169; Karl Frederik Morrison, "The Exercise of Thoughtful Minds. The Apocalypse in some German Historical Writings", in: Richard Kenneth Emmerson, Bernard McGinn (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York and London, 1992), pp. 352-373; Pierluigi Licciardello, "L'esegesi profetica della Bibbia da Gerhoch di Reichersberg a Giacchino da Fiore", in: *Florensia* 13/14 (1999/2000), pp. 191-202.

Overall, one can see that the scholarly output on Gerhoch of Reichersberg has been relatively meagre compared to some of his contemporaries such as Hugh of Saint Victor or Bernard of Clairvaux. Unlike the work of famous theologians of Paris or Laon, Gerhoch's Bible commentaries have not been the subject of many historical inquiries. This is all the more surprising as Gerhoch was not just interested in the interpretation of Scripture, but in many excursions proved himself to be a careful observer and commentator of important events of his own time, the twelfth century. Among those are the aftermath of the First Crusade (1095-1099) as well as the ongoing Second Crusade (1147-1149).

Gerhoch, who observed the crusading developments of the first half of the twelfth century, had an ambivalent attitude towards the Second Crusade. While many bishops, abbots, and other clerics took the cross and themselves travelled to the Holy Land, Gerhoch confined himself to comment upon the enterprise. For instance, in the commentary on Psalm 33, he dealt with the First Crusade, describing its achievements but also its negative sides which in his view were triggered by God's punishment. In his exposition of Psalm 39 of 1148 and in a Christmas Sermon of 1147, the *Sermo in Vigilia Natalis Domini*, Gerhoch addressed the ongoing Second Crusade in a rather enthusiastic way.²⁶ The disastrous outcome of the crusade, however, put a sudden end to his enthusiasm. He would only turn back to this topic in his tractate *De investitione Antichristi* of 1160-1162.²⁷ In it, Gerhoch linked the crusade's failure to the doings of the Antichrist who, by tricking the crusaders, led them to perdition.²⁸ This critique of the crusade thereby became, to put it in Philippe Buc's words, an "eschatological critique of eschatology".²⁹ In his 2019 book *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, Jay Rubenstein asserts that after Gerhoch's bitter disillusionment with the outcome of the Second Crusade, the provost carried out a reinterpretation of the apocalypse, letting it "start at home" rather than in Jerusalem, the biblical place of the Eschaton.³⁰

²⁶ Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1558, fol. 49^r-50^r. Small parts of the sermon have been edited by Buc and Classen; see Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 132 n. 19; Philippe Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology: Holy War fostered and inhibited", in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 125/1 (2017), pp. 322-357, 333-335 at n. 163 and 165. Since Cod. 1558 is for the most part still unedited, I have transcribed the whole sermon in the appendix.

²⁷ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Libri iii de investigatione Antichristi*, in: Friederich Scheibelberger (ed.), *Gerhohi Reichersbergensis praepositi opera hactenus inedita*, I, (Linz, 1875); Book 3 was edited in Ernst Sackur, *MGH, SS, Libelli de Lite III* (Hannover, 1897), pp. 305-395.

²⁸ Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 133-134; Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", pp. 333-335.

²⁹ Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", p. 335.

³⁰ Jay Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream. The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford, 2019), ch. 10 "The Apocalypse Begins at Home", pp. 143-164.

Overall, Gerhoch is not the most prominent character in the historiography of the Crusades. Among the first scholars to explore his attitude towards the Second Crusade was Giles Constable. In his seminal 1953 article "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries", the historian showed the exegete's view and later criticism of the Second Crusade.³¹ Peter Classen's biography of Gerhoch deals only cursorily with Gerhoch's crusade descriptions.³² In 2017, Philippe Buc showed how for Gerhoch, the Second Crusade was connected to reform. He furthermore emphasised the eschatological character of the crusade and of Gerhoch's subsequent critique.³³ Rubenstein deals with Gerhoch in a more comprehensive study about the evolution and interconnection of apocalyptic prophecy and crusading. He analyses Gerhoch's comments on the First and Second Crusade in the context of several theologians who revised and reinterpreted apocalyptic prophecy.³⁴ These scholars have all explored important aspects of Gerhoch's attitude towards the crusades. All in all, however, an in-depth analysis of the relation between holy war, the crusades, and church reform, which takes into account various forms of eschatology-oriented warfare, is still missing. This essay attempts to fill this gap.

For a long time in the historiography of the crusades, the role of religion and that of eschatological beliefs as motivations for the crusaders have been either completely rejected or significantly downplayed.³⁵ For instance, famous scholars such as Georges Duby, John France, or Hans-Eberhard Mayer rejected religious motivations as a whole;³⁶ Jonathan Riley-Smith and Marcus Bull took religion seriously but rejected the role of eschatological beliefs. In their highly praised publications, they emphasised the crusaders' material motivations, attributing apocalyptic ideas and motivations a marginal role at the most.³⁷ Several historians, however, stressed the role and importance of religious motivations, including the belief in the End of

³¹ Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries", in: *Traditio* IX (1953), pp. 213-279. This study focuses mainly on Gerhoch's *De investigatione antichristi*.

³² Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 132-134, deals with the Second Crusade.

³³ Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", pp. 333-335.

³⁴ Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*. This study, however, does not take into account Buc's 2017 article and therefore misses to see the eschatological character of Gerhoch's crusading critique (the crusade as deception and as breeding ground for the return of the Antichrist). Constable's article, which already expressed some of Rubenstein's arguments, is also absent in the footnotes.

³⁵ For a historiographic overview of the crusades, see Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford and Malden, 2006) – regarding the crusader's motivations, see chapter 5 "The Intentions and Motivations of Crusaders". For a very short overview, see Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", pp. 305-307.

³⁶ See, for instance, Georges Duby, *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953); John France, *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994); Hans-Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, 1965). Mayer, however, revised his position in later editions of the book.

³⁷ See, for example, Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986); *Ibid.*, *The first crusaders. 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997); Marcus Bull, "The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade", in: *History* 78 (1993), pp. 353-377.

Times, the Eschaton, as it was prophesied in several Old- and New-Testament books such as *Book of Revelation*. For example, this has been argued by Paul Alphandéry, Jean Flori, Guy Lobrichon, Philippe Buc, and Jay Rubenstein.³⁸ For instance, the mobilisation of such a big mass of people as well as the violence and massacres that occurred during the First Crusade have been explained by emphasising the crusaders' belief of acting out an eschatological scenario. If one takes this position seriously, it becomes evident that exegesis, with its functions to interpret and explain the Bible, constitutes a crucial element when it comes to the formation and development of the idea of a crusade and a holy war.

In her 2017 book *Invisible Weapons. Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology*, Cecilia Gaposchkin carried this tradition on by arguing that the liturgy of the First Crusade, which was widely spread in twelfth-century Europe, played a fundamental role in fostering the idea of a holy war.³⁹ She argues that “the liturgy helped construct the devotional ideology of the crusading project, endowing war with religious meaning, placing crusading ideals at the heart of Christian identity, and embedding crusading warfare squarely into the eschatological economy”.⁴⁰ Gaposchkin states that liturgy and exegesis stood in a mutual discourse and influenced one another constantly. For the liturgy, the Psalms served as an important basis due to their focus on Jerusalem as a holy city as well as their chant-like character.⁴¹ Moreover, the Psalm verses usually make up the liturgy for a saint or day. The point that Gerhoch's Psalm commentary was also meant for liturgical use has also been made by Classen by pointing out to the existence of several neumes that Gerhoch placed in his text.⁴² What is more, Gerhoch himself mentions the liturgy of the liberation of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099 (although misdating it to August 15) in his own description of the First Crusade in the exposition of Psalm 33. He states that the day of Jerusalem's capture is still being celebrated with the greatest diligence in

³⁸ Paul Alphandéry, “Les citations bibliques chez les historiens de la première Croisade”, in: *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 50 (1929), pp. 139-157; *Ibid.*, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade*, 2. Vols. (Paris, 1954-1959); Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermitte* (Paris, 1999); *Ibid.*, *La guerre sainte. La formation de l'idée de croisade dans l'Occident chrétien* (Paris, 2001); *Ibid.*, *1095-1099. La première croisade. L'Occident chrétien contre l'Islam (Aux origines des idéologies occidentales)* (Brussels, 1992); Guy Lobrichon, *1099. Jérusalem conquise* (Paris, 1998); Philippe Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror. Christianity, Violence, and the West* (Philadelphia, 2015); *Ibid.*, “Crusade and Eschatology”; Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven. The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York, 2011); *Ibid.*, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* (Oxford, 2019); further examples include Hannes Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit. Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung einer tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart, 2000); Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City. Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Aldershot, 2005).

³⁹ Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons. Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca NY, 2017).

⁴⁰ Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, p. 4.

⁴¹ Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 31-32.

⁴² Classen, *Gerhoch*, p. 115.

his own days and that the introit *Laetare Ierusalem* was being performed at the beginning of the office.⁴³

The provost Gerhoch of Reichersberg was first and foremost preoccupied with Church reform. He basically spent his whole life opposing secular canons, heretics, simoniacs, schismatics, or bad Christians. That Gerhoch wrote the *Tractatus in psalmos* over a period of nearly twenty-five years gives the historian the opportunity to study the evolution of his thought, its constants, its development, but also its changes and ruptures. Considering this fact as well as Gaposchkin's arguments that crusade ideology was to a large extent disseminated in twelfth-century Europe through liturgy and that there was a reciprocal influence between exegesis and liturgy (not to forget that Gerhoch himself knew the liturgy of the commemoration of the First Crusade), several questions arise.

Is there a connection between crusade ideology, holy war, and the reform ideas of Gerhoch of Reichersberg? Did Gerhoch, whose enthusiasm for crusading turned into dismay and critique after the Second Crusade, take crusade ideology and projected it onto his idea of Church reform? How does the fight against the internal enemies of the Church look like, especially in regard to his reinterpretation of the apocalypse which now "starts at home"? And, finally, what forms do these fights take?

In order to answer these questions, the first chapter of this thesis analyses Gerhoch of Reichersberg's description of the First Crusade in his exposition of Psalm 33; the second chapter deals with the ongoing Second Crusade which he commented on in his exposition of Psalm 39 and in a Christmas sermon (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1558, fol. 42^r-50^f). In these first two chapters, the emphasis of the analysis lies on the different forms of warfare during the Crusades as well as the crusades' connection to church reform. In order to show this connection, they also explore some of Gerhoch's ideas and visions of a reformed Church and aspects of his ecclesiology. To do so, in addition to Psalm 33, the first chapter also analyses the *Tractatus in psalmum LXIV* which Gerhoch personally handed to Pope Eugene III to promote his reform ideas. As such, it constitutes a synthesis of his reform endeavours. Overall, the chapter shows how his description of the First Crusade correlates with his vision of a reformed and purified Church, and with his view of the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in particular.

⁴³ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, pp. 262-263: "Capta est autem Ierusalem anno dominicae incarnationis MLXXXIII in Idibus Augusti. Quae dies adhuc Hierosolymae ita celebris habetur ut in ea cum summa diligentia officium tantae victoriae congruum celebretur. Cuius ad introitum canitur: 'Laetare ierusalem'; cf. Simon John, "The 'Feast of the Liberation of Jerusalem': remembering and reconstructing the First Crusade in the Holy City, 1099–1187", in: *Journal of Medieval History* 41/4 (2015), p. 417.

The argument that Gerhoch's description of the First Crusade represents some of his ideas about church reform is not novel. Jay Rubenstein argued that "[...] Gerhoch celebrated the First Crusade for what it demonstrated about church reform".⁴⁴ However, the first chapter goes beyond Rubenstein's reading. It elaborates his argument and takes Gerhoch's broader view of church reform into account by analysing his reform ideas and ecclesiology in more detail.

The second chapter deals with Gerhoch's ideas concerning the Second Crusade. It shows how the exegete embeds the crusade in an apocalyptic scenario and argues that for Gerhoch the crusade itself constituted just a part of a bigger fight against the forces of the Antichrist, carried out by a material and spiritual war in the Holy Land as well as by spiritual warfare and reform in the Church at home. This argument is not novel either. Philippe Buc has already pointed out the pairing of crusade and reform as well as their eschatological dimension in Gerhoch's Christmas sermon and commentary on Psalm 39.⁴⁵ To elaborate on Buc, however, this thesis analyses the entire sermon. It shows further how Gerhoch draws on II *Chronicles* 20 and other Old Testament passages to explain and frame the battle against the enemies of Church during his own days. Hence, going beyond Buc, it analyses the theologian's broader reform-oriented fight in the course of salvation history and shows the place that the Second Crusade takes in these. Furthermore, the chapter (and thesis in general) analyses the role of and dialectic between spiritual and material warfare in these struggles, an aspect which neither Buc nor Rubenstein included in their analyses of Gerhoch's work.

Considering Gerhoch's disillusionment after the failure of the Second Crusade and his following critique and rejection of crusading to the Holy Land, the third and longest chapter examines the exegete's preoccupation with the "remaining" enemies of the Church. Rubenstein emphasises that for Ralph the Black, who, like Gerhoch, devaluated the physical importance of Jerusalem and the Crusades directed at it, the fight against the inner enemies of Christendom gained in importance.⁴⁶ The same applies for Gerhoch. However, while both Rubenstein and Classen underline that for the provost simoniacs and schismatics constitute the primary evil,⁴⁷ neither of them shows what forms and manifestations this struggle took. Even though Rubenstein works on *De quarta vigilia noctis* in Nebuchadnezzar's Dream, he misses important aspects such as the material war at home which is carried out in the course of the 1159 schism.

⁴⁴ Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 144. The third section of this essay's first chapter discusses his arguments in more detail.

⁴⁵ Cf. Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", pp. 333-335.

⁴⁶ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 164.

⁴⁷ Cf., for instance, Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 153, 157; Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 132-133.

Therefore, the third chapter analyses this inner-Christian fight. It argues that Gerhoch makes use of well-established crusading tropes, themes, and narratives in order to frame and provide a script for his fight against the enemies of Christendom such as heretics, schismatics, or simoniacs. Chapter III shows how as a reaction to current events – in the case of Gerhoch the papal Schism of 1159 in combination with the immediate threat of the approaching End Times – Christian exegetical mechanisms can function to legitimise, accept, and re-materialise the once spiritualised biblical violence. The conclusion provides an overview of this essay’s arguments and discusses them in the light of broader theoretical approaches to the topic of religious violence.

The so-called “close reading” and “wide reading” constitute the methodological background of this Master-Thesis. “Close reading” as a method describes the precise and detailed reading and analysis of a literary or historical text. The emphasis thereby lies on the text itself and the analysis tries to discern its single elements – such as meanings, language, or structure – and their intertextual relations. “Wide reading” combines this rather focused analysis with the reading of other related texts with the aim of exploring the cultural context of a single text. Culture is understood as a system of signs and symbols. Texts are embedded into this web of signs and thereby become so-called “cultural texts”. By emphasising the cultural dimension of a text which is necessary to understand it, this approach exhibits a very structuralist footprint. Considering the many references and allusions in medieval texts, either to Scripture or to other medieval authors, intertextuality constitutes the theoretical framework of this paper.⁴⁸ Furthermore, this thesis also draws on Gerard Caspary’s “grammar of exegesis”, a method focusing on the underlying logic of exegetical texts which is itself indebted to Lévi-Strauss structuralism.⁴⁹

For the sake of a better understanding of the arguments raised in this thesis, it is first necessary to explain Caspary’s approach in more detail as well as to give a short introduction to the topic of Christian late-antique and medieval exegesis.⁵⁰ The roots of Christian exegesis, i.e. the interpretation of the holy Writ, go back to late Antiquity and the Church Fathers. An important premise of exegesis was the conception that the Scriptures, like men, had a body and a soul. The body, on the one hand, corresponded to the words, the letter, and hence to the literal

⁴⁸ Wolfgang Hallet, “Methoden kulturwissenschaftlicher Ansätze: *Close Reading* und *Wide Reading*“, in: Vera Nünning, Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Methoden der literatur- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Textanalyse* (Stuttgart and Weimar, 2010), pp. 293-315.

⁴⁹ Gerard Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis: Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley, 1979).

⁵⁰ The following paragraphs draw on Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, pp. 1-36 and Lobrichon, “Making sense of the Bible”.

meaning. The spirit, on the other hand, corresponded to the soul of the letter and thus to the spiritual meaning. During the first centuries CE, two types of exegesis developed: the Alexandrian and Antiochene types. The latter was drawn to a more literal interpretation of the Scriptures, while the Alexandrian type stressed the use of the spiritual interpretation. Eventually, it was the Alexandrian method that (with some minor exceptions) prevailed and found its way into the Latin West.

A highly influential figure for the eventual patristic and medieval exegesis was Origen of Alexandria (c. 184 – c. 243 CE). He himself was strongly influenced by the Apostle Paul and the Hellenised Jew Philo of Alexandria (15 or 10 BCE – 40 CE). Origen took up the Pauline notion that the Old Testament prefigured the New one and that the New Testament was the fulfilment of the Old one. Old Testament types, therefore, foreshadowed New Testament realities. Origen distinguished four different types of type. The first two, prophecies about the coming of Christ and about the Church and sacraments, are found exclusively in the Old Testament. The other two types are of eschatological or mystical nature and can also be found in the New Testament. They are prophecies about the last things and the Kingdom of Heaven and, fourthly, figures of the relationship between God and individual souls. As a consequence of this method, the Scriptures had not merely a literal but also a higher, spiritual meaning – and it was the exegete’s task to discern that meaning. Origen therefore “distinguished three ‘senses’: body, soul, and spirit, matching closely the triad of literal, allegorical, and tropological senses of which Latin writers would later write”.⁵¹ During the Middle Ages a fourth sense was added, the anagogical sense.⁵² The literal sense was seen as *historia*, history; the tropological (or moral) sense was concerned with morality; the allegorical sense with Christ and the Church; and the fourth, the anagogical sense, dealt with transcendental matters. Drawing on Origen and Tyconius’ *Liber regularum* (*The Book of Rules*),⁵³ Augustine of Hippo produced a treatise, the *De doctrina christiana* (*On Christian Doctrine*),⁵⁴ in which he schematised the method of biblical exegesis. It was through Latin translations and through the work of the Latin Fathers that Origen found his way into the Latin West and, ultimately, into the Latin Middle Ages.

⁵¹ Lobrichon, “Making sense of the Bible”, p. 539.

⁵² For a fundamental study on the four senses during the Middle Ages, see Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l’Écriture*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1954-1964), Am. trans. Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids, 1998-2009).

⁵³ Tyconius, *The Book of Rules*, trls. William S. Babcock (Atlanta, 1989).

⁵⁴ Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, German trls. R.P.H. Green (Oxford, 1995).

The process of allegorisation, which was introduced by Philo and Origen, had a long-lasting impact on the Christian perception and exegesis of violence.⁵⁵ To Origen, as previously to the Apostle Paul and Jesus, the New Dispensation constituted a drastic contrast, an opposition, to the Old Dispensation, the Old Law. With the transition from Old to New Dispensation, the “Letter” transmuted into the “Spirit”. In that sense, Moses, the bringer of the Old Law, and Jesus, the bringer of the New Law, stand in opposition to each other. The Old Testament, however, foreshadows the New Testament which means that despite their antithetical conception the two Testaments form a continuum. The New Law does not simply abrogate the Old Law, it perfects and improves it. Without the former, there would not be the latter. Thus, both Testaments form one Testament. It is the thinking in these dialectical pairs that, according to Gerard Caspary, form an underlying structure of Christian thought, the “grammar of exegesis”.

This dialectical relationship between the Old Dispensation and New Dispensation, the Old Law and the New Law, and between the Old and New Testament, also informs Christianity’s outlook on violence. The Old Testament – also called the “Letter” or “*Historia*” – is garlanded with violent and rather bellicose passages. As a propagator of an eirenic new religion, Christianity, Origen found a solution to mitigate Old Testament material warfare: allegory. Old and to some extent also New Testament warfare ought to be interpreted allegorically; material warfare became spiritual warfare against temptations, demons, or sins. Thus, the good Christian became a spiritual warrior. However, due to the dialectic relation between the Letter and the Spirit, warfare was on the one hand rejected, but on the other hand perfected and intensified. Furthermore, this spiritual warfare also exhibited an eschatological dimension as it was understood to be part of the battle between Christ and his great enemy, the Antichrist.

Due to the dialectic nature of Christian thought, however, spiritual Old Testament warfare could, if necessary, easily be rematerialized again as Gerard Caspary and his student Philippe Buc showed.⁵⁶ As has been shown, the Christian perception of temporality was bipartite: after the Old Testament age of Justice (or Vengeance) there followed the New Testament age of Mercy, which was introduced by the first Advent of Christ. This bipartition correlates with the binary pairs Old Testament – New Testament, Letter – Spirit, Old Law –

⁵⁵ The following paragraphs on the allegorisation of Old Testament violence and the dialectic of Christian thought draw on Caspary, *Politics*, pp. 12-39 and 102-124.

⁵⁶ The following paragraphs draw on Buc, *Holy War*, pp. 70-84.

New Law, Old Dispensation – New Dispensation, Vengeance – Mercy, *tunc* (back then) – *nunc* (now). However, as foretold in the *Revelation of John* (also known as the Apocalypse) as well as in some sections of the synoptic Gospels (the so-called “Little Apocalypse”), there is yet to be the Second Advent of Christ for the Lord was rejected during his own time, the age of Mercy. And with this Second Coming there comes also the Eschaton, the time of God’s final vengeance. At the Apocalypse, moreover, Old Testament justice will be reintroduced during Christ’s and Christendom’s fight against the Antichrist and his servants. The result of the two Advents of Christ is a tripartition of time: Old Dispensation – New Dispensation – End Times. By correlating the above-mentioned binary pairs to this newly formed triad, they, too, become dialectical. The *tunc* – *nunc* pair, for instance, becomes *tunc* (back then) – *nunc* (now) – *tunc* (then at the end) which respectively corresponds with letter – spirit – letter, vengeance – mercy – vengeance, and, consequently with material warfare – spiritual warfare – material (and spiritual) warfare. Thus, Old Testament material warfare can potentially be reintroduced and reinvested by the logic and grammar of exegesis. Its mechanisms and ability to legitimise violence shall be examined at a later point of this thesis; there will be enough opportunities for it as the dialectical pair of spiritual and material warfare is discussed throughout this essay.

Finally, this inquiry is designed neither to be a critique of Christianity (let alone a full-frontal attack on it), nor to be an apologia. It is a work of history, looking at a specific moment in history. Its aim is to show how the Bible worked at this moment or rather at various moments in the course of Gerhoch's long career. It aims to analyse the role played by biblical exegesis and how it imagined, with its specific logic and mechanisms, righteous Christian violence at a particular historical moment, within the world and intellectual environment of one particular twelfth-century person, Gerhoch of Reichersberg.

CHAPTER I: Gerhoch of Reichersberg and the First Crusade

It is a matter of record that God's army, although it bore the whip of the Lord for its transgressions, nevertheless triumphed over all paganism because of His loving kindness.

– Raymond d'Aguilers⁵⁷

On the 27th of November 1095, near the town of Clermont, Pope Urban II (r. 1088-1099) proclaimed a momentous and far-reaching enterprise, which later would be known as the First Crusade.⁵⁸ In the light of the Seljuqs' advance into Asia Minor and in response to a call for help from the Byzantine court, Urban's sermon stressed the need to liberate Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre from pagan hands. Driven by the promise of the remission of sins, numerous crusaders set off to liberate the holy land from 'pagan' rule. With manifold motivations, people from different social backgrounds partook in the crusade, from knights and clerics, to servants and peasants. Among the leaders of the crusading army were, for instance, Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemond of Taranto, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Robert of Flanders, and Hugh of Vermandois. However, the enthusiasm for the Crusade was far stronger than the Pope expected it to be. Due to the ardent preaching of itinerant preachers such as Peter the Hermit (d. ca. 1115), the call for the crusade spread far beyond the territory that had been previously targeted by Urban II. What followed was the mobilisation of an unorganised posse of crusaders which initiated the so-called People's Crusade.⁵⁹ In contrast to this wave of crusaders, which was slain by the Seljuk forces in Anatolia, the crusading armies organised by the Pope reached and conquered first Antioch in 1098 and then Jerusalem in 1099 after a troublesome and strenuous journey, involving near starvation and many deaths. In the aftermath of the conquest of Jerusalem, four Crusader States were established: The Kingdom of Jerusalem, the County of Edessa, the Principality of Antioch, and the County of Tripoli.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, in: John Hugh Hill, Laura L. Hill (ed.), *Le "Liber" de Raymond D'Aguilers* [Documents Relatifs a L'Histoire des Croisades] (Paris, 1969), p. 35: "Excercitus enim Dei etsi pro peccatis flagellum Domini sui sustinuit, pro eiusdem misericordia victor super omnem paganitatem extitit"; English translation by John Hugh Hill, Laurita L. Hill, *Raymond D'Aguilers. Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 15.

⁵⁸ For fundamental works on the First Crusade, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*; Idem, *The first crusaders. 1095-1131*; Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (10th and revised edition: Stuttgart, 2005); for further works, see n. 35-38.

⁵⁹ On Peter the Hermit and the People's crusade, see, for instance: Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite*.

⁶⁰ On the crusader states, see Malcolm Barber, *The Crusader States* (New Haven, 2012); P.M. Holt, *The Crusader States and Their Neighbours, 1098-1291* (London and New York, 2004).

The reverberation of this epochal event for Christianity and the Latin West was still strongly felt in mid twelfth-century Europe. To what extent is the ideology of a holy war present in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Tractatus in Psalmos*? What forms does this holy war take? Was Gerhoch's thought in line with the usual crusading mentality? Is there a connection between the First Crusade and his ideas of a reformed Church? In order to answer these questions, this chapter analyses Gerhoch of Reichersberg's ideas on the First Crusade, which the theologian dealt with in his exposition of Psalm 33.

Of Good Angels and Evil Angels: History and Liberation

The theologian Gerhoch of Reichersberg describes the First Crusade (1095-1099) in his exposition of Psalm 33 which he wrote during the 1140s.⁶¹ This Psalm is attributed to David and consists of twenty-three verses from which Gerhoch chooses the eighth one for what one could call his exposition on angels and history. Jerome's vulgate version of Psalm 33:8 says "Immittet angelus Domini in circuitu timentium eum: et eripiet eos",⁶² which the Douay-Rheims Bible translates as "The angel of the Lord shall encamp round about them that fear him: and shall deliver them".⁶³ It is this angel of God that Gerhoch's exegesis of Psalm 33:8 is concerned with, which becomes obvious right at the beginning:

*The angel of the Lord, Christ, Who is the angel of the great council, sends [good and bad things] – i.e. the sending in is done through evil angels or good ones – into the circle of those who fear him and will free them. Just as He did in Egypt where He sent [evils via] evil angels into the circle of those who fear him, the sons of Israel, in order to scatter the Egyptians; and he freed them, killing the firstborn of the Egyptians.*⁶⁴

⁶¹ The commentary on Psalm 33 is part of Munich, BSB, Clm 16012, fol. 45r-93v. For an edition of Gerhoch's exposition of Psalm 33:8, see P.P. Damiani, Odulphi van den Eynde, P. Angelini Rijmersdael O.F.M. (eds.), *Gerhohi Praepositi Reichersbergensis Opera Inedita*. Vol. 2, *Expositionis Psalmorum Pars Tertia et Pars Nona*, 2 pts. (Rome, 1956), pp. 153-306; in this draft I will use the abbreviation "OI 2". For the dating of Part 3 of Gerhoch's Exposition, see Classen, *Gerhoch*, p. 413. As for the enumeration of the Psalms, I will follow Gerhoch's use, i.e. Psalm 33 instead of Psalm 34, as is common in later versions of the Bible.

⁶² Cf. *PL*, 29, col. 0173c.

⁶³ Unless otherwise stated, the English translation of the Bible quotes are from Douay-Rheims Version of the Bible.

⁶⁴ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 253: "ANGELUS DOMINI, Christus, qui est angelus magni consilii, IMMITTIT, id est immissionem facit per angelos malos vel bonos, IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM EUM ET ERIPRET EOS, quemadmodum fecit in Aegypto immissionem per angelos malos ad percutiendos Aegyptios IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM EUM filiorum Isreal ET ERIPUIT EOS, percussis Aegyptiorum primogenitis".

Gerhoch begins his exposition of Psalm 33:8 with a straightforward description of the *angelus domini*, the angel of the Lord, who, for Gerhoch – following the *Glossa Ordinaria* and Augustine – is Christ.⁶⁵ The latter is also the “*angelus magni consilii*”, the angel of great council, explains the Gloss at *Isaiah* 9:6.⁶⁶ It is this angel that sends (*immittit*) his angels into the circle of the God-fearing; this insertion or engrafting is carried out by good or evil angels (*per angelos malos vel bonos*). The evil angels represent the wrath of God which becomes evident with Gerhoch’s allusion to Psalm 77:49 that states: “And he sent upon them the wrath of his indignation: indignation and wrath and trouble, which he sent by evil angels”. For Gerhoch, angels are agents of God. Exhibiting agency, they are sent to the earth in order to free those who fear the Lord, punishing their enemies – they are the carriers of help and plagues.

Gerhoch of Reichersberg makes that clear by emphasising and analysing the ‘liberations’ carried out by the angels of God, either good or evil ones, in the course of Christian history. Already in the opening sentence where he introduces the theme of the liberation of the God-fearing, he gives the Old Testament example of the Exodus. Drawing on *Exodus* 12:29, Gerhoch describes how he, the angel of God, sent his evil angels into Egypt, freeing the sons of Israel from the persecuting Egyptians and killing their firstborn children. However, the good angel, the theologian asserts, was also in the circle of those who fear the Lord. It is he “who now (*nunc*) leads the camp of the sons of Israel, positioning himself in between the persecuting Egyptians and the fleeing Israelites in order that they cannot approach each other, appearing as a bright cloud to the sons of Israel and a dark one to the Egyptians”.⁶⁷ In a similar fashion, God sent his angel in defence of king Hezekiah and the prophet Isaiah, slaying 185.000 men in the Assyrian camp during a nightly visit.⁶⁸ In addition to these two Old Testament examples of

⁶⁵ Cf. the *Ordinary Gloss* on Psalm 33:8: https://glosse.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/GLOSSliber26_2.xml&chapitre=26_2_33 (last accessed 19.04.2020).

⁶⁶ According to the *Gloss* on *Isaiah* 9:6, the “*angelus magni consilii*”, is from the *Septuaginta*. Cf. https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/GLOSS-liber33.xml&chapitre=33_9 (last accessed: 19.04.2020).

⁶⁷ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI* 2, p. 253: “*Angelus quoque bonus fuit IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM EUM, nunc praecedens castra filiorum Israel, nunc etiam anteriora dimittens et inter Aegyptios persequentes et Israelitas fugientes medium se ponens ut ad se invicem non possent accedere toto noctis tempore, quoniam idem angelus erat filiis Israel nubes lucida et Aegyptiis tenebrosa*”. In this passage, Gerhoch alludes to *Exodus* 14:19-20.

⁶⁸ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI* 2, p. 253: “*Similiter angelus Domini, percutiens in castis Assyriorum nocte una centum octaginta quinque milia, fuit a Deo immissus ad defensionem regis Ezechiae ac prophetae Isaiae aliorumque in Ierusalem timentium eum*”. The biblical reference is to *IV Reg.* 19:35 which in later versions of the bible corresponds with *II Kings* 19:35.

interventions by the angel of God, Gerhoch also mentions a sending (*immissionem*) into Sodom, where he came to the aid of Lot enabling him to flee from the destruction of the town.⁶⁹

In the biblical figure of Lot, who is associated with the destruction of Sodom, there inheres also an eschatological allusion. This becomes clear in the *Gospel of Luke* where Jesus instructs his disciples: Lot is associated with the Second Coming of Christ and the future Kingdom of God. Jesus states (*Luke 17:28-30*): “Likewise as it came to pass, in the days of Lot: they did eat and drink, they bought and sold, they planted and built. And in the day that Lot went out of Sodom, it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all. Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man shall be revealed”. Gerhoch’s subsequent exegesis indeed has a very eschatological tenor. This already becomes apparent as, after stressing Lot’s eschatological connotations, he goes on by citing *I Corinthians 10:11* which again emphasises the end of the world: “Now all these things happened to them in figure: and they are written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the world are come”. These examples and admonition, the exegete adds, “are given in order that we fear the Lord if we want to be under the protection of good as well as evil angels”.⁷⁰

What is more, these eschatological allusions soon turn into an even more vivid and intense apocalypticism as Gerhoch carries his exegesis on. He asserts that it is also possible for an archangel to command other angels, which he sends to bring help to the God-fearing. “For instance,” Gerhoch states “Michael and his angels are fighting with the dragon, and the dragon fights and so do his angels, but they are not able to resist the good angels who are strong, and they are not able to harm the God-fearing, because Michael, the prince of the armies of Heaven, sends his angels into ‘the circle of those who fear the Lord and he will free them’”.⁷¹ This scenario of the Archangel Michael fighting the dragon is a reference to the *Book of Revelation*, the final book of the New Testament. Also known as the Apocalypse, it describes the

⁶⁹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, pp. 253-254: “Item in Sodomis fecit immissionem per angelos bonos IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM EUM ET ERIPUIT EOS, Lot videlicet cum suis Deum timentibus. Illi autem a quibus idem Lot affligebatur per iniqua ipsorum opera, vel etiam generi sui, quibus ipse Lot verum dicens videbatur quasi ludens loqui, per eosdem angelos quamvis bonos perditum sunt, eo quod Dominum non timuerunt neque famulum eius dilexerunt aut libenter audierunt”.

⁷⁰ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 254: “Haec autem omnia in figura contingebant illis: scripta sunt autem ad correptionem nostrum, in quos fines saeculorum devenerunt, ut nos timamus Dominum, si volumus esse sub custodia tam bonorum quam malorum angelorum”.

⁷¹ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, pp. 254-255: “Potest enim quilibet archangelus habens sub se angelos intelligi talis hic ANGELUS, qui IMMITTIT alios angelos IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM DEUM ET ERIPIT EOS. Verbi gratia Michael et angeli eius praeliantur cum dracone, et draco pugnat et angeli eius, et non valent resistere bonis angelis fortioribus se neque valent laedere Deum timentes, propter angelos quos Michael princeps militiae caelestis IMMITTIT IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM DEUM ET ERIPIT EOS”.

happenings of the last days of the world – i.e. the Second Coming of Christ and the final battle against the Antichrist at the Armageddon, the time of God’s final vengeance. What stands out in Gerhoch’s description are the verb tenses. When writing about the fight with the dragon, the author uses *praeliantur*, i.e. the present tense. Hence, it seems that for Gerhoch, the fight against the dragon has already begun. Although it does not become entirely clear whether for the theologian the fight is already ongoing or if he just describes the future scenario of the *Book of Revelation*, it nevertheless shows the apocalyptic context which Gerhoch evokes in his exegesis of Psalm 33:8.

Not just archangels, however, can have warriors of the armies of heaven under their command, but also men, which “nonetheless are equally the servants of God’s will”. For instance, Gerhoch mentions Moses, who in his eyes was both “the servant as well as the angel of God”. Following the instructions of a divine oracle, he placed the Ark of the covenant in the Holy of Holies and ordered the Levites, a tribe of Israel, to protect it. In order to protect the Ark, he ordered the tribes of Israel to cruciformly set up their camps in all four cardinal directions. Gerhoch asserts that in this way, the church is kept together, protected in all directions, and spread to all four corners of the world.⁷²

Gerhoch then cites a few verses of Sedulius’ *Carmen Paschale*, a fifth-century poem, and asserts that its words describe the cross of the Lord. Each of its ends point towards the four corners of the world, “protecting the Catholic church everywhere as well as the countless armies that prevail protecting it”. Without the victorious banner of the cross (*victoriosum crucis vexillum*) an army will never prevail, no matter what its strength in warriors might be.⁷³ The exegete then gives two historical examples of the sign of the cross bringing victory to its defenders. Firstly, it was only due to the power of the cross itself that the recovery of the so-

⁷² Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 255: “Postremo etiam quilibet homo divinae voluntatis minister, habens sub se milites militiae caelestis cooperatores, velut quidam archangelus IMMITTIT angelos IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM EUM ET ERIPIERT EOS. Verbi gratia Moyses, famulus Domini pariterque angelus Domini, oraculo divino instructus, arcam foederis manna continentem posuit intra sancta sanctorum et in excubiis eius ordinavit levitas Deum timentes. Ad quorum tutelam sic ordinavit castra filiorum Israel in circuitu ipsorum Deum timentium, ut cum subiecta sibi multitudine armatorum, tres principes castra metarentur ad orientem et tres ad occidentem, item tres ad austrum et tres ad aquilonem, videlicet in modum crucis quatuor habentis cornua; quibus undique colligitur et munitur Ecclesia, in toto terrarum orbe versus orientem, occidentem, aquilonem et austrum dilatata”. In this passage, Gerhoch refers to the *Book of Exodus* 16:33-34; the *Epistle to the Hebrews* 9:3-4; as well as to the *Book of Numbers* chapters 1 and 2.

⁷³ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 256: “In quibus verbis imago descripta est dominicae crucis, in plano iacentis et singulis quatuor cornibus quatuor mundi partes respicientis, ac multo efficacius ac victoriosius Ecclesiam catholicam undique defendentis quam innumeri exercitus eam defendere valeant. Quia quantumlibet sit numerus exercitus militum, facile cadent si absque victorioso crucis vexillo in pugnam procedunt”.

called True Cross, the cross of Christ's crucifixion, from the Persians by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius during the seventh century CE was possible.⁷⁴ Secondly, the sign of the cross played an essential role in the Roman Emperor Constantine's fight and victory over his opponent, Maxentius, during the fourth century CE.⁷⁵

According to Cecilia Gaposchkin, crusading ideology was initially rooted in the "militant eschatology of the liturgy", in particular, in the image of Jerusalem in liturgy as well as in the liturgy of pilgrimage, war, and the cross.⁷⁶ The cross especially became a central symbol for the crusading enterprise and structures its rhetoric. As Gaposchkin asserts, "[t]he rhetoric of the cross emerging from the liturgical texts of the precrusade period was in some parts a language of service to God, and in others a militant language of combat and victory".⁷⁷ Symbolising Christian and individual salvation, the cross has a very bellicose character, standing for the victory in the eschatological battle against Antichrist. For instance, this "eschatological triumphalism" is a common element in the liturgy where it is often connected with the stories of Heraclius and Constantine. The association of the enemies of Christ with the enemies of the Cross therefore constitutes a central and long-lasting tradition for the genesis of a Holy War.⁷⁸

Interestingly, angels are not exclusively of an immaterial nature but can also have a material one. For instance, worldly kings can sometimes be referred to as angels, the theologian claims. This is the case in the Apocalypse where, he goes on, the four angels to whom it is given to harm earth are understood as the four chief kingdoms. According to the theologian, these are the Babylonian empire, the Persian or Mede Empire, as well as the Greek and Roman empires. To these it is "given to harm earth and sea" (*Revelation 7:2*). However, Gerhoch claims, "they were only permitted so much by the greatest and best angel who was crying in a loud voice: 'Do not harm the earth, nor the sea or trees until we have signed the servants of our God on their forehead'" (*Revelation 7:3*).

⁷⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 256: "In hoc signo victor, Heraclius ipsam dominicam crucem a rege Persarum deductam reportavit Hierosolymam".

⁷⁵ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 256: "In hoc signo, Constantinus Augustus victor exstitit contra Maxentium tyrannum, crucis Christi adversarium". Cf. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, p. 57.

⁷⁶ Cf. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, Ch. 1 "The Militant Eschatology of the Liturgy and the Origins of Crusade Ideology".

⁷⁷ Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 55.

⁷⁸ Cf. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 225.

The sign of the cross not only strengthens God's army, Gerhoch furthermore asserts, but also weakens that of the enemy. As prophesied in the New Testament, he claims, there were 144.000 men (an allusion to *Revelation 7:5-8*) who have been marked by the cross in the Church. For this reason, it is said about the latter: "Who is she that rises with the sunrise, beautiful as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army ordered into camps? Also: Behold! You are beautiful, my beloved, sweet like Jerusalem, terrible as an army ordered into camps" (*Canticum 6:9 and 6:3*).⁷⁹ Thus for Gerhoch, as he seeks prophetic evidence for the crusade in the Song of Solomon,⁸⁰ the Church constitutes a terrible, yet beautiful army.

In this passage, Gerhoch alludes to the *Book of Revelation* by emphasising the sealing of God's soldiers by the sign of the cross as written in the Apocalypse. The sealing by the cross will become a central element in the description of the First Crusade that follows. For instance, when describing the crusaders' army at a later point in his exegesis, he mentions that when the crusaders guarded the relics which had been brought by churchmen partaking the crusade, "it was as if thousands of people with a mark coming from each tribe of the sons of Israel".⁸¹ This sentence is an allusion to *Revelation 7:4*, which states: "And I heard the number of them that were signed, an hundred forty-four thousand were signed, of every tribe of the children of Israel". Previously in the already mentioned passage on the eschatological notions of the sealing by the cross, the exegete had alluded to the neighbouring verses, *Revelation 7:2-3 and 7:5-8*. Interestingly, Gerhoch refers to *Revelation 7:4* in the context of the crusaders' army, thereby fitting the marked crusaders neatly into the eschatological scenario which he previously outlined.

After this introduction to the role of good and evil angels as well as the power of the cross, which both exhibit strong eschatological notions, Gerhoch begins his description of the First Crusade.⁸² However, his discourse on angels and the banner of the cross was not just meant to set the stage for his account of the Crusade – it was rather the event of the Crusade that

⁷⁹ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, pp. 256-257: "Signo igitur sanctae crucis et exercitus Dei servorum signatur atque tutatur et exercitus contrarius debatur. Nonne cum auditur numerus signatorum duodecies duodecim milia, videlicet in singulis tribubus duodecim milibus signatis, illa positio castrorum nobis ad memoriam revocatur in qua, ut supra dictum est, quadriformiter castra filiorum Israel circa tabernaculum quasi ad modum crucis erant ordinata, sicut et hic in Novo Testamento duodecies duodecim milia leguntur signaculo crucis victorissime signata in sancta Ecclesia, de qua recte dicitur: *Quae est ista quae ascendit quasi aurora congruens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata?* Item: *Ecce tu pulchra es, amica mea, suavis sicut Ierusalem, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*".

⁸⁰ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 144.

⁸¹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 260: "In quorum custodia per circuitum castrorum videres quasi milia signatorum ex omni tribu filiorum Israel".

⁸² For Gerhoch's description of the First Crusade, see *OI 2*, pp. 257-263.

brought both elements, the angels and the cross, together. This is evident already from the beginning of his account. There, Gerhoch marvels at the crusading endeavour of the late eleventh century. “The spectacle of the army (*militiae spectaculum*) of our days”, Gerhoch states, “shone with outstanding brightness (*praefulsit*) when Pope Urban II mobilised the Christian soldiers through his sermon to march on to free Jerusalem, the Holy City, from pagan hands”. These soldiers, he adds, “were visibly marked (*visibiliter signati*) with the cross of Christ”.⁸³ During and after the conquest of Antioch, in particular, angels and the banner of the cross played a crucial role for the outcome of the crusade. It was through the cross, Gerhoch stresses, “that within each of the human encampments the camps of God’s angels visibly appeared” and eventually guided the crusaders to victory.⁸⁴

Drawing strongly on Robert the Monk’s *Historia Iherosolimitana* as well as to a lesser extent on Raymond of Aguilers’ *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*,⁸⁵ Gerhoch then carries on his account of the events of the First Crusade. It includes the siege and capture of Antioch (1097-1098), its counter-siege by Kerbogha, the leader of the Turkish forces, the visions of the monk Peter Bartholomew, the finding of the Holy Lance, and the subsequent victory of the crusaders. Furthermore, he mentions the lay leaders of the Crusade, such as Godfrey of Bouillon or Bohemond I. After the capture of Antioch, Gerhoch asserts, the crusaders proceeded towards Jerusalem under the leadership of Godfrey of Bouillon. Then he depicts the siege of Jerusalem, the storming of the city and the arrival at the Holy Sepulchre.

⁸³ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 257: “Pulchrum talis militiae spectaculum nostris in diebus praefulsit, quando beatae memoriae papa Urbanus urbano sermone christianos milites ad hoc animavit ut, etiam visibiliter signati cruce Christi, pergerent Hierosolymam liberare illam civitatem sanctam de manu paganorum”. Rubenstein discusses this passage on p. 144 of *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream*.

⁸⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 257: “Quod factum est per crucis Christi vexillum triumphale in tanta miraculorum evidentia ut inter humana castra visibiliter quoque apparerent angelorum Dei castra in circuitu timentium eum, praecipue cum expugnarent Antiochiam. Qua expugnata, diverterunt Hierosolymam ut illam quoque crucis Christi signaculo communiti expugnarent et de manu gentium liberarent”.

⁸⁵ The editors of the *OI 2* pointed this out on p. 258 n. 1. For editions and translations of the chronicles, see Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in: D. Kempf, M.G. Bull (eds.), *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk* (Woodbridge, 2013); Carol Sweetenham (trans.), *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade* (Guilford, 2005); Raymond D’Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, in: John H. Hill, Laura L. Hill (ed.), *Le “Liber” de Raymond D’Aguilers* [Documents Relatifs a L’Histoire des Croisades] (Paris, 1969) and the English translation in *Ibid*, *Raymond D’Aguilers. Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* (Philadelphia, 1968). In the introduction to their 2013 edition, Kempf and Bull claim that the earliest ‘German’ manuscript of Robert the Monk’s *Historia Iherosolimitana*, now Vienna, ÖNB, 427, was produced at the abbey of Reichersberg shortly before 1152, thus during the time that Gerhoch was provost. Cf. Kempf, Bull (eds.), *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, p. xlii.

The capture of the city was followed by another battle against the king of Babylon and the city of Ascalon, which, according to Gerhoch, was the historical rival of Jerusalem.⁸⁶

Eventually, the crusaders proved themselves victorious. Gerhoch ends his account of the crusade by mentioning that now in the city of Jerusalem there are four great chapters of canon regulars that follow the rule of Saint Augustine. Due to the protection of the Lord's angel and his army, the canons and other faithful in Jerusalem do not need to worry: "Smoothly ordered camps of warriors (*castra militum bene ordinata*)", Gerhoch states, "are always armed for battle and always prepared to fight pagans".⁸⁷ At the end of his crusading account, Gerhoch comes back to the angels of God. "Due to this sending [of good and evil angels] the protection of those who fear Him, through which the angel of the Lord guards them in this present life and through which it will free them in the future, is firm", he emphasises.⁸⁸

The end of the crusading account, however, does not constitute the end of Gerhoch's exegesis of Psalm 33:8. There are many other cases that exemplify how God's angel has intervened in the course of history. This happened either through the visible appearing of the angels or through their actions.⁸⁹ Gerhoch carries his exegesis on by listing some of these numerous examples of angelic protection and help. Among others, for instance, angels were decisive in the case of Saint Lawrence, Pope Sixtus II, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Basil of Caesarea. In addition to the help for these Saints, the angel of God also played a vital part in the defence of the catholic doctrine against Arianism and its defenders, such as Justina (c. 340 – c. 388), the wife of western Roman Emperor Valentinian I (r. 364-375), and mother of his successor Valentinian II (r. 383-392).⁹⁰ It would take long to list all the single instances of

⁸⁶ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, pp. 261-262: "Sed quia suos milites Christus non vult securitate torpescere, post captam Hierosolimam cum infinito exercitu suprevenit rex Babylonis atque conedit apud Ascalonam civitatem, quondam Philistinorum et semper Hierosolymae civitati sanctae inimicam". In chapter 14 of Book 9 of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, Robert the Monk writes that "It [Ascalon] was always the rival of Jerusalem and, despite its nearness, never wanted to engage in friendly relations". Cf. Sweetenham (trans.), *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, p. 205.

⁸⁷ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 263: "Sunt autem in ipsa civitate quatuor magnae congregationes regulares, communem vitam a sanctis apostolis ordinatam professe iuxta regulam Augustini. Sed ad munimentum istarum congregationum aliorumque in illa civitate Deum colentium et timentium, IMMITTIT ANGELUS DOMINI IN CIRCUITU ipsorum Deum TIMENTIUM castra militum bene ordinata, contra paganos dimicantia et semper ad procinctum parata".

⁸⁸ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 264: "Per hanc immissionem praenotatam firma est custodia timentium eum, quo ipse angelus Domini et in praesenti vita custodit eos, in futuro eripiet eos".

⁸⁹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 264: "Qualiter etiam in praesenti vita eripiat [angelus domini] eos, multa sunt exempla vel per visibiles angelorum apparitiones, vel per manifestos effectus exhibita".

⁹⁰ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 265: "Igitur propter vitae perfectionem et doctrinam catholicam, quae tunc velut aqua contradictionis contraria fuit Arianis haereticis, I u s t i n a regina, defensatrix Arianorum, quasi altera Iezabel persecute est illum".

interventions by angels, Gerhoch asserts. This is because He freed both martyrs, preserving their soul, and confessors, preserving both their soul and body.⁹¹

The overall structure and context of Gerhoch's exposition of Psalm 33:8 allow several observations. Overall, the exegete uses the theme of the angel and angels of God, present in Psalm 33, as well as the power of the Christian cross to emphasise God's interventions in the course of Christian history. These interventions take the form of 'liberations' from Christendom's enemies and persecutors. Gerhoch presents these liberations in a circular structure by embedding them in the context of this overarching theme of godly interventions by good and evil angels.⁹² To each event in his narration he juxtaposes an enemy who is defeated by and with the aid of the cross or angels. Gerhoch begins his exegesis with the Old Testament story of the Exodus. He describes how Christians flee from their Egyptian persecutors and the angels of God protect them, which put an end to the Egyptian enslavement of the Israelites. Then, he mentions Constantine and his fight against Maxentius. During the First Crusade, Christians fought against pagans (*pagani*), i.e. Muslims. However, Gerhoch then goes back again in time, providing different instances of God's interventions including Catholicism's fight against Arianism.

Although not explicitly, Gerhoch of Reichersberg returns to the story of the Exodus at the end of his exegesis of Psalm 33:8. He does so by correlating God's order to mark the doorsteps with lamb's blood in the way of the victorious cross (*in modum victoriosae crucis*) with the present-day liberation from the hands of Achis, the perfidious king who represents those doubting the faith, as well as from the hand of the prince of this world. The latter, Gerhoch claims, "will molest us at the moment of our leaving [of this world]".⁹³ Here, the "prince of this world" refers to Satan as presented in the *Gospel of John* 12:31, which states that "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out". This is a direct allusion to the Apocalypse and the judgment of the last days. Through this circular structure, which

⁹¹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 267: "Longum est per singula exemplificare quomodo IMMITTIT ANGELUS DOMINI IN CIRCUITU TIMENTIUM EUM ET ERIPIET EOS: aut sicut martyres eripuit, salva salute animarum, aut sicut confessors, salva pariter corporum et animarum salute".

⁹² This circular structure echoes aspects of the circular exegetical method used by Origen. Cf. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis*, 69-79, Ch. III 'Hermeneutical Interlude'.

⁹³ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 267: "Per hoc enim quia Dominus est in nobis in veritate sui corporis ac sanguinis, laqueus inimici angelico ministerio conteritur, et nos liberamur de manu Achis regis perfidi, de manu principis huius mundi, qui maxime in hora exitus nostri nos infestabit quaerens aliquid suum in nobis. Verum quia Dominus est in nobis per sacramentum salutiferum, in quo verus David fertur suis manibus, circumdabit angelus Domini in gyro timentes eum et eripiet eos, quorum et postes et superlimine de sanguine agni, qui est in limine viderit consignatos in modum victriosae crucis". The marking of the doorstep alludes to *Exodus* 12:7.

begins and ends with the Exodus, as well as through the correlation of the angels of God and the sign of the cross, which both are strongly eschatological, with the ongoing liberation of Christians in the present, Gerhoch makes one thing unmistakably clear. For him, these instances of liberations in the course of Christian history only constitute steps towards salvation – the final liberation has yet to come. As becomes evident with his constant apocalyptic allusions, this time the fight will be against a different enemy, the Antichrist.

Overall, in his exegesis of Psalm 33 Verse 8, Gerhoch of Reichersberg describes the wars of God, the agents and soldiers of God, as well as the enemies of God and liberations from them in the course of Christian history, all embedded in an overarching eschatological framework. Among other moments of Christian triumph, the exegete dedicates a substantial section to an exposition of the First Crusade. But what sort of godly warfare do we have here? Which forms does it take? Is it spiritual or material? Further, how do these two aspects collude and interplay? What role does God play in the course of the crusade? What role do his angels and the cross play? How are the clergy and knightly warriors depicted?

Material and Spiritual Warfare on the First Crusade

As has been already stated, the angels God as well as the standard of the Cross play a central role for the success of the whole enterprise of crusading. God's angels bring miracles. It is through these miracles that God influenced the course of the Crusade, which was on the verge of failure. Right after the capture of Antioch by treason (1098), the crusaders were plagued by an atrocious famine as well as constant skirmishes and harassments by the enemy.

These tribulations, of course, were God-given. As Gerhoch claims, it was God's Angel who came into the circle of those who fear Him in order to punish the Christian people for their many sins.⁹⁴ These sins included, Gerhoch specifies, many impure deeds (*immunditiae*) committed with pagan women that were captured and therefore carried along in the crusading army. However, this foulness was not just restricted to pagan women: similar illicit things involved Christian women accompanying the crusade. With the capture of Antioch, this foul

⁹⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 258: "Sed etsi aliquando contra eos hostilis invaluit exercitus propter peccata populi christiani, tamen angelus Domini affuit in circuitu timientium eum et per paucos timoratos ac iustos genti peccatrici, populo pleno peccatis poenam illatam fecit emendatoriam et consoloatoriam, sicut accidit eis in civitate Antiochia".

behaviour even worsened. Therefore, God Himself ordered penance through a priest to whom Jesus appeared in a vision.⁹⁵

This vision, however, did not happen for a random reason. In the Christian army there were many clerics, monks, and other unarmed persons; all of them were “vigorously engaging in the duties of the mass and in zealous prayers” as a response to the famine. Due to these ardent prayers, Jesus, with the sign of the cross on his head, appeared to this priest, telling him the reasons for the Christians’ tribulations.⁹⁶ After “penitence was publicly announced and devotedly accepted”, another vision strongly influenced the course of the Crusade. Gerhoch states that this time, the place of the Holy Lance, which was used to stab Christ on the cross, was revealed to a monk during “vigorous prayers at the church of Saint Peter”. After his vision, the monk finally found the Lance after extensive digging.⁹⁷ Encouraged and animated by the finding of the Holy Lance, the Christian army rode out of Antioch, attacking the besiegers and crushing the pagan forces. The knights, Gerhoch describes, were fighting, “while the clerics and other religious persons were loudly crying (*clamantes*) to God”, thus praying for victory. The angelic forces also intervened: “Many of the Christians”, Gerhoch claims, “saw how the angelic armies, which the crusaders evoked through their prayers, rode into battle on white horses, wielding banners and shining weapons. Indeed, countless of the pagans were not just frightened by their sight but many also slain or routed by their fulgurous spears”.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 259: “Erat autem causa haec: in exercitu christiano ducebantur mulieres paganae captivae, cum quibus multae comittebantur immunditiae; similiter et cum mulieribus christianis exercitum comitantibus fiebant que non licebant. Capta igitur, ut dictum est, Antiochia et mulierum captivarum turba multiplicata, successu quoque victoriae arridente, non fuit in exercitu christiano conveniens respectus disciplinae. Propter quam causam Dominus ipse per supranotatum presbyterum populo christiano paenitentiam indixit”.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 259: “Sed clericis ac monachis aliisque Deum timnetibus, officiis missarum et studiis orationum vehementer intentis, angelus magni consilii affuit, quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus cuidam sacerdoti religioso apparuit eumque an se recognosceret requisivit. Ille vero, cruce captis, quam ex picture imagines Christi cognoverat, inspecta circa caput Iesu, eum recognovit ac reverenter se coram illo humiliavit. Tunc eidem presbytero per ipsum angelum magni consilii manifestata est causa propter quam tribulatio christiani exercitus fuerat aggravata”.

⁹⁷ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, pp. 259-260: “Qua penitentia in publico enuntiata et devote suscepta, cuidam religioso monacho studiose oration ac vehementer incumbent in oratorio Sancti Petri apostoli, eiusdem civitatis primi episcopi, per visum ostensa est lancea suffosa, qua latus Domini fuit in cruce dormientis apertum. Monacho igitur visionem consolatoriam referente, certatim in loco designato terra foditur, et lancea sancta, lancea victoriosa post multam suffossionem reperitur”.

⁹⁸ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 260: “Confortatus igitur et animates, christianus exercitus cum praedicta lancea extra civitatem Antiochiam processit paganosque usque ad internicionem protrivit, militibus quidem pugnantibus, sed clericis aliisque religiosus personis ad Deum clamantibus. Quorum orationibus angelica castra tunc advocata in albis equis cum vexillis et armis candidissimis quidam christianorum viderunt. Innumerabiles vero acies paganorum non solum visu eorum territae, sed etiam telis eorum fulmineis partim prostratae, partim fugatae sunt”.

Gerhoch of Reichersberg mentions that the Bishop of Le Puy, “a prudent and religious man”, partook the crusade, functioning as the papal legate. This Bishop, Adhemar of Le Puy (d. 1098), and many other clerics were in the army, “carrying the body of the Lord with the relics of the saints as if the Ark of the Covenant containing manna”.⁹⁹ In addition, Gerhoch does not fail to underscore the role that angels and religious persons played for the crusading enterprise when he marvels at crusaders’ capture of Jerusalem.

Therefore we say: Blessed is the Lord in Sion Who dwells in Jerusalem and Who also established watchmen on its walls, not only invisible angels, but also vigilant men, diligent performers of divine praise, about 150 men of religion enclosed in the summit of towers.¹⁰⁰

According to Cecilia Gaposchkin, this liturgical warfare, attested in many crusade chronicles, was not uncommon on the First Crusade.¹⁰¹ These “battle-time prayers”, she argues, were meant “to aid the army in toto and also to prepare the individual for salvation in case of death”.¹⁰² “Their prayers”, she goes on, “were understood as the spiritual equivalent of swords, as militarily efficacious in battle”.¹⁰³ The highly bellicose liturgy itself drew on centuries of Christian exegesis which likened spiritual with material warfare.¹⁰⁴ In Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s account of the First Crusade, the emphasis clearly lies on spiritual warfare. In contrast to other crusading accounts, such as the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk, the military deeds and achievements of lay crusaders are not just downplayed, but nearly or completely absent. For instance, while the *Historia Iherosolimitana* describes the doings of Bohemond and other lay-leaders, Gerhoch just mentions that Bohemond stayed in Antioch after

⁹⁹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 260: “Erat autem tunc in illo exercitu Podiensis episcopus, vir prudens et religiosus, a domino papa Urbano exercitui christiano in solatium deputatus, cum multis clericis Deum timentibus et corpus Domini cum reliquiis sanctorum quasi arcam foederis cum manna portantibus”. The Ark of the Covenant containing manna is an allusion to *Exodus 16:33* and *Hebrews 9:4*. Correlating the crusades and crusaders to Old Testament scenarios and figures was a common thing among chroniclers of the First Crusade. Also Robert the Monk, who was the most important source for Gerhoch, made a strong use of biblical allusions and references in order to shape his theology of the crusade and, to put it in Carol Sweetenham’s words, assimilate “the crusaders into the world of the Bible”; “In a sense”, she argues, “the crusade becomes a replaying of the events of the Old Testament”. Carol Sweetenham, “*Hoc enim non fuit humanum opus, sed divinum*”: Robert the Monk’s Use of the Bible in the *Historia Iherosolimitana*”, in: Elizabeth Lapina, Nicholas Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Leiden/Boston, 2017), pp. 133-151.

¹⁰⁰ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 263: “Dicamus ergo: Benedictus Dominus ex Sion, qui habitat in Ierusalem, qui etiam super muros eius constituit custodes, non solum angelos invisibiles, sed etiam vigiles, divinae laudis frequentatores, religiosos viros, inclusos per ambitum civitatis in cacuminibus turrium circa numerum centumquingaginta”.

¹⁰¹ For the liturgy of battle see: Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 99-110.

¹⁰² Gaposchkin, *Invisivble Weapons*, p. 99.

¹⁰³ Gaposchkin, *Invisivble Weapons*, p. 106.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Gaposchkin, *Weapons*, p. 41.

its capture.¹⁰⁵ Throughout the entire description he strongly focuses on clerics' and religious men's role in the battles and on the crusade in general. The theologian, therefore, attributes more importance to spiritual warfare than to material warfare and thereby relegates laymen's impact and achievements on the crusade.

At one point in his account, Gerhoch even alters history. After Peter Bartholomew, the monk who found the Holy Lance, made his vision and his finding public, the reaction of his fellow Christians was rather incredulous. He therefore had to undergo the ordeal of carrying the lance unharmed over a burning fire. According to Gerhoch, "shouts of joyful approval and disapproving murmur alike followed shortly after the lance was lifted up in the air" The disapproval came from some spectators in the crowd who accused the monk of being a deceiver. Therefore, the monk decided to prove the truthfulness of his account by an ordeal by fire. "The monk himself," Gerhoch writes, "strengthened in the Lord, ordered the spectating crowd to light a big fire: if he were to carry the found lance across it unharmed, the truthfulness of his account would come forth". And, "as a matter of fact", Gerhoch goes on, "the monk appeared unharmed – not even one little hair in his garment was burned".¹⁰⁶ However, Jay Rubenstein underlines the well-known fact that the ordeal took place nine months after the finding of the lance and that Peter Bartholomew died shortly after it from severe burns. Rubenstein therefore states that "[e]ither Gerhoch's memory was faulty or else he was being deliberately misleading in the name of effective storytelling".¹⁰⁷

Considering the importance which Gerhoch attributes to monks and clerics on the crusade, it seems indeed possible that he is trying to mislead his audience in order to not weaken his own arguments. Peter Bartholomew was crucial due to his finding of the Holy Lance and therefore also for the subsequent victory of the crusaders over their enemies. With Bartholomew dying soon after the ordeal because of it, the story would be way less glamorous and credible. However, the fact that Gerhoch knew Raymond d'Aguilers' *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* complicates these assumptions. In his account, the Peter Bartholomew was not harmed by the fire but by the bystanders who jumped on him in order to touch him or grab a

¹⁰⁵ Robert the Monk describes the victory at Antioch and the subsequent departure for Jerusalem in books VII and VIII of his *Historia*; Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 261.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 260: "Qua de profundo in altum levata, subsequebatur in populo partier at acclamatio laeta et murmuratio dissona, quibusdam dicentibus quod deceptor esset monachus. Igitur ipse monachus, in Domino confortatus, petivit copiosum ignem spectante populo fieri: per quem si ipse cum inventa lancea illaesus transiret, eius veritas appareret. Quo facto, monachus apparuit ita illaesus ut nec in vestimentis eius esset unus crinicus adustus".

¹⁰⁷ Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 145.

piece of his robe.¹⁰⁸ Hence arguments on this subject can only be speculative and have to be treated with caution.

The First Crusade as the Representation of Gerhoch's View of a Reformed Church

According to Jay Rubenstein, the First Crusade did not constitute Gerhoch of Reichersberg's main concern: "Gerhoch memorialized the First Crusade as a triumphant miracle-laden event. It was a crucial moment in history but not so much in salvation history. Rather it offered Gerhoch a chance to revel in some of his deepest fantasies about how the world ought to work".¹⁰⁹ Firstly, on the crusade there was a "historical moment of peace" between the Franks and the Germans which are usually involved in constant conflicts. Secondly, in Jerusalem the rule of St Augustine, which Gerhoch himself followed, prospered. And thirdly, "the crusade demonstrated the cooperative relationship that ought to exist between secular and ecclesiastical leaders. The latter group prayed according to the Augustinian fashion, in the manner of the Apostles, and the former drew swords to fight as needed".¹¹⁰

Rubenstein's arguments, however, offer room for criticism and further elaboration. Firstly, the constant apocalyptic allusions and the eschatological tenor of Gerhoch's interpretation of the First Crusade raise the question whether Rubenstein underestimates the importance of the Crusade for Christian salvation history. Secondly, to modulate Rubenstein's reading, Gerhoch's description of the crusade does not merely show the "cooperative relationship" between church- and laymen. It also reveals their hierarchies and, more broadly, his view of a "*regnum christianum*".¹¹¹ This becomes clear in his exposition of Psalm 64, a tractate which Gerhoch personally handed over to Pope Eugene III and which constitutes, so to speak, a synthesis of his vision of a reformed church. In it, the exegete explains the confusion which emerges when spiritual men try to intervene in secular affairs and, conversely, when secular men are intermingled in spiritual affairs. This confusion, he goes on, "weakens the

¹⁰⁸ For Raymond d'Aguilers' account of the ordeal, see Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, in: John Hugh Hill, Laurita L. Hill (trls.), *Raymond D'Aguilers. Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 100-103.

¹⁰⁹ Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 145.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 145-146; quote on p. 146.

¹¹¹ The term "*regnum christianum*" can be found, for instance, in Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 64*, in: Licciardello (ed.), *Tractatus*, p. 24 where Gerhoch states: "Imperium quoque romanum nituntur facere babilonicum et, quod peius est, Regnum christianum volunt esse paganum, [...]".

whole body of the Church” and creates a dissonance between its organs. In this body, the spiritual men are the eyes, the laymen the hands and feet. “It is the eyes”, Gerhoch stresses, “which have to direct the hands to work and to fight as well as the feet to walk”.¹¹²

What is more, Gerhoch draws on I *Corinthians* 2:15 (“But the spiritual man judgeth all things; and he himself is judged of no man.”): it is the spiritual man’s task to judge everything and everybody, including worldly affairs. However, he should do so without getting immersed in the secular matters. Some judgements and affairs can be carried out by the spiritual man himself, others, however, he has to hand over to “laymen of good sense” (*laicis sensatis*). Especially the punishment of the malefactors has to be carried out by the secular sword – however, as Gerhoch stresses that “no one should take it up on mere supposition for he would perish by it”. The ecclesiastical power should guide the secular one; it should on the one hand “rein in” (*frenare*) secular power, but at the same time also “stimulate it with spurs” (*stimulare*). The clerics themselves, however, should by no means engage in material punishment. They should refrain themselves from “dealing with blood” (*negocium sanguinis*), i.e. from war and from blood-justice.¹¹³

Earlier on in his exposition of Psalm 64, Gerhoch uses *Matthew* 16:18-19 in order to define the hierarchies between the *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. In this gospel passage, Jesus admonishes Saint Peter. He states: “And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound

¹¹² Cf. Gerhoch, *Tr. in Ps. 64*, in: Licciardello (ed.), *Tractuatus*, pp. 78-80: “Et quia babilonica ista confusion nullos magis respicit quam desides negligentisque rectores, ideo iusto iudicio Dei effusa est contentio super principes tam seculares quam spiritalis, et errare fecit eos in invio et non in via; dum et spiritalis implicari se gaudent secularibus negociis et seculares intermiscere se audent spiritalibus causis. Quę nimirum confusio corpus totius Ecclesię facit languere, ac membra eius contra se invicem dissidere, tamquam si decant oculi pedibus ac manibus: ‘Opera vestra non indigemus’ et manus vel pedes oculis: ‘Non estis nobis necessarii’. Spiritalis enim, qui quasi oculi dirigere deberent manus ad operandum vel pugnandum, pedes ad ambulandum, sic tenentur captivi sub regibus et principibus babilonicis [...]”.

¹¹³ Cf. Gerhoch, *Tr. in Ps. 64*, in: Licciardello (ed.), *Tractuatus*, pp. 48-50: “Item: ‘Spiritalis’ iniquit ‘iudicat omnia, et ipse a nemine iudicatur’. Iudicet ergo spiritalis omnia, presertim suę sollicitudini commissa, etiam secularia, sic tamen, ut se secularibus negociis non implicet. Aliud est enim de secularibus iuste iudicare, aliud eisdem se implicare. Nam de secularibus iudiciis et iudicibus habet potestatem iudicandi episcopus, sciens reprobare malum et eligere bonum, sciens iuxta Legem discernere inter lepram et non lepram, inter sanctum et non sanctum. Sed alia sunt iudicia et negocia, quę spiritalis homo sedens in cathedra Moysi per semetipsum potest administrare, alia quę debet sensatis laicis committere, precipue quę spectant ad vindictam malefactorum, contra quos minister armatus et iudex cinctus non sine causa gladium portat, quem nemo debet sua presumptione accipere, ne gladium accipiens gladio pereat, sed ecclesiastica potestate ordinante secularem atque interdum frenante, interdum stimulantem, sic per sanctos iudicentur nationes, ut ipsis iuste dominantibus munda sit manus et lingua sacerdotis a negotio sanguinis. Neque enim sanguis per iudicem cinctum, licet ab episcopo constitutum, fusus imputandus est episcopo, si tamen eidem iudici non sinit esse potestatem liberam seu violentiam contra iusticiam”.

also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven”. Gerhoch explains that these words mean that all worldly rulers “have to subdue and bow before the rule of the papal office (*dignitas apostolica*)”. According to the provost, “the ones who bowed were indeed blessed” because the ones who did not, “the truly wretched ones”, were shattered. This was the case with the Roman emperor Nero as well as other pagan tyrants and kings who favoured heretics, Arians, and simoniacs. In the latter category the exegete also includes the bad kings of the modern time (*modernum tempus*).¹¹⁴

As Erich Meuthen argued, Gerhoch’s reform ideas are twofold. On the one hand, the provost aims for reform within the *sacerdotium*. For instance, he stresses the need to live under a rule and ardently opposes the so-called secular canons or other enemies which threaten the inner purity of the *sacerdotium* such as false Christians or Nicolaites. On the other hand, Gerhoch’s reform ideas also encompass the relationship between the *regnum* and the *sacerdotium*, between the lay and clerical power, as they both should work together on the path towards salvation.¹¹⁵

Gerhoch’s attitude towards the *regnum*, however, was ambivalent. The *regnum* was, on the one hand, an enemy of the *sacerdotium* as the emperor’s influence on the bishops threatened its purity, the primary aim of his reform endeavours. Thus, in addition to other menaces such as secular canons, also the *regnum* threatened the intactness and purity of the *sacerdotium*. However, in Gerhoch’s eyes, this fact should not result in the complete rejection of the worldly sphere – on the contrary, the issues posed by the world rather constitutes an incitement for further and more arduous reform, for the healing and saving of the *regnum*. Hence, reform becomes an issue for the *ecclesia* as a whole as the purity of the *sacerdotium* is itself a precondition for its mission vis-à-vis the *regnum*.¹¹⁶

Thus, in spite of their antithetical conception, *regnum* and *sacerdotium* are paired as they do need each other. If the *sacerdotium* guides the *regnum* to salvation, the *regnum*’s

¹¹⁴ Cf. Gerhoch, *Tr. in Ps. 64*, in: Licciardello (ed.), *Tractatus*, pp. 38-40: “Poterat hoc alio in loco Dominus dixisse Petro, sed voluit ostendere cesares ac tetrarchas ceterosque principes mundi huius per principatum dignitatis apostolicę aut frangendos aut flectendos. Et beati, qui flexibiles inveniuntur, ut principes Constantinus et post ipsum Archadius et Honorius, Valentianus, Gracianus, Karolus et pius Ludewicus ceterique horum similes a malo ad bonum inclinabiles; miseri vero, qui flecti nolentes frangi meruerunt, ut Nero, Decius et ceteri tales in paganismo tyrannizantes et quidam postea in chrstianismo illis nequiores, ut Constantius arrianus et apostata iulianus ceterique reges hereticorum vesanię contra Ecclesiam Dei faventes, aut moderno tempore spiritalia dona, quę minime habebant, vendentes ac potius vendere simulantes in constitutionibus episcoporum, abbatum, prepositorum, capellanorum, non ad Dei, sed ad sui beneplacitum, captando in omnibus questum symoniacum”.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Meuthen, *Kirche und Heilsgeschichte*, pp. 46-49.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Meuthen, *Kirche*, pp. 50-52.

purpose is to provide protection for the *ecclesia*, the Church.¹¹⁷ By securing the latter's material independence, the *regnum* to some extent also works for Christianity's ultimate goal, salvation. The main responsibility, however, lies with the *sacerdotium*. As both powers work together, moreover, they both form the Church or as Gerhoch puts it, a *regnum christianum*, a Christian kingdom.¹¹⁸

Gerhoch's description of the First Crusade shows exactly this configuration. Lay princes answered and followed pope Urban II's call for the reconquest of Jerusalem; they obeyed him as they should. On the crusade itself as well, clerics and spiritual warfare were more important than lay leaders. It was clerics who prayed and like the eyes of a body guided and directed the hands, lay knights, who fought the pagans. Thus, Gerhoch's description of material and spiritual warfare on the First Crusade as well as his overemphasis of the spiritual component correlates with his view of the two swords and with the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, lay and clerical power. Therefore, Gerhoch's description of the First Crusade in his exposition of Psalm 33 could be read as a propagation of some among his reform ideas.

To put it in a nutshell, there are several characteristics to Gerhoch of Reichersberg's exegesis of Psalm 33:8. The angel of God and his liberations of the God-fearing from the enemies and persecutors of the Catholic faith at several moments in Christian history constitutes the main theme of the exposition. The theologian as well tackles the theme of Christ's cross and its moments of triumphalism in history. Both themes, the angels as well as the banner of the cross, are strongly eschatological, which Gerhoch makes clear by several biblical references and allusions. Beginning and ending with the story of the Exodus, his exegesis of Psalm 33:8 follows a circular structure consisting of instances of liberations from Christianity's enemies. Part of this structure is the First Crusade, which combines both the element of liberation and the triumph of the banner of the cross. By combining these elements and by making further biblical allusions, Gerhoch fits the Crusade into his overarching eschatological framework. In the description of the Crusade, moreover, the role of spiritual warfare, e.g. the praying of clerics or miracles, are overemphasised, while the role of laymen and material warfare is downplayed. This conception of and hierarchy between spiritual and material warfare and relatedly between

¹¹⁷ This notion that the *regnum* and *sacerdotium* stand in an antithetical relationship to each other but nonetheless complement and are paired to each other goes back to the exegesis of Origen. On this complex pairing and evolution in Origen's exegeses see Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis*. Chapter III: Theology of Politics, pp. 125-181.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Meuthen, *Kriche*, pp. 56-59.

clerical and lay power correlates with and shows Gerhoch's view of the two swords and the relationship between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* in general. Hence, the description of the First Crusade in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's exposition of Psalm 33 also performs the function of promoting his vision of a reformed Church.

Gerhoch, born in the 1090s, was too young to have taken part in the First Crusade. He read about it in crusade chronicles and was exposed to the crusade atmosphere that still persisted in the 12th century. During the 1140s crusade efforts were again made. At that time Gerhoch was around 50 years old. This time he experienced the undertakings proclaimed by the Pope himself and even commented on them in some of his works. Does one find similar ideas in them as in his description of the First Crusade? Is the Second Crusade also to be seen in relation to and in the context of his desired church reform?

CHAPTER II: Gerhoch of Reichersberg and the Second Crusade: Reform on the Inside, Holy War on the Outside

But now, because our sins and those of its people demanded it, there has occurred what we cannot make known without great sadness and lamentation. The city of Edessa [...] has been taken by the enemies of the cross of Christ, who have also occupied many Christian castles. [...] And so in the Lord, we impress upon, ask and order all of you, and we enjoin it for the remission of sins, that those who are on God's side, and especially the more powerful and the nobles, should vigorously gird themselves to oppose the multitude of the infidels who are now rejoicing in the victory they have gained over us, to defend in this way the eastern Church, which was freed from their tyranny, as we have said before, by so much spilling of your fathers' blood, and to strive to deliver from their hands the many thousands of our captive brothers, so that the dignity of the name of Christ may be enhanced in our time and your reputation for strength, which is praised throughout the world, may be kept unimpaired and unsullied.¹¹⁹

In 1145 (and again in 1146), just a few years after Gerhoch of Reichersberg was writing about the First Crusade, pope Eugene III (r. 1145 – 1153) issued the crusading bull *Quantum praedecessores*, proclaiming another expedition to the east, the Second Crusade.¹²⁰ In it, the pope mentions the fall of the county of Edessa in 1144 as the central reason for a new crusade. Like Urban II had done during his preaching at Clermont in 1095, Eugene III promised the remission of all sins to those partaking the new expedition. Moreover, the crusading enterprise to the Holy Land was paralleled by crusading endeavours against Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula as well as against the so-called Wends in the Baltics.¹²¹ By far the most exhilarating preacher of the Second Crusade was the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 – 1153), whose preaching campaign through France and Germany was – according to several chroniclers – accompanied by a series of miracles.¹²² It was Bernard who was able to win over the French

¹¹⁹ Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*, in: Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade. Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 280-281 [the translation is from L. and J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality 1095-1274* (London, 1981), pp. 57-59].

¹²⁰ The standard work on the Second Crusade is Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade*. Further see Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries"; Jonathan Phillips, Martin Hoch (eds.), *The Second Crusade. Scope and Consequences* (Manchester and New York, 2001); Jason T. Roche, Janus M. Jensen (eds.), *The Second Crusade. Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (Turnhout, 2015); Michael Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992).

¹²¹ On this complex, see Jason T. Roche, "The Second Crusade, 1145-49: Damascus, Lisbon and the Wendish Campaigns", in: *History Compass* 13/11 (2015), pp. 599-609.

¹²² On Bernard of Clairvaux, see, for instance, Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Leben und Werk des berühmtesten Zisterziensers* (Darmstadt, 1998).

King Louis VII (r. 1137 - 1180) and the German Emperor Conrad III (r. 1138 - 1152) for the enterprise to the Holy Land.¹²³

The German forces led by Conrad and other nobles set off to the Holy Land in 1147. Stubbornly disregarding the advice of Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (r. 1143 – 1180) to take the coastal route, the German army took the land route through Asia minor. As a consequence, Conrad's troops were ignominiously defeated by the Turkish forces on October 25 near Dorylaeum, Anatolia. The emperor and several nobles were able to retreat but the main army of the German crusaders was shattered by the Seljuk Turks. Consequently, Conrad waited for the French troops and together they took the route to Palestine. After falling ill, however, Conrad returned to Constantinople and eventually travelled to Jerusalem by ship in 1148. The remaining crusading army and Louis VII's troops proceeded through the coastal route. However, due to constant attacks by the Turkish forces as well as skirmishes with the Byzantines, the crusading forces were decimated and significantly weakened. Hence, the reconquest of Edessa, the initial reason for the crusade, was given up. Gathering in Jerusalem in 1148, the crusaders instead decided upon capturing the Emirate of Damascus which had been – up to that point – an ally of the crusader states in the Holy Land. The siege, however, was given up after a few days into the attack as it was badly planned and carried out rather poorly. Overall, the Second Crusade turned out to be a failure in every possible regard. It not only hampered the previously thriving relations with Damascus and increased the existing tensions with the Byzantine empire, but also strongly damaged the reputation of crusading in the Latin West.¹²⁴

What was Gerhoch of Reichersberg's attitude towards the Second Crusade? Did it, as in the case of the First Crusade, also constitute a facet of his reform ideas? As such, what role do apocalyptic or eschatological ideas and notions, which Gerhoch had already developed in his exposition of Psalm 33, play? What about material and spiritual warfare? In order to tackle these questions, this chapter analyses Gerhoch's ideas on the ongoing Second Crusade of the years 1147 and 1148 developed principally in a Christmas sermon of 1147 and his exposition of Psalm 39 which he composed during 1148.¹²⁵ Following the sources' date of composition,

¹²³ On Louis VII's participation in the crusade, see Aryeh Graboïs, "The Crusade of King Louis VII: a Reconsideration", in: Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *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* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 94-104.

¹²⁴ Cf. Jaspert, *Die Kreuzzüge*, pp. 44-47.

¹²⁵ For Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Sermo in Vigilia Natalis Domini* see the Appendix. Marginal and interlinear glosses are not indicated in the footnotes but integrated into the text in order to allow for a smoother reading.

the first section of this chapter analyses the *Sermo in Vigilia Natalis Domini*, the second section Gerhoch's exposition of Psalm 39. Overall, this chapter shows how for Gerhoch, the Second Crusade is merely one part of a bigger, eschatological fight for salvation. It constitutes the external facet of a war against the outside enemies of the Church, the pagans of the Holy Land, which have to be fought through a *bellum sanctum*, a holy war – both spiritually and materially; the other, more important internal front encompasses the fight against the inner enemies of Christendom and is carried out by spiritual warfare and in the light of Church reform.

The *Sermo in Vigilia Natalis Domini* (1147): Reform and Crusading in the Valley of Judgment

“Juda and Jerusalem fear not! Tomorrow you will march out and the Lord will be with you” (II *Chronicles* 20:17). These words are not unbefitting but rather highly appropriate for the celebrations of this day; as one may see, they are taken from the Books of Chronicles where one reads that the Sons of Ammon and Moab and Mount Seir have come together from the places beyond the sea and from Syria in order to fight against Josaphat.¹²⁶

The enemies of Judah and Jerusalem from beyond the sea and Syria have gathered: the sons of Ammon, Moab, and mount Seir have come together in order to fight against Josaphat – these Old Testament words from the *Second Book of Chronicles* fit this celebration of the Nativity, Gerhoch of Reichersberg claims at the beginning of his 1147 Christmas Sermon. As becomes apparent in the sermon, Josaphat's fight in the Old Testament Era was only foreshadowing its fulfilment in Gerhoch's own time, the last phase of the Age of the New Testament.¹²⁷ This battle

However, they are noted in the transcription in the appendix. For an edition of Gerhoch's commentary on Psalm 39, see Ernst Sackur, *MGH, Libelli* III, pp. 434-438; for the entire exposition see *PL*, 193, cols. 1429b-1468a.

¹²⁶ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo in Vigilia Natalis Domini*, in: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1558, fol. 42^r-42^v: “*IUDA & iherusalem nolite timere cras egrediemini & dominus erit vobiscum* (II *Chronicles* 20:17) . Quod ista verba cantici non inconvenienter sed maxima convenientia ea die celebra sunt . sumpta videlicet de eo scripturę loco libri paralipome non ubi congregati leguntur de his locis quę transmare sunt & de syria filii ammon et moab et mons seyr ; contra iosaphat ad pugnam”.

¹²⁷ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, 45^v: “*Non vestra est pugna sed dei* (II *Chronicles* 20:15) . Item . *Non eritis vos qui dimicabitis sed tantummodo confidenter state & videbitis auxilium domini super vos* (II *Chronicles* 20:17) . hæc plane omnia sicut prædicta audivimus sic & in typo veteri & in mysterio novitatis completa vidimus”.

is carried out in the form of Church reform as well as the Second Crusade; and, more importantly, it is raging.

The exegete embeds the fight of his very own time in the Old Testament scenario of II *Chronicles* 20. He quotes it at the beginning of the sermon nearly in its entirety. The biblical chapter narrates how the Amorites, Moabites, and Syrians unite and gather in the effort to fight Josaphat (or Jehoshaphat) who was king of Judah during the ninth century BCE. Upon hearing of this imminent threat, Josaphat ordered a fast to be held by all inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. Everybody engaged in prayers, including the God-fearing Josaphat who prayed in the Temple's court:

If evils fall upon us, the sword of judgment, or pestilence, or famine, we will stand in thy presence before this house, in which thy name is called upon: and we will cry to thee in our afflictions, and thou wilt hear, and save us. Now therefore behold the children of Ammon, and of Moab, and mount Seir, through whose lands thou didst not allow Israel to pass, when they came out of Egypt, but they turned aside from them, and slew them not, Do the contrary, and endeavour to cast us out of the possession which thou hast delivered to us. O our God, wilt thou not then judge them? as for us we have not strength enough, to be able to resist this multitude, which cometh violently upon us. But as we know not what to do, we can only turn our eyes to thee (II *Chronicles* 20:9-12).

Then, the Lord answered through the prophet Jahaziel (II *Chronicles* 20:15-17):

[...] Attend ye, all Juda, and you that dwell in Jerusalem, and thou king Josaphat: Thus saith the Lord to you: Fear ye not, and be not dismayed at this multitude: for the battle is not yours, but God's. To morrow you shall go down against them: for they will come up by the ascent named Sis, and you shall find them at the head of the torrent, which is over against the wilderness of Jeruel. It shall not be you that shall fight, but only stand with confidence, and you shall see the help of the Lord over you, O Juda, and Jerusalem: fear ye not, nor be you dismayed: to morrow you shall go out against them, and the Lord will be with you.

After the prophet uttered these words, Josaphat and all of Judah and Jerusalem praised and worshipped God. In the early morning of the next day, the king and his army marched out to engage the opponent. On the way, Josaphat ordered singing men to walk in the front of the army and to praise the Lord. As they did so, God turned Judah's enemies on each other which resulted in their deaths. Upon their arrival, Josaphat's men just encountered dead bodies. What is more, the enemies had such a great amount of treasure with them that it took them four days to take the booty. It was so great that the valley where they assembled on the fourth day was called the valley of Blessing. When Josaphat and his men returned from their expedition, "[...] they came

into Jerusalem with psalteries, and harps, and trumpets into the house of the Lord. And the fear of the Lord fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands when they heard that the Lord had fought against the enemies of Israel. And the kingdom of Josaphat was quiet, and God gave him peace round about” (II *Chronicles* 20:28-30).

Gerhoch draws on this scenario to explain to his audience the relevance of Josaphat’s Old Testament fight for Christendom’s fight in his very own days. “While one sings in order to announce the Advent of the Lord”, he claims, “one also sings to bring back to the mind the memory of the Old Testament fight or peril as well as to remind one of the battles of one’s own fight [...]”. For Gerhoch, the Old Testament king Josaphat represents God's judgment. So does Jesus Christ in the New Testament - after all, Gerhoch states, he "said of himself that he came into this world for judgment" (*John* 9:39). Under the command of Josaphat, the God-fearing fought against and triumphed over their enemies, the "threefold pagans", i.e. the Amorites, Moabites, and Syrians. However, due to the dialectic of the Old and New Testament, the fight of the Old Testament Era is carried on in the Era of the New Testament. This time, though, under the command of the Lord, Jesus Christ. What is more, this fight has already begun. In the age of the New Testament, it is the confessors, martyrs, and "proponents of the true peace", Gerhoch states, who have been fighting the "threefold battle line (*aciem*) of the unjust and godless in the true Judah and Jerusalem".¹²⁸

The *glossa ordinaria*, a twelfth-century interpretative guideline for exegetes, defines these three enemies as pagans, Jews, and heretics.¹²⁹ Gerhoch, however, goes a step further and asks “Who are the threefold enemies of the Church if not pagans, carnal Jews, and heretics”?

¹²⁸ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 44^r: “Dum vero sic ad iudam & ierusalem adventum domini cantando praenunciamus . & praenunciantes canimus ut veteris quoque pugne vel periculi memoriam ad mentem revocemus . pariter etiam pugne nostrae certamina cum illius tempestatis tribulatione conferre commonemur . Sicut enim sub rege iosaphat cuius nomen est domini iudicium ab iuda & ierusalem contra triformem gentium scilicet ammonitarum moabitarum et montis seyr multitudinem dimicatum est ; ac potius pugnante pro eo domino triumphatum est ita sub domino nostro iesu christo qui de semetipso ait *in iudicium ego veni in hunc mundum* (*John* 9:39) a vero iuda et ierusalem per christi videlicet confessores & martyres & vere pacis sectatores contra triformem iniquorum vel impietatum aciem triumphatum est”.

¹²⁹ Cf. the *Glossa Ordinaria* on II *Chronicles* 20:16: “Mystice Moabite Ammonite et Idumei paganos Iudeos et hereticos significant, qui gratis bellum excitant fidelibus et religionem christianam auferre contendunt. Sed Iosaphat, id est Christi populus non armis corporalibus, sed spiritualibus eos aggreditur, intima cordis devotione supernum querens auxilium”. Accessed online (16.04.2020): https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/GLOSS-liber17.xml&chapitre=17_20; The Glossa draws on Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros II Paralipomenon*, for which see PL 109, col. 0493b-0493c.

The enemies, he specifies, “who have brought so much mischief upon the Church”.¹³⁰ He then answers his own question and proposes another reading:

In another interpretation, the threefold enemies of the Church are in the first place, of course, pagan kings and princes who persecute the Church through the sword; in the second place heretics who attack the truth of the faith with their falsehood; in the third place false Christians who are confessing the faith with their mouth but are denying it through their deeds. It is them, whom the martyrs, confessors and doctors, as well as, thirdly, the shepherds who live in the *vita communis* with their pious flocks fought and triumphed over.¹³¹

Thus, Gerhoch’s fight against the enemies of the Church includes physical persecutors of Christians but also spiritual enemies such as heretics and false Christians. By adding another category, false Christians, he alters the mainstream interpretation of the *Ordinary Gloss*. Moreover, this new category also includes simoniacs, as becomes apparent at a later point of the sermon.¹³² Jews, on the other hand, do not seem to play a vital role in Gerhoch’s view.

In addition to the *Second Book of Chronicles*, Gerhoch seeks other Old Testament evidence for the threefold enemies of the Church in the *Book of Job*. Namely, the three squadrons of the Chaldeans from *Job* 1:17 which constitute one of the elements tormenting Job, taking his camels and slaying his servants. The leaders of these three squadrons, he claims, are signified by three names from the *Book of Job*: the bird (i.e. Ziz), Behemoth, and Leviathan. Leviathan, Gerhoch specifies, typifies the “cruelty of the persecutors”, the ostrich the “cunning deceit of the heretics”, and Behemoth can be applied to the “filthiness of the simoniacs and pseudo-Christians”. The triad of those fighting for the Church – namely martyrs, confessors, and shepherds – consists in the lion, the rooster, and the ram. “For the lion”, Gerhoch emphasises, “is an enormously strong beast which will never be frightened of what it encounters; the rooster’s loins are girdled; and the ram, no king can withstand him”.¹³³

¹³⁰ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 44^v: “Qui enim sunt triformes ecclesie inimici nisi pagani iudei carnales & heretici? A quibus quanta mala ecclesia christi pertulerit tam ex actibus apostolorum quam ex ecclesiasticę hystorie libris manifestum est”.

¹³¹ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 44^v: “Aliter triformes ecclesie inimici sunt primi scilicet pagani reges & principes ecclesiam gladiis persequentes Secundo loco heretici fidei veritatem suis falsitatibus impugnant . tertio autem falsi christiani fidem ore confitentis factis autem negantes contra quos per martyres confessores ac doctores ac tertio loco pastores communi vita cum piis gregibus degentes dimicatum ac triumphatum est”.

¹³² Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 44^v: “Sic enim per prophetam ihaziel praedictum & postea in ore ecclesie concelebratum est . ita per martyres christi contra persecutores per doctores contra hereticos per pastores ecclesie contra pseudochristianos ac simoniacos pugnatum ac triumphatum est”.

¹³³ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 44^v-45^r: “De hac triforimi inimicorum ecclesie acie in libro iob scriptum est . *Kaldei tres turmas fecerunt (Job 1:17)* . harum turmarum tres principes item in libro iob per tria nomina scilicet avis behemot leviathan praesignati sunt (cf. *Job* 40 and 41). Nam quod ibi de leviathan dictum est persecutorum crudelitati . quod de ave strucione hereticorum callide simulationi . quod de

As predicted in the Old Testament, many persecutors converted and themselves turned on the Church's enemies, the exegete claims. Here he refers once again to the fulfilment of Old Testament types in the New Testament. In the New Testament age, the converted persecutors crushed their enemies, Gerhoch preaches, "by submitting to the faith by witnessing to it by their [own] blood" and "through the sword (*mucro*) of their holy confessions".¹³⁴ What is more, in each of the squadrons, the most powerful antichrists were killed by two witnesses who were fighting on the side of the faithful. These antichrists were the cruel persecutor, the fraudulent heretic, and the impure simoniac. The witnesses who slew them were the Apostles Peter and Paul who stood against the persecutor Nero (the cruel Antichrist), the martyrs John and Paul opposed the apostate Julian (the fraudulent Antichrist). The third and most recent fight was carried out by the roman bishops Gregory VII and Urban II who fought the simoniac king, Henry IV, the filthy and impure Antichrist.¹³⁵ Interestingly, Gerhoch chose to read the enemies as kings, with Julian and Henry IV ruling over religious deviation.

The two witnesses who fight the antichrists in the New Testament Era are a reference to the *Revelation of John*, the Apocalypse. *Revelation* 11:1-7 describes them:

And there was given me [John] a reed like unto a rod: and it was said to me: Arise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar and them that adore therein. But the court, which is without the temple, cast out, and measure it not: because it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city they shall tread under foot two and forty months: And I will give unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred sixty days, clothed in sackcloth. These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks, that stand before the Lord of the earth. And if any man will hurt them, fire shall come out of their mouths, and shall devour their enemies. And if any man will hurt them, in this manner

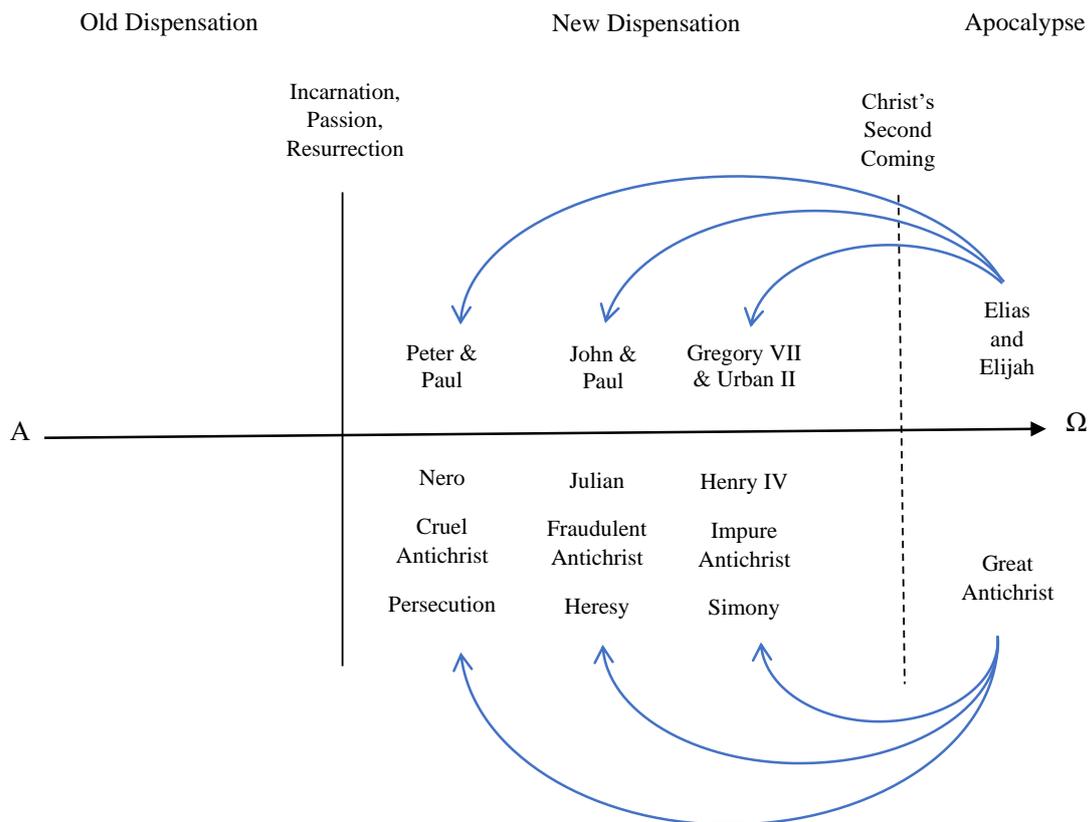
behemoth symoniacorum & pseudochristianorum immundicię aptari valet . Item ecclesię propugnatores videlicet martyres confessores & pastores per tria in scripturis sibi congruentia vocabula praesignati sunt nimirum per leonem gallum et arietem dicente sapientia . *Tria sunt quę bene gradiuntur* . *Leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pavebit occursum & gallus succinctus lumbos* . & *aries nec est qui rex resistat ei*" (*Proverbs* 30:29-31).

¹³⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 45^v: "*Non vestra est pugna sed dei* (II *Chronicles* 20:15) . Item . *Non eritis vos qui dimicabitis sed tantummodo confidenter state & videbitis auxilium domini super vos* (II *Chronicles* 20:17) . hec plane omnia sicut praedicta audivimus sic & in typo veteri & in mysterio novitatis completa vidimus . Nam ipsi qui persequebantur tandem aliquando conversi inimicos ecclesię revincebant . & sanguinis sui testimonio fidei subiugabant . & confessionis sacrę mucrone aiuta gentilis erroris iugulabant . & sicut prius per reges impios novimus hereticos defensatos ita postmodum regum catholicorum edictis hereticos vidimus & audivimus correctos coercitos . Vidimus & nostro tempore inimicos ecclesię reges contra se patrem in filium & filium in patrem divisos & utrosque tandem ab ecclesia proiectos completo in illis psalmigraphi dicto quo ait ut destruas inimicum & ultorem".

¹³⁵ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 45^v-46^r: "Et in singulis hiis turmis maximi quidam antichristi interempti sunt primus videlicet persecutor & crudelis . secundus hereticus et fraudulentus . tertius symoniacus et immundus propugnantibus semper in parte fidelium admissus duobus testibus . primis videlicet petro & paulo contra neronem persecutorem . antichristum crudelem . secundis iohanne et paulo contra iulianum apostatam antichristum fraudulentum . ac tertiis Gregorio septimo et urbano romanis pontificibus contra regem symoniacum antichristum scilicet immundum dimicantibus".

must he be slain. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and they have power over waters to turn them into blood, and to strike the earth with all plagues as often as they will. And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast, that ascendeth out of the abyss, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.

Thus, there are three types of the witnesses in the time of the Church to Elias and Elijah in the Last Days. By referring to those who oppose the different antichrists at various stages in the ecclesiastical history as the witnesses from the *Revelation*, Gerhoch endows the historical and temporal struggles of the Church with an eschatological dimension. The witnesses in the New Testament Era appear three times before they will come again for the Great Antichrist. As is apparent in his sermon, the fight against simoniac kings and the sin of simony are also part of this bigger, eschatological battle which is carried out against the Antichrist in various guises. Hence, fighting simoniac kings and purging Christendom from the sin of simony prepares Christianity for its ultimate aim, the conflict at End Times.



Although Gerhoch refers to these events in the past, he makes clear that the battles are not over yet and that the final victory has yet to be gained:

How come that we are still exhorted as if to new and reanimated wars, every year, as the feast of the Lord's [first] coming returns and that it is told to us through the mouth of the singing Church "O Judah and Jerusalem, fear not! Tomorrow you will march out and the Lord will be with you", and "stand firm and you will see the help of the Lord above you", even though all these victories have already been completed thanks to our Emmanuel, our God, Who stays with us, and the Church has already triumphed over the squadrons of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Sons of Mount Seir through the martyrs, confessors, and shepherds?¹³⁶

Indeed, for Gerhoch, these Old Testament words have not lost their actuality. The fight against sins and the enemies of Church is real since he deems the End of Times to be approaching. This becomes clear towards the end of his sermon. "With the fourth day of the coming age now dawning", Gerhoch claims, "all the citizens of Judah and Jerusalem are assembling in the Valley of Benediction in order to praise God". This Valley of Blessing or Valley of Josaphat, constitutes the Valley of Judgement.¹³⁷ The valley of Jehoshaphat or of the Blessing, is the valley of judgment – in it all sins are eradicated, and God is praised. Gerhoch also thinks that in this valley the Last Judgment, as prophesied by John in the *Book of Revelation*, will take place. There will as well take place a stand against the Devil and the impious through which the faithful will acquire virtues. Just as once on the fourth day God's judgment and the attainment of the rich spoils was praised in the Valley of Blessing, the attainment of virtues will be praised in the Valley of Judgment at the *extremum iudicium*, Gerhoch preaches. Moreover, this fight and purge has already begun to take place in his own time.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol.46^r: "Sed cum iam per nostri emmanuelis per dei nobiscum manentis gratiam omnes hęc victorię peracte sint . iamque ecclesia contra has ammonitarum moabitarum & filiorum montis seyr turmas . per martyres . confessores . ac pastores triumphaverit . quid est quod adhuc per singulos annos redeunte dominici adventus sollempnitate quasi ad nova & rediviva bella cohortamur . dum dicitur nobis per os ecclesię decantantis . *O iuda & ierusalem nolite timere cras egrediemini & dominus erit vobiscum* . Item . *Constantes estote videbitis auxilium domini super vos*?"

¹³⁷ Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", 334, has pointed this out.

¹³⁸ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 49^v: "[...] glorificamus veluti ~~quarto die~~ collectis hoc triduo spoliis multis & trium temporum vite praesentis ante legem sub lege sub gratia in unum congregatis omnibus civibus iuda & ierusalem quarto iam die futuri saeculi clarescente in vallem benedictionis ad conlaudandum deum convenimus . ut sit nobis unus atque idem locus & vallis iosaphat . id est vallis iudicii propter viciorum extinctionem . & vallis benedictionis propter laudationis dei benedictionem . Pro qua re ut estimamus etiam extremum iudicium in valle iosaphat futurum iohelis testimonio prophetatur . non quod in illum terre sinum omnes gentes locali motu congregentur . sed quod tali modo contra diabolium contra impios quoque homines eorumque impietates ac vicia iudicium extremum in acquisitione virtutum ad laudem et benedictionem dei celebrandum sit . quemadmodum illud olim iudicium in valle iosaphat . contra ammonitas & moabitas ac filios montis seyr in acquisitione spoliiorum ad laudem & gloriam dei peractum est . ipsis contra semetipsos dimicantibus . Cui rei illud quod nostro in tempore fieri incipit persimile valde iudicium est [...]". Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", p. 334, discusses this passage as well.

So far, Gerhoch spoke of spiritual warfare. This is in conformity with the interpretation of the *Ordinary Gloss*. As already mentioned, the latter identifies the mystical Moabites, Amorites, and Edomites with pagans, Jews, and heretics “who carry out a war against the faithful and the Christian religion”. Josaphat, however, whom the gloss interprets as “the people of Christ”, wages exclusively spiritual wars. He “attacks them [pagans, Jews and heretics] not with physical weapons”, the gloss on II *Chronicles* 20:16 explicitly emphasises, “but with spiritual ones”.¹³⁹ To Gerhoch preaching in 1147, however, there is yet another pursuit, material and spiritual alike, which plays a part in Christendom’s quest for salvation: the Second Crusade.

It is only at the very end of the sermon that he addresses the crusading endeavours that took place during the year. Gerhoch mentions that the crusade was initiated at the behest of Pope Eugene III and Bernard of Clairvaux. It was their preaching that roused the crusaders and led to an “unexpected transformation” among them. They willingly took up the cross and arms with the aim of fighting the enemies of Christ in the Holy Land. The zeal among the Crusaders to fight against the pagans was so great that, as Gerhoch preaches, they were “ready either to succeed or to die for Christ”.¹⁴⁰ The aim of the crusade, however, was not the annihilation of the pagans, but their conversion as was prophesised by Saint Paul’s *Epistle to the Romans* 11:5 and 11:15-26.¹⁴¹ Expressing his hopes for the event’s outcome, Gerhoch, concludes his sermon:

May the Lord Jesus Christ, Himself, grant that this war movement come to the greatest divine praise and blessing, and that the remnants (*reliquiae*) of the pagan nations (*gentes*) that still remain [pagan] be saved (*salvae fiant*) and be transformed (*commutate*) into children of the Blessing, and rush to meet us in the Valley of Blessing [II Chron. 20.26] to praise God along with us, where we may bless God Emmanuel, Who remains with us unto eternity.¹⁴²

Thus, for Gerhoch, the Second Crusade played a vital role for salvation. It was an event that had an immediate impact on the nearing end. Not only did the crusaders defend the Holy Land

¹³⁹ Cf. *Glossa Ordinaria* on II *Chronicles* 20:16: “Mystice Moabite Ammonite et Idumei paganos Iudeos et hereticos significant, qui gratis bellum excitant fidelibus et religionem christianam auferre contendunt. Sed Iosaphat, id est Christi populus non armis corporalibus, sed spiritualibus eos aggreditur, intima cordis devotione supernum querens auxilium”. Accessed online: https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/editions_chapitre.php?livre=../sources/editions/GLOSS-liber17.xml&chapitre=17_20 (17.04.2020).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 50^r: “[...] hortatu Eugenii papae III & venerabilis viri Bernardi abbatis clarevallensis repentina mutacione signaculo sanctę crucis communiti arma contra inimicas christi & civitatis iherusalem gentes corripunt . & pro christi mori aut vincere parati ad bella proficiscuntur”.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 132-133 and Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology”, p. 334.

¹⁴² Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Sermo*, fol. 50^r: “Ut igitur ille bellorum motus ad laudem & benedictionem dei maximam proveniat . atque ut gentium quę adhuc supersunt reliquię salvę fiant & in filios benedictionis commutate in vallem benedictionis ad laudandum deum nobiscum occurrant . ubi benedicamus manentem nobiscum deum emmanuel in eternum . Prestet ipse dominus noster iesu christo”; trls. Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology”, pp. 333-334.

from pagans, their deeds would also lead to the conversion of the pagans, exactly as it was foretold to happen at the End of Times. Hence, in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's view, both the crusade and internal reform and fight against the inner enemies of the Church purified Christendom and prepared it for the final reckoning in the Valley of Judgement.

After “the Long Winter of Simony”: The Second Crusade and Inner-Christian Purge as the “Re-Blossoming of the Lord’s Vine in Sweet Springtime”¹⁴³

One year later, in 1148, Gerhoch returned to this topic in his exposition of Psalm 39 in which he commented on the ongoing Crusade. In it Gerhoch writes that many tribulations have come over (his lands) in recent years. In 1147, for example, Christians were exposed to many attacks by Bohemian, Hungarian and their allied pagan invaders.¹⁴⁴ Two years earlier, in 1144¹⁴⁵, the city of Edessa was conquered by pagans. Both events were accompanied by strong lamentations and “yelling for grief” (*ululatus*). In response to the fall of Edessa, an event that shook the crusader states in the Levant, pope Eugene III¹⁴⁶ called for another crusade. Gerhoch describes how he “sent letters to the Christian princes and knights” with the purpose that they “shall assemble in order to carry out vengeance in the nations”. As a reward, the Pope promised the crusaders the indulgence of their sins – “especially to those who would die in this so holy a fight (*sanctum prelium*), rendering in return their lives to their saviour who previously had died for them”.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Tr. in Ps. 39, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 437: “Hinc post longam symoniae hiemen vernali suavitate spirante reflorescit vinea dominica [...]”.

¹⁴⁴ Here, Gerhoch probably refers to a conflict over the Hungarian throne in 1146 which involved Henry II of Babenberg (1112-1177), Margrave of Austria and Duke of Babenberg, Géza II of Hungary (r. 1141-1162), King of Croatia and Hungary, Boris Kalamanos (ca. 1114-1153 or 1154), a pretender to the Hungarian throne, and Vladislav II (ca. 1110-1174), Duke and later King of Bohemia. On this conflict see, Frenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni. Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest, 1989), pp. 36-39.

¹⁴⁵ In his exposition, Gerhoch claims that the capture of Edessa happened in 1145. However, he clearly misdates this event which occurred on 25 December 1144.

¹⁴⁶ Later on in the commentary Gerhoch writes that Eugene II called for the crusade.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Tr. in Ps. 39, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 437: “Anno praeterito, ab incarnatione Domini MCXLVII, ploratus et ululatus multus auditus est in terra nostra, paganis cum Boemis et Ungaris tyrannizantibus et christianos captivantibus ac mulieres eorum crudeliter pariter ac turpiter vexantibus. Item anno Dominicae incarnationis MCXLV a paganis capta civitate Edissa, que altero nomine Roas dicitur, ploratus et ululatus multus auditus est et exauditus in excelsis. Unde permotus papa Eugenius misit litteras christianis principibus ac militibus, ut convenirent ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus. Et ideo raptim convolatur ad arma, quia promittitur militantibus et penitentibus indulgentia peccatorum a sede apostolica, permaxime his qui morientur in tam sancto prelio, reddentes vicem salvatori suo, qui pro eis mortuus est”.

Many thousands partook in the expedition. According to Gerhoch, they had been roused by the Pope and by his legates. Bernhard of Clairvaux, in particular, played a fundamental role in the mobilization of crusaders. The exegete writes that, his sermons "thundered" and his "miracles flashed like lighting". The whole event, so the theologian, was accompanied by the sound of silver trumpets (*Numbers* 10:2) and a massive earthquake. He then vividly describes the crusading army and its departure. The army comprised many a thousand of the Germans (*Teutonici*) and of the Franks (*Francigeni*) with their respective kings, Conrad III and Louis VII, leading the lines. All the soldiers "bore on their foreheads and on their helmets, on their shields and banners the sign of the victorious cross". In addition to these knights, a large crowd which "no one can count", which consisted in "various tribes, languages, and people" enthusiastically took part in the crusade.¹⁴⁸

The crusade came at the right time. For Gerhoch it represented a "great consolation for Israel" for which he had prayed so fervently. For up to now there had been a great "desolation" in Israel because many "kings and princes had come together in one against the Lord and against Christ". Now, however, the situation changed. God would not allow for the ravaging of Israel with impunity. The crusade was his response, the crusaders the manifestation of His vengeance: "now", Gerhoch states, "kings and princes are coming together as one in order to bring vengeance upon the nations which ravage the Church of God and attack the city of Jerusalem, the place where the Lord's Sepulchre is located". The exegete interprets the latter as the "bed of the true Solomon", which is protected by strong warriors who are "all carrying swords and are highly skilled at war" (cf. *Song of Solomon* 3:7-8).¹⁴⁹ Thus, as he did in his rendition of the First Crusade, Gerhoch sees the protection of the Holy Sepulchre in the course of the crusade as the fulfilment of an Old Testament type. As Jay Rubenstein remarked, in this passage the different

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 437: "[...] cuius nunc initium videmus multis millibus ultro currentibus in expeditionem contra paganos, dominico sepulcro inimicos. Certatim curritur ad bellum sanctum cum jubilantibus tubis argenteis papa Eugenio II. et eius nuntiis, quorum precipuus est Bernardus, abbas Clarevallensis, quorum predicationibus contonantibus et miraculis nonnullis pariter coruscantibus, terraemotus factus est magnus. Multa millia Teutonicorum cum rege suo, multa millia Francigenarum cum rege suo in frontibus suis et galeis, in scutis et vexillis preferunt signum victoriosissimae crucis. Preter hos turbae magnae, quas dinumerare nemo potest, ex diversis tribubus et linguis et populis currunt in procinctu rapti signo, et vexillo Dominicae crucis".

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 434: "Dicat hoc toties quoties intelligit exauditum se in aliqua consolatione Israel, ut nunc in anno dominicae incarnationis MCXLVIII. magna provenit consolatio Israel. Fuerat in annis preteritis magna desolatio in eo, quod persepe reges et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et adversus Christum eius, nunc autem reges et principes conveniunt in unum ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus aecclesiam Dei vastantibus et civitatem Ierusalem, in qua sepulcrum Domini est, impugnantibus. En lectulum veri Salemonis multi fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel, omnes tenentes gladio et ad bella doctissimi lectulum, scilicet sepulcrum Domini, defendere ac munire parati! Uniuscuiusque ensis super femur suum propter timores nocturnos, quia christiano exercitui lex continentiae indicitur, ut sint castra Dei munda et bene ordinata".

senses of Scripture merge together, as was already the case in some descriptions of the First Crusade.¹⁵⁰

For Gerhoch, this was a time of peace and harmony among the Christians. Apparently, the crusaders put aside their former hostilities and contentiousness, which gave way to a more Christian behaviour on the crusade. Following the good examples of Zacchaeus (*Luke* 19:8) and that of Christ, the crusaders returned improperly obtained goods and made peace with their (Christian) enemies. More importantly, however, they “proceed into battle with the desire to immolate themselves for Christ in order to live with him, saying ‘for me, to live is Christ, to die is gain’” (*Philippians* 1:21).¹⁵¹ Not everything on the Crusade was perfect, though – and the Provost, usually distinguished by his severity and critical attitude, did not miss the opportunity to criticize the crusaders::

Is it not a gain for him who wins Christ by dying? Does it not mean to live for him who intended to live not for himself but for Christ? Certainly we do not doubt that within such a great multitude there are some who truly and sincerely fight for Christ; and some for various reasons which to judge is not our task, but solely His for He alone got to know the souls of human beings, either those who are fighting sincerely or those who are not fighting sincerely alike. Nonetheless we emphasise firmly that many are called to this fight, a few, however, are elected.¹⁵²

Many are called to this fight, but only a few are truly elected. It was already the case during the Exodus, the Israelites’ flight from Egyptian slavery. During it, only a few upheld their faith in God while many aroused his wrath. God’s verdict was fatal: while the former survived, the latter were “crushed in the desert”. The *Book of Judges* provides another instance. According to *Judges* 7:8, the biblical judge Gideon led a great number of Israelites into battle with the Midianites. However, as Gerhoch explains, only a few of the warriors – three hundred, to be more precise – eventually stayed by Gideon’s side while the remaining soldiers turned

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream*, p. 147.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 437: “Neve sit infructuosum quod agunt, exemplo Zachei multi ex eis primitus ablata seu fraudata restituunt, et quod maius est, exemplo Christi suis inimicis osculum pacis offerunt, iniurias ignoscunt et ultro ad praelium vadunt, ubi cupiunt aut immolari pro Christo quasi victime, aut non sibi, sed Christo vivere, dicente unoquoque apud se: *Mihi vivere Christus est et mori lucrum*”. Constable, “The Second Crusade”, p. 241, underlines the “salvatory and penitential value” the crusade had for Gerhoch.

¹⁵² Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 437: “Nonne illi est mori lucrum, qui moriendo lucratur Christum? Nonne illi est Christus vivere, qui destinavit non sibi, sed Christo vivere? Et quidem non dubitamus in tanta multitudine quosdam vere ac sincere Christo militare, quosdam vero per occasiones varias, quas diiudicare non est nostrum sed ipsius qui solus novit corda hominum sive recte, sive non recte militantium. Hoc tamen constanter affirmamus, quod multi ad hanc militiam vocati, pauci vero electi sunt”.

back. “Blessed are those”, the theologian states, “who live not for themselves, but for the Lord”. However, “even more so are blessed ‘those who die in the Lord’” (*Revelation 14:13*).¹⁵³

For Gerhoch, there is no doubt that the warriors who sacrifice themselves for Christ and are willing to die for Him should be blessed. However, one should keep in mind that they are still “only” warriors. One should not forget that there exist more important things. The soldiers’ fight – despite being carried out for Christ and for the sake of all Christendom – is a material one, an imperfect one. There is also a more important, a spiritual war going on. In order to stress this point, Gerhoch states: “Precious is in the sight of the Lord the fight of his soldiers, much more ‘precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints’ (Psalm 115:15)”.¹⁵⁴ As he did in his description of the First Crusade, the exegete relegates material warfare in favour of spiritual warfare in this instance as well. As if somebody would question his arguments, he asks: “Because who would doubt that those should be counted as saints who by fighting and triumphing are gaining for Christ and by dying gain Christ”?¹⁵⁵

It is these saints, Gerhoch emphasises, who destroy the enemies of the Church. In their struggle, the spiritual warriors have the “true Joshua” at their side. Moreover, they are allied with the “true Moses”, that is, with Christ. On the Crusade, spiritual and material warfare were in perfect harmony. To Gerhoch, it constituted a “great spectacle” that the “knights are fighting on the battlefield under the command of Joshua while the blessed Augustine, like a second Aaron closely surrounded by Levites, and Saint Benedict, like Hur closely surrounded by devout monks, are praying and fighting on the [top of the] mountain”.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 436: “Ita quondam in exitu Israel de Egipto paucis Deo fidem servantibus multi eum irritaverunt, quorum corpora in deserto prostrata sunt. Gedeone quoque duce filiorum Israel cum multitudine magna procedente ad bellum contra Madianitas, pauci cum eo remanserunt, soli CCC videlicet, multis retro abeuntibus. Beati qui sic Deo militant, ut ipsum suae militiae premium requirant. Beati qui vivunt non sibi, sed Domino. Multo magis vero *beati, qui moriuntur in Domino*”.

¹⁵⁴ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 436: “Pretiosa in conspectu Domini pugna militum eius, et multo magis *pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius*”.

¹⁵⁵ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 436: “Quis enim dubitet in numero sanctorum computandos, qui et pugnantes ac triumphantes lucrantur Christo, et morientes lucrantur Christo?”.

¹⁵⁶ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 436: “Qui securi hostes ecclesiae interimunt, securiores ab illis intereunt, qui non faciunt animam suam pretiosiore quam se, dummodo consumment cursum suae militiae, habituri secum in praelio verum Josue. Porro sacerdos Aaron cum tota tribu Levitica sociatus est vero Moysi oranti sursum, ubi pro nobis interpellat: et est grande spectaculum videre hinc milites in campo pugnantes duce Iosue, hinc vero beatum Augustinum quasi alterum Aaron stipatum levitis, et sanctum Benedictum quasi Ur stipatum religiosis monachis, orantes et agonizantes in monte alto, videlicet proposito, quod verus Moyses in capite novi testamenti posuit, quando suis discipulis a turba semotis non in loco campestri, sed in monte beatitudines capessendas proposuit dicens: *Beati pauperes spiritu*, etc.”.

This passage of Gerhoch's exposition draws on an episode of the *Book of Exodus*. In it, Moses together with his companions, Aaron and Hur, are praying on the top of a mountain while Joshua is physically combatting the Amalekites, an enemy of the Israelites. *Exodus* 17:8-13 states:

And Amalec came, and fought against Israel in Raphidim. And Moses said to Josue: Choose out men: and go out and fight against Amalec: to morrow I will stand on the top of the hill having the rod of God in my hand. Josue did as Moses had spoken, and he fought against Amalec; but Moses, and Aaron, and Hur went up upon the top of the hill. And when Moses lifted up his hands, Israel overcame: but if he let them down a little, Amalec overcame. And Moses' hands were heavy: so they took a stone, and put under him, and he sat on it: and Aaron and Hur stayed up his hands on both sides. And it came to pass that his hands were not weary until sunset. And Josue put Amalec and his people to flight, by the edge of the sword.

Thus, as he did in his *Sermo de Vigilia Natalis Domini*, Gerhoch embeds the Second Crusade in an Old Testament scenario. In this case, Joshua's material warfare, on the one hand, is an Old Testament type which prefigured the crusaders' material warfare in the age of the New Testament. In their spiritual fight, the saints have by their side the true Joshua, the one of the *verus testamentum* as opposed to the Joshua of old, the one of the *vetus testamentum*. Aaron and Hur, on the other hand, prefigured Saint Augustine and Saint Benedict. They are at the side of the New Testament Moses, Christ. By praying with their respective "armies", i.e. Levites, monks, and regular canons, they carry out the spiritual warfare in the New Testament Era, just as the *vetus* Moses and his companions did once in the age of the Old Testament. It is due to their prayers that "Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword" – in the Old as well as New Testament Era alike.

While the crusaders carry out their material fight, lay people and clerics carry out a spiritual fight at home. The fighting laity also took part in the prayers. It even seems that the Crusade and the crusading atmosphere had a reforming influence on Christendom at home. According to Gerhoch, "in the entire Christian kingdom (*regnum Christianum*) no one dares to sing indecent songs in public". Even more, the enterprise strengthened the Christian faith all over the world: "The entire world rejoices in the Lord, singing also in the idioms of the common people among which the language of the Germans (*Teutonici*) is most apt to sing pretty songs", he claims.

Gerhoch furthermore emphasises that women and nuns as well participated in this "holy spectacle".¹⁵⁷ "The holy women in the convents", he states, "prepare spices and pointments (*aromata*) with Mary Magdalen through their continuous zeal of prayer and supplication" (*Luke* 23:56). The crusaders' wives and mothers, "weep with Rachel, refusing consolation because their sons or husbands will not return from this so great an expedition" (cf. *Jeremiah* 31:15 and *Matthew* 2:16-18). In this passage, the "holy women" prepare spices and ointments for the martyrs just like Mary Magdalene did, who anointed Christ's body; the crusaders' wives and mothers weep for the martyrs, the crusaders, just like the mothers of the holy Innocents did.¹⁵⁸ Thus, Gerhoch juxtaposes to the crusaders' material fight in the Holy Land the spiritual fight at home.

More importantly, however, the spiritual warriors' battle is not confined to the Crusade. In the light of salvation history, it is rather twofold. While the crusaders materially carry out a holy war in order to protect the Lord's Sepulchre aided by the "poor in the spirit", the latter, the adherents of the *verus Moyses*, also fight against a different enemy: the sin of simony. In reference to the spiritual fight of the true Moses, Aaron, and Hur on the top of the mountain,¹⁵⁹ the ardent reformer writes:

These are the pious spectacles coming forth through the spirit of piety which we assign in order that the freedom to carry on the canonical election of bishops, abbots, provosts, and other ecclesiastical persons in dignity shall be great. For many years, nearly from the time of Emperor Otto I until Emperor Henry IV, kings and emperors themselves used to sell these offices, everywhere reigning through simony while simoniac bishops, who had been invested by this plague, spread out that death-bringing plague as far as to the lowest parish priests (*plebanus*) and chaplains (*capellanus*) to the point that nearly the entire Church had been defiled until pope Gregory VII stood as a wall for the house of Israel and re-established the canonical elections according to the former canonical rules. In this way, the holy community (*sancta universitas*) of the Christian people is sustained by bishops and other prelates, who are ordained in the Church through canonical elections, as well as their sincere preaching and pious prayers.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ This paragraph follows the arguments made by Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", p. 334-335.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology", p. 335.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. n. 156.

¹⁶⁰ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, pp. 436-437: "Hec sunt pia de spiritu pietatis provenientia spectacula, cuius operationi et hoc assignamus, quod in diebus istis magna est libertas canonicis electionibus episcoporum, abbatum, praepositorum et aliarum ecclesiasticarum personarum provehendarum in dignitatibus, quas per multos annos pene a tempore Ottonis primi imperatoris usque ad imperatorem Heinricum quartum vendere solebant ipsi reges vel imperatores regnante ubique symonia, dum per symoniacos episcopos in cathedra pestilentiae positos mortifera illa pestis dilatata est usque ad infimos plebanos, et capellanos, per quos valde multiplicatos aecclesia pene tota fedabatur usque ad Gregorium papam VII, qui se opposuit murum pro domo Israel, reparando in aecclesia canonicas electiones iuxta pristinas canonum sanctiones. Sic ordinatis in aecclesia episcopis et reliquis prelatibus per canonicam electionem sancta universitas populi christiani adiuvatur per eorum rectas predicationes et pias orationes".

As this passage shows, spiritual warfare at home is carried out by Churchmen not just to aid the crusade but also to fight for the freedom of canonical elections and for the sake of the “*sancta universitas* of the Christian people”. Thus, as Philippe Buc puts it, the crusade and holy war in the Holy Land “came with an equally miraculous reform in the Church, incepted by Gregory VII’s resistance to the simoniac emperors”.¹⁶¹

As Gerhoch makes clear in the exegesis of Psalm 39, this reform and its inherent fight against simony were themselves part of an all-encompassing historical and, more importantly, eschatological fight against the Antichrist and his adherents. Gerhoch writes that he had been awaiting the Lord who inclined towards him (Psalm 39:2). In this instance, the Lord signifies the “promised Paraclete”. The latter, the exegete specifies, is seven-shaped (*Paraclitum septiformem*) because he is the “most powerful protector against the seven-headed dragon” (*Revelation* 12:3). The seven heads “represent the seven principal kingdoms of this world which are all gathered into the Roman Empire.”¹⁶²

These empires threatened and persecuted the Christian Church throughout the course of history. The Egyptian kingdom persecuted the people of God; the kingdom of Israel split from the “house of David” and turned on it; the Babylonian empire was responsible for the so-called Babylonian captivity; the Persian or Mede empire was hostile to the Jews in Aman; lastly, the Greek empire under Antiochus IV Epiphanes persecuted the Maccabees and “other good Jews”. However, all these empires ceased and were replaced by reign of the sixth, the Roman Empire. It was not only the mightiest, but also the cruellest to Christians.¹⁶³ The Roman Emperor, Gerhoch asserts, is the fourth beast of Daniel’s vision (*Daniel* 7:23). Under his reign, the Roman Empire cruelly persecuted Christians starting with the passion of Christ and going on with those of the Martyrs.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology”, p. 334.

¹⁶² Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, pp. 434-435: “Ego item in sanctis novi testamenti post ascensionem Christi, *expectans expectavi Dominum*, promissum videlicet Paraclitum, *et intendit mihi*, quia subito inter expectandum *factus est repente de celo sonus tanquam advenientis spiritus vehementis et replevit totam domum, ubi erant sedentes* (*Acts* 2:2), et expectantes Paraclitum septiformem, fortissimum tutorem contra septem draconis capita, VII videlicet mundi hujus principalia regna in regno Romanorum conglobata”. On Gerhoch’s notion of the seven empires and its relation to other models (e.g. Rupert of Deutz), see Meuthen, *Kirche*, pp. 130-135.

¹⁶³ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 435: “[...] Egyptiacum, quod populum Dei afflixerat, Israeliticum a domo David scissum et regno Dei adversarium, Chaldaicum, quod populum Dei captivaverat, Persicum sive Medicum, quod in Aman hoste Iudaeorum fuit infestum populo Dei, Grecum, quod in Antiocho Epiphane Macchabaeos aliosque bonos Iudaeos vexaverat. Ista quinque regna tempore Iohannis ceciderant, et sextum, Romanorum, tunc stabat”. Meuthen, *Kirche*, p. 131, discusses this as well.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 435: “Iam sextus erat ipse imperator Romanus, qui per bestiam quartam in Danielis visione significatus est, quoniam a regno Chaldaeorum, sub

“The seventh empire, which is the Antichrist,” Gerhoch claims, “has not come yet, even though there have already been many antichrists”.¹⁶⁵ In the course of history, the heralds of the Antichrist have been already announcing his arrival through their misdeeds. These heralds include heretics who are "ravaging in the church, spreading out the smoke of their errors". However, as Gerhoch claims, the Lord, has heard his prayers, giving him, the psalmist, the "spirit of knowledge (*spiritum scientiae*) which triumphs over the errors and untruths (*falsitates*) of the heretics".¹⁶⁶ Thus, in Gerhoch's eyes, there is a war going on against the heralds of the Antichrist, the heretics who attack the Christian Church. This war is carried out on a spiritual level through the *spiritum scientiae*.

But heretics are not the only threat to the Church, nor is the “spirit of knowledge” the only means to face these enemies. In order to withstand and fight the Church's enemies, God gives the Christians the "spirit of wisdom" (*spiritum sapientiae*) against the philosophers who "oppose Christian simplicity"; he equips the Christian with the "spirit of understanding" (*spiritum intellectus*) against the Jews who follow the "carnal Law (*lex carnaliter*) and to whom the 'letter that killeth' (2 *Corinthians* 3:6) adheres too exceedingly"; the Lord furthermore gives the "spirit of counsel" (*spiritum consilii*) to withstand the Pharisees who "scorned the counsel of God by not accepting the baptism from John or Christ"; moreover, the Lord provides Christians with the "spirit of courage" (*spiritum fortitudinis*) through which one can overcome persecution and torture of the tyrants, one must assume, via martyrdom.¹⁶⁷

quo visio illa fuit, post regnum Persicum et Grecum quartum tenet locum ipsum Romanum imperium, recte assimilatum bestie terribili et forti, quia terribiliter et fortiter aecclesiam Dei pressit primitus in torculari passionis Dominicae, in quo pressus est ille botrus, quem in vecte crucis per fidem duorum populorum ad nos deportatum cognoscimus, deinde in passionibus martyrum, quibus a Nerone usque ad Maximianum et Diocletianum decies repetitis quasi per X cornua bestia illa fuit terribilis”. On Gerhoch's notion of the seven empires, see Meuthen, *Kirche und Heilsgeschichte*, pp. 130-135.

¹⁶⁵ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 435: “Septimum, quod est Antichristi, nondum venerat, quamvis iam tunc Antichristi multi fuerunt”.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 435: “Hujus precones erant heretici, quibus in aecclesia grassantibus et errorum suorum nebulas diffudentibus ego aecclesia catholica *exspectans exspectavi Dominum, et intendit michi, et exaudivit preces meas, et eduxit me de lacu miseriae et de luto foecis, et statuit super petram pedes meos, et direxit gressus meos*, dans mihi spiritum scientiae, quo contra errores et falsitates hereticorum triumphante [...]”. Cf. Meuthen, *Kirche und Heilsgeschichte*, p. 131.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 435: “Tunc imminentibus pressuris nimiis, ego aecclesia *exspectans exspectavi Dominum, et intendit mihi, et exaudivit preces meas, et immisit in os meum canticum novum* (Ps. 39:1-4), dans mihi spiritum sapientiae contra philosophos mundi resistentes christianae simplicitati, spiritum intellectus vivificantem contra Iudaeos legem carnaliter tenentes et littere occidenti nimis inherentes, spiritum consilii contra Phariseos, qui consilium Dei spreverunt non recipientes baptismum vel Iohannis vel Christi, quorum alterum gratie precursorium, alterum vero gratia et veritate plenum ego aecclesia per spiritum consilii monita recepi, et iam cessante precursionis officio solum Christi baptismum teneo. Datus est etiam spiritus fortitudinis, quo confirmante multimoda tyrannorum tormenta sperni ac superari possent, quibus illa bestia secundum Danielem quarto loco, et secundum Iohannem VI^o loco posita aecclesiam Dei vexavit”.

As he did in the *Sermo*, Gerhoch, places the expedition of the years 1147-1148 within an eschatological framework in his exegesis of Psalm 39 as well. This becomes clear when one traces the apocalyptic allusions of his description of the Second Crusade. For instance, as has been shown, the theologian describes how the kings of the nations assemble to bring a desolation upon Israel, how Bernard of Clairvaux's miracles thunder and sparkle like lightning, and, more importantly, how a massive earthquake shook the land. All these elements are allusions to and reoccurring themes in the *Revelation of John*, the Apocalypse. For example, all of them can be found in the following passage (*Revelation* 16:12-21) that describes how angels pour out the sixth and seventh vials which contain the wrath of God:

And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon that great river Euphrates; and dried up the water thereof, that a way might be prepared for the kings from the rising of the sun. And I saw from the mouth of the dragon, and from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet, three unclean spirits like frogs. For they are the spirits of devils working signs, and they go forth unto *the kings of the whole earth*, to gather them to battle against the great day of the Almighty God. Behold, I come as a thief. [...] And he shall gather them together into a place, which in Hebrew is called Armagedon. And the seventh angel poured out his vial upon the air, and there came a great voice out of the temple from the throne, saying: It is done. And there were *lightnings*, and voices, and *thunders*, and there was a *great earthquake*, such an one as never had been since men were upon the earth, such an earthquake, so great. And the great city was divided into three parts; and the cities of the Gentiles fell. And great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give her the cup of the wine of the indignation of his wrath. And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found. And great hail, like a talent, came down from heaven upon men: and men blasphemed God for the plague of the hail: because it was exceeding great.

What is more, the fourth beast of *Daniel* 7 as well as the seven-headed dragon which Gerhoch refers to exhibit also a strong apocalyptic character.¹⁶⁸ The dragon, which Gerhoch had already mentioned in his exegesis of Psalm 33,¹⁶⁹ is a creature from the *Book of Revelation* that will torment the world at End Times. *Revelation* 12:3-4 describes the dragon: "And there was seen another sign in heaven: and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns: and on his heads seven diadems: And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth [...]". Eventually, however, the dragon and the Antichrist will be defeated at the Eschaton by Christ and his army. Thus, for Gerhoch combatting the heralds of the Antichrist, heretics and the sin of simony, in the present, the fight already exhibits an

¹⁶⁸ On the *Book of Daniel* and Apocalypticism in the Middle Ages, see Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. n. 71.

eschatological dimension. After all, a reformed Church should await the Second Coming of Christ at the Eschaton in purity.

From these observations, several conclusions can be drawn. Both of the analysed sources show that for Gerhoch of Reichersberg the Second Crusade constitutes an eschatological event. He links the crusade itself closely to the reform of the Church as he sees it as a facet of the reform within Christendom. Hence, the fight against Muslims in the Holy Land is only one element of a broader, eschatological fight for the purification of the Church. The latter includes the fight against a long line of enemies menacing the Church such as heretics or simoniacs. Gerhoch's fight is mostly of a spiritual nature; however, with the *bellum sanctum* carried out on the Second Crusade, it exhibits a material component as well. By embedding the crusade and the fight "at home" in several Old Testament scenarios, the exegete interprets the events of his own time as the fulfilment of Old Testament events in the Age of the New Testament. Thereby Gerhoch also reinjects the once spiritualised Old Testament material warfare into the Age of the Spirit.

Gerhoch's hopes for the Second Crusade were high, but with the disastrous outcome of the enterprise they turned into bitter disillusionment and dismay. As Giles Constable and Jay Rubenstein showed, Gerhoch blamed the Jerusalemite Christians for the failure of the Crusade in his *De investigatione Antichristi* of 1161. Supposedly, it was they who, in an act of greed, instigated the enterprise in order to increase their wealth. For the provost, Jerusalem became a "source of corruption", even despite its role in salvation history.¹⁷⁰ Rubenstein pointedly sums up Gerhoch's criticism and post-disillusionment attitude towards the Second Crusade and crusading in general:

In short, Gerhoch's diatribe against Jerusalem goes beyond the Second Crusade and the leadership of the Frankish East. It is a devaluing of Jerusalem itself, an argument that Western Christians need not travel there anymore and indeed probably should not have gone there in the first place. Gerhoch did not merely reject the Second Crusade. He rejected crusading, or at least the goal of crusading, the need to protect and defend the city where Christ's tomb lay, the purported center of the world.¹⁷¹

This disillusionment led the theologian to rethink and reinterpret history and prophecy. Jerusalem and Babylon, for instance, were movable categories and could, once newly interpreted, be Rome as well. The Antichrist, too, became the subject of reinterpretation and,

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade", pp. 273-274; Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 147-149.

¹⁷¹ Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 153.

according to Gerhoch, rather took the form of heretics and schismatics than of Muslims.¹⁷² To put it once again in Rubenstein's words, "what Gerhoch imagined was a new, homegrown Apocalypse".¹⁷³ This effort becomes also clear with two of his twelfth century contemporaries, Hildegard of Bingen and Ralph the Black who, by criticising the crusades and reinterpreting the apocalypse, joined Gerhoch in emphasising the need to deal with enemies at home such as heretics or simoniacs.¹⁷⁴

By no means does this rejection of crusading and the devaluing of Jerusalem as the city of End Times imply that the fight for salvation is over yet. With the apocalypse now "beginning at home", the eschatological battle is exclusively carried out at home, within the realm of Latin Christendom. This becomes clear in Gerhoch's *Tractatus in psalmum LXIV* which he wrote during the early 1150s, thus only a few years after the Second Crusade. In it, Gerhoch states:

The lies [of the Church's enemies] cannot be refuted without a great battle as it was carried out by the martyrs against tyrants, idolaters, and the Temple's High Priests (*templorum pontifices*), as well as by the holy confessors against heretics and the kings supporting them in their mischief, and which is carried out in our days by men of religion (*virii religiosi*) against simoniacs, mercenaries (*conducticios*), the incestuous (*incestuosos*), instable (*girovagos*) and wandering (*vagos*), the dissolute (*dissolutos*), erroneous (*oberanntes*), and – the worst among them communities of clerics not living according to a rule (*irregulariter congregatos clericos*).¹⁷⁵

According to Gerhoch, this great battle of his very own days, which began during the time of pope Gregory VII (r. 1073 - 1085), is still raging. In this battle, he furthermore claims, the seven wicked spirits (*Matthew* 12:45, *Luke* 11:26) openly fight the truly good ones and seven other spirits which are even more wicked fight them under the guise of false good ones, infesting them with their verbosity (*importuna loquacitate*). Gerhoch identifies these spirits with the spirits of demons from *Revelation* 16:13-14 ("And I saw from the mouth of the dragon, and from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet, three unclean spirits like frogs. For they are the spirits of devils working signs, and they go forth unto the kings of the whole earth, to gather them to battle against the great day of the Almighty God").¹⁷⁶ "Their [the

¹⁷² Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 149-153.

¹⁷³ Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 153.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 153-164.

¹⁷⁵ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 64*, in: Licciardello (ed.), *Tractatus*, p. 224: "Unde confutari non possunt huiusmodi mendacia sine magno conflictantium prelio, quale nichilominus habuerunt sancti confessores contra hereticos et reges in malo illis faventes, ac novissime diebus istis virii religiosi contra Symoniacos, conducticios, incestuosos, girovagos, vagos, dissolutos, oberrantes aut, quod peius est, irregulariter congregatos clericos [...]".

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 64*, in: Licciardello (ed.), *Tractatus*, p. 224: "[P]relium grande in tempore VII Gregorii papę habuerunt et adhuc habent, VII spiritibus nequam in aperte malis, et VII aliis nequioribus in ficte bonis contra vere bonos dimicantibus et importuna loquacitate illos infestantibus. Unde,

simoniacs' etc.] dogmas, in fact," the exegete claims, "are against the truth and, without any doubt, all their magnitude, and indeed all their hubris (*inflationes*) are of demonic aspiration. 'And they go on,' he [John] says, 'to assemble the kings of the earth for their battle'".¹⁷⁷ Thus one can assert that for Gerhoch, writing in the early 1150s, the fight of this own time against simoniacs, secular canons, and other enemies of the Church is essentially an eschatological one as he finds prophetic evidence for it in the *Revelation of John*.

These observations lead to further questions. How does Gerhoch's fight against the remaining enemies of the Church look like? With regard to his previous crusading enthusiasm, does one find remnants of a crusade ideology in Gerhoch's exegesis in spite of his later dismay at, and critique of crusading to the Holy Land? Given the fact that Gerhoch approved of material warfare in the form of holy war against Muslims, was the fight against the inner enemies of the Church exclusively spiritual or could this fight within Christendom exhibit a material component too as it was the case with the Crusades in the Holy Land? These shall be the questions for the following chapter, which deals with Gerhoch's war against the enemies within Christendom during a time when heretics, simoniacs, and schismatics were looming large.

cum dixisset Iohannes vidisse de ore draconis et de ore bestie et de ore pseudoprophete spiritus immundus exisse, addidit: 'In modum ranarum', et adiecit: 'Sunt enim spiritus demoniorum facientes signa, et procedunt ad reges totius terre, congregare illos in prelium ad diem magnum Omnipotentis'. 'Vere', inquit 'illos immundos dixerim, sunt enim spiritus demoniorum'".

¹⁷⁷ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 64*, in: Licciardello (ed.), *Tractatus*, p. 224: "Nam revera, cum veritati contraria sint dogmata eorum, nulli dubium quin omnes magnitudines, immo inflationes eiusmodi, sint aspirationes demoniorum. 'Et procedunt' inquit 'ad reges totius terre, congregare illos in prelium'".

CHAPTER III: The “Holy *Universitas* of the Christian People” Under Attack: Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s Fight Against the Spiritual Antiochus

The spiritual Antiochus already reigns, through his tyrannical violence the Church is being oppressed, the temple of God violated, desecrated and defiled by the strongly growing peril of the schism to the point that it provides stuff to sing or rather to lament and cry according to the words of this Psalm: *God, the nations have come into your inheritance, they defiled your holy Temple* (Ps. 78:1).¹⁷⁸

The reign of the spiritual Antiochus has already begun and now his tyranny is oppressing the Church and defiling God’s holy Temple – with these portentous words, Gerhoch of Reichersberg describes the growing hazard posed by the schismatics and simoniacs in his exposition of Psalm 78.¹⁷⁹ The historical person Antiochus IV Epiphanes (r. 175 – 164 BCE) whom Gerhoch of Reichersberg refers to was king of the Seleucid Empire and is primarily known for his persecution of the Jews in Judea as well as for the resulting rebellion of the Maccabees, which is described in the Old Testament *Books of the Maccabees*. According to Peter Classen, the theologian wrote the ninth part of the *Tractatus in Psalmos* including the exposition of Psalms 78-117, during his exile in 1167, towards the end of his life.¹⁸⁰

This exile was a result of the provost’s involvement in the so-called papal schism of 1159. Following the death of Pope Adrian IV in 1159, the majority of the cardinals elected Alexander III (r. 1159 - 1181) as pope, while a minority, backed by Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (r. 1155 - 1190), elected Victor IV (r. 1159 - 1164) as antipope.¹⁸¹ The outcome of this double election was a papal schism which was only resolved through the treaty of Venice in 1177. The schism both originated in, and led to further conflicts between the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick I. By siding with Alexander III, Gerhoch and other ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Bavarian-Austrian area soon found themselves caught up in the

¹⁷⁸ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 78*, in: *OI 2*, p. 671: “Spiritualis Antiochus iam regnat, cuius tyrannica violentia sic Ecclesia opprimitur, sic templum Dei violatur et profanatur atque polluitur, ingravescente nimis periculo schismatis, ut magna sit materia canendi vel potius lamentandi et flendi secundum verba huius psalmi: *Deus venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum*”.

¹⁷⁹ For the exposition of *Ps. 78*, see *OI 2*, pp. 671-675.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Classen, *Gerhoch of Reichersberg*, p. 292.

¹⁸¹ For a fundamental work on the Schism of 1159, see, for instance, Johannes Laudage, *Alexander III. und Friedrich Barbarossa* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1997).

middle of the raging conflict.¹⁸² As a result, Heinrich of Baumgarten, a count who was a partisan of Frederick I, conducted a series of raids on the monastery of Reichersberg and its estates between October and May 1167. The provost, Gerhoch, fled and was only able to return to Reichersberg after a truce had been established on the 12th of July 1167. It was during these days in exile that Gerhoch, appalled by the events of the year 1167, wrote the exposition of Psalm 78 as well as *De quarta vigila noctis*.¹⁸³ The latter is a tractate that directly takes up the main theme of the ninth part of the *Tractatus in Psalmos*: the oppression and threatening of the church by its enemies.¹⁸⁴

The tenor of the ninth part of Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Tractatus in Psalmos* is dark and pessimistic. This pessimism and gloominess are visible right from the beginning of his exposition of Psalm 78: he claims that he has completed the exposition of Psalm 77 but now the dark night, the *potestas tenebrarum*, i.e. Satan, and the evils brought forth by the schism are hindering him from continuing. "Due to the imminent power of darkness", Gerhoch states, he had been "forced to cease from the exposition". Therefore, there is a gap until Psalm 118 from where the exposition will be continuous until the end of the Psalter. Gerhoch further explains that he is going to fill the remaining Psalms in passing and very superficially, but that he will also explain the reason for that.¹⁸⁵ The reason, he goes on, is the reign of the spiritual Antiochus and the oppression of the Church. The provost previously had already lamented the state of the Church and its oppression by its enemies, for instance, in his exposition of Psalm 73. The situation, however, worsened which might explain the bitter and pessimistic tinge of his exegesis of Psalm 78:1. While in the commentary on Psalm 73 Gerhoch merely prays for the scattering of God's enemies, the words and themes used in his exposition of Ps. 78:1 rather express the theologian's deep concern.

"*Deus venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum*" (Ps. 78:1) – The opening verse of Psalm 78 already indicates the main theme of Gerhoch's exposition: the defilement of God's holy temple by the pagan nations (*gentes*). By God's temple

¹⁸² Cf. Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 273-289.

¹⁸³ *De quarta vigila noctis* is part of Reichersberg, Stiftbibliothek, cod. 8. For an edition, see Ernst Sackur, *MGH, SS, Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum* III (Hannover, 1997), pp. 503-525.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 290-300;

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 78*, in: *OI 2*, p. 671: "Psalmo septuagesimo septimo expleto, sequens, videlicet septuagesimus octavus, esset exponendus, nisi quod iam nox illa imminet in qua nemo potest operari. Saltu ergo facto abhinc usque ad psalmum centesimum decimum octavum, quem antehac, prout Deo favente potuimus, exposuimus, continuando tunc usque in finem psalterii, sed nunc imminente potestate tenebrarum cogimur cessare ab expositione. Sed ne medios psalmos intactos praeterisse videamur per negligentiam, en reddimus causam".

(*templum Dei*), the theologian understands the Church (*Ecclesia*) in an allegorical or ecclesiological sense,¹⁸⁶ while the *gentes* are “men who live like pagans” (*homines gentiliter viventes*). Gerhoch claims that through them, “the name of God is blasphemed as long as it is allowed to trade in God’s temple and to consort with harlots” next to it. That, he continues, was the case in the days of the Maccabees, when Antiochus sold the high priesthood to Jason and to Menelaus (c.f. II *Maccabees* 4:7-10 and 4:23-24). Moreover, the king “brought unchaste women into the holy place and put the finest youth into brothels” (II *Maccabees* 4:12).¹⁸⁷ As becomes clear in the exposition, these “men who live like pagans” and who are defiling God’s temple include schismatics.¹⁸⁸ However, the reference to the selling of the high priesthood of Jerusalem by Antiochus indicates that simony also and those who carry it out, the so-called simoniacs, defile and violate God’s temple, the Church.

According to Gerhoch, Asaph laments this desolation. That same Asaph stands for the “singing congregation at the end”. Furthermore, the theologian emphasises that Asaph “unites the laments that are caused by this abomination of desolation”. This abomination, Antichrist, and the end of the world are already approaching. They are caused by the reign of the spiritual Antiochus and the defilement of God’s Temple. But for Gerhoch, the reason for the tyranny of Antiochus to flourish lies in the Christian behaviour. It is the Christians' lack of will and their fear when it comes to resisting him that nourish his reign: “none or just a few are opposing him like the Maccabees”, he claims, and “men wither facing the fear and the expectation of the evils which will overcome the whole world”.¹⁸⁹

This situation was already described in the *Book of the Maccabees*, Gerhoch states. In it, it is written that “the incursion of evils was the worst and burdensome for all men. For the temple was full of the luxury and revelry of the pagan nations, and the consorting with harlots, and women intruded themselves wantonly into the holy buildings, bringing in things that were forbidden. The altar as well was full of illicit things which were forbidden by the laws. And

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 78*, in: *OI 2*, p. 672: “[...] templo Dei, quod est Ecclesia, [...]”.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 78*, in: *OI 2*, pp. 671-672: “Nam per gentes, id est homines gentiliter viventes, nomen Dei blasphematur, dum talibus est liberum in templo Dei negotiari et circa tempum Dei scortari, sicut in diebus Machabaeorum legimus evenisse, Antiocho vendente sacerdotium primo Iasoni deinde Menelao, atque mulieribus impudicis ultro se ingerentibus loco sancto, et optimis ephibrorum in lupanaribus positis”.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. n. 178: “ingravescente nimis periculo schismatis”.

¹⁸⁹ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 78*, in: *OI 2*, p. 672: “Hanc desolationem deplorare videtur Asaph, cui attitatur hic psalmus. Habet enim titulum: *Psalmus Asaph*. Sed eidem Asaph, id est ‘congregationi psallenti in finem’, potius congruit lamentari hanc desolationis abominationem quam nos iam fine mundi appropinquante videmus imminere, spiritali Antiocho regnante ac templum Dei profanante, nullis vel paucis Machabaeorum similibus illi resistentibus, arescentibus hominibus prae timore et expectatione malorum quae supervenient universe orbi”.

neither were the sabbaths kept, nor the solemn days of the fathers, or did anyone confess himself openly as a Jew” (II *Maccabees* 6:3-6). The evils, however, that are being committed now in God’s temple, which is the Church, are exceeding the ones committed back then by Antiochus.¹⁹⁰

Gerhoch’s references to the “Abomination of Desolation” and the Maccabean rebellion against Antiochus make his intended claims obvious: with the approaching End Times the fight against those who brought these abominations upon Christendom is necessary – new Maccabees are needed. But what exactly does Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s fight against the reign of the spiritual Antiochus and the enemies of the allegorical Jerusalem, the Christian Church, look like? What are the biblical tropes and themes he uses in order to frame his fight? Considering the theologian’s initial enthusiasm for the first two Crusades, the question comes up: does one find elements or remnants of a crusading ideology in the later parts of the *Tractatus in psalmos*, especially regarding the enemies of the Church? What forms does the warfare against the “men who live like pagans”, who defiled the holy Temple, and which include among others schismatics, simoniacs, and heretics take? Is it purely spiritual or does it also exhibit a material component? If so, does one find aspects of and tendencies towards a crusade against Christians in Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s exegesis? In order to answer these questions, this chapter analyses the tropes, themes, and narratives present in Gerhoch’s commentary on the *Book of Psalms*. Furthermore, it traces their long-established use and application in the context of the crusades. Its third section explores how Gerhoch, facing the attacks of imperial troops, materialised the up until then exclusively spiritual fight against the reign of the spiritual Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the servants of the Antichrist.

¹⁹⁰ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 78*, in: *OI 2*, p. 672: “Scriptum est enim in libro Machabaeorum: *Pessima autem et universis gravis malorum erat incurio. Nam templum luxuria et comessationibus [gentium] erat plenum et scortantium cum meretricibus, sacratisque aedibus mulieres se ultro ingerebant intro ferentes de quae non licebat. Altare etiam plenum erat illicitis, quae legibus prohibebantur. Neque autem sabbata custodiebantur, neque dies sollemnes patrii servabantur, nec simpliciter se quisquam Iudaeum esse confitebatur.* Haec omnia, si otium esset ad exponendum, tempestuoso huic tempori satis poterant coaptari, nisi quod malis quae tunc per Antiochium facta sunt longe superexcellunt mala quae in templo Dei, quod est Ecclesia, nunc fiunt, profanato sanctuario Dei multimoda legum veterum et novarum transgressione atque abominatione desolationis”. The biblical references in this passage are to *Daniel* 9:27 and *Matthew* 24:15 (Abomination of Desolation), as well as to II *Maccabees* 6:3-6.

The Spiritual Antiochus Menacing the Church

Read in the light of what Gerard Caspary called the “grammar of exegesis”, Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s exposition of Psalm 78:1 can be understood as a call to “arms” against the enemies of the Church.¹⁹¹ Since the ninth century, the episodes of the *Books of the Maccabees*, which Gerhoch refers to in his exegesis, had been part of the Old Testament (in the Latin West). Beginning with Origen, for the majority of patristic and medieval exegetes, the Old Testament constituted the so-called *historia* or “the letter”. It was understood as the Old Law, the age of Moses, or the Old Dispensation; it was characterised by God’s vengeance, thus exhibiting a highly bellicose character. The vivid bellicism is indeed apparent in the case of the Maccabees. For instance, to cite I *Maccabees* 2:

In those days arose Mathathias the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib, from Jerusalem, and he abode in the mountain of Modin. And he had five sons: John who was surnamed Gaddis: And Simon, who was surnamed Thasi: And Judas, who was called Machabeus: And Eleazar, who was surnamed Abaron: and Jonathan, who was surnamed Apphus. These saw the evils that were done in the people of Juda, and in Jerusalem. And Mathathias said: Woe is me, wherefore was I born to see the ruin of my people, and the ruin of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it is given into the hands of the enemies? The holy places are come into the hands of strangers: her temple is become as a man without honour. The vessels of her glory are carried away captive: her old men are murdered in the streets, and her young men are fallen by the sword of the enemies. What nation hath not inherited her kingdom, and gotten of her spoils? All her ornaments are taken away. She that was free is made a slave. And behold our sanctuary, and our beauty, and our glory is laid waste, and the Gentiles have defiled them. To what end then should we live any longer? (I *Maccabees* 2:1-13)

When King Antiochus’ officers came to the city, they wanted to impose a new law and Hellenistic culture, including a new religion. As a Jewish priest, Mattathias should be first to sacrifice. The officers promised him great riches if he would fulfil their commands. Mattathias, however, refused and spoke vociferously (I *Maccabees* 2:19-22):

Although all nations obey king Antiochus, so as to depart every man from the service of the law of his fathers, and consent to his commandments: I and my sons, and my brethren will obey the law of our fathers. God be merciful unto us: it is not profitable for us to forsake the law, and the justices of God: We will not hearken to the words of king Antiochus, neither will we sacrifice, and transgress the commandments of our law, to go another way.

¹⁹¹ For the “grammar of exegesis” cf. Caspary, *Politics*, pp. 102-124 and Buc, *Holy War*, pp. 67-89.

There was, however, a Jew present who was eager to follow the king's commandment. When Mattathias saw him stepping up to the altar in order to carry out the commanded sacrifice, he

[...] was grieved and his reins trembled, and his wrath was kindled according to the judgment of the law, and running upon him he slew him upon the altar: Moreover the man whom king Antiochus had sent, who compelled them to sacrifice, he slew at the same time, and pulled down the altar, And shewed zeal for the law, as Phinees did by Zamri the son of Salomi. And Mathathias cried out in the city with a loud voice, saying: Every one that hath zeal for the law, and maintaineth the testament, let him follow me. (*I Maccabees 2:24-27*)

These passages from the *First Book of the Maccabees* do not only show the beginning of the Jewish revolt against Antiochus IV but are characteristic of the rather violent tenor of the Old Testament. Ironically, these 'violent delights' are not exactly in cohesion with the (supposed) pacifism preached by Christ. Therefore, this vivid violence and bellicosity of the Old Testament was allegorised and spiritualised in order to bring it in line with the fundamentally eirenic conception of Christianity. The Old Testament Maccabees fought material wars against Antiochus IV, and, eventually, gained victory and restored worship at the defiled Temple in Jerusalem. However, due to the continuum between the Old and the New Testament, which exists even though they are also antithetical to one another, the fight against the "perfidious King" is not over yet. In the Old Testament age, the age of the Letter, Antiochus' physical reign was oppressing the Jews. In the mind of a twelfth-century theologian, man has been living in the second age – the age of the Church and the Spirit – since the first Advent of Christ. Now, according to Gerhoch, it is the spiritual reign of Antiochus IV that is threatening the Church and defiling the Lord's holy temple. The allegorical version of that very same temple, which once, in the age of the Letter, had been restored by the Maccabees.

The allegorisation of the deeds of the Maccabees had its roots in late Antiquity, namely in the works of the Church Fathers. Both Isidore of Seville and Augustine of Hippo argued that the deeds of the Maccabean brothers prefigured New Testament events. The highly influential Augustine even went as far as claiming that the martyrdom of the Maccabees prefigured the Passion of Christ.¹⁹² However, it was not until the ninth century that a full commentary on the *Books of the Maccabees* was produced. In fact, the first exegete to do so was the prolific Benedictine monk Hrabanus Maurus (c. 750 – 856), abbot of Fulda and later bishop of Mainz.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Cf. Klaus Schreiner, "Die Makkabäer. Jüdische Märtyrer und Kriegshelden im liturgischen und historischen Gedächtnis der abendländischen Christenheit", in: Ibid., *Märtyrer Schlachtenhelfer Friedensstifter. Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Heiligenverehrung* (Opladen, 2000), pp. 17-21; for Augustine's sermons on the Maccabees (Sermo 300 and 301), see: *PL*, 38, 1376-1380.

¹⁹³ For Hrabanus Maurus' *Commentaria in libros machabaeorum*, see *PL* 109, cols. 1125d-1256d.

Drawing on the Church Fathers but also adding his own ideas, Hrabanus Maurus strongly shaped the eventual exegesis of the *Books of the Maccabees*. As it turned out, his commentary would become highly influential during the high Middle Ages inasmuch as it eventually found its way into the *Glossa Ordinaria*, either unchanged or with slight modifications.¹⁹⁴ The *Glossa* constitutes an authoritative collection of Bible commentaries that was elaborated and compiled from about 1100 CE onwards, with the aim of providing an easy *vademecum* for the clergy, covering the whole of scripture.¹⁹⁵

For Hrabanus Maurus, Antiochus IV Epiphanes was a type of the Antichrist. After discussing the deeds of the Seleucid king as well as his defilement of the Holy Temple, he states:

But this mystical Antiochus, who entered the Holy Land with arrogance, devastated the Temple and defiled the holy place through the false beliefs (*superstitio*) of the pagans, is a type of the Antichrist, who cruelly carries out a war against Christ's Church and strives to defile through his error the souls of the faithful, which are the true Temple of God.¹⁹⁶

Moreover, in reference to the *First Epistle of John* (2:18: "Little children, it is the last hour; and as you have heard that Antichrist cometh, even now there are become many Antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last hour"), he asserts that there are many antichrists and that his members comprise heretics, schismatics, and pagans.¹⁹⁷ At another point of his commentary, Hrabanus speaks of the "three orders of persecutors" (*tres ordines persecutorum*), which are pagans, heretics, and false Christians – all of them being the soldiers of the Devil.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Buc, *Holy War*, 95; see also *Ibid.*, "La vengeance de Dieu: De l'exégèse patristique à la Réforme ecclésiastique et la Première Croisade", in: Dominique Barthélemy, François Bougard und Régine Le Jan (eds), *La vengeance, 400-1200* [Collection de l'École française de Rome 357] (Rome, 2006), pp. 451-486.

¹⁹⁵ For an introduction to the *Ordinary Glossa*, see Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria. The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* [Commentaria. Sacred Texts and Their Commentaries: Jewish, Christian and Islamic. Vol 3] (Leiden/Boston, 2009).

¹⁹⁶ Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros machabaeorum*, in: *PL*, 109, col. 1134c: "Mystice autem Antiochus hic, qui intravit in terram sanctam cum superbia, et devastavit templum, et locum sanctum polluit superstitione gentili, typum tenet Antichristi, qui contra Ecclesiam Christi bellum crudeliter gerit, et animas credentium, quae vere templum Dei sunt, errore suo polluere contendit"; cf. Buc, *Holy War*, 96-97; Schreiner, "Die Makkabäer", 20-12.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros machabaeorum*, in: *PL*, 109, cols. 1135a-b: "Verum, juxta Joannis vocem, *Antichristi jam multi sunt* (Joan. II), per quae membra sua idem malignus hostis jam mysterium operatur iniquitatis, per haereticos videlicet, schismaticos atque paganos, *et seducit multos, tunc etiam, si fieri potest, ipse scandalizat electos*, quia solvetur Satanus de carcere suo, et totum furorem suum, quantum permittitur, in Christicolis perfundet [effundet]".

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Buc, *Holy War*, 96; Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros machabaeorum*, in: *PL*, 109, col. 1151d-1152a: "*Et elegit Lysias Ptolomaeum filium Dorimini, et Nicanorem et Gorgiam viros potentes ex amicis regis*. Quid per Lysiam, nisi fastus mundanus designatur, qui per tres viros, hoc est, tres ordines persecutorum, bellum Christi Ecclesiae ingerit, hoc est per paganos, per haereticos et per falsos Christianos:

According to Philippe Buc, in the eyes of Hrabanus Maurus, the so-called *militēs Christi*, the soldiers of Christ, constituted reformers and the Maccabees' reconquest of the holy temple a purge. Purifying the temple, however, did not only mean to cleanse it from outside defilement but also from defilement that derives from within. "Thus," Buc argues, "mystically read, the purge of Jerusalem targeted heretics, but also bad clergy".¹⁹⁹ Moreover, with the idea of an approaching Eschaton, reform became all the more pressing. Such was also the configuration during the eleventh century, where "heightened apocalyptic expectation fed reformist drives". "In conformity with it", Buc asserts "purification would take place on two fronts: reform from within Christendom and holy war outside it".²⁰⁰ The First Crusade, therefore, was the manifestation of the purification of the outside that had been targeted by the eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform. The reform within Christendom, on the other hand, should deal with simony and heresies such as clerical marriage. "Holy war", hence, "ended up being fought against enemies within Christendom as much as against enemies outside".²⁰¹ As we have seen in the second chapter, for Gerhoch, a similar configuration was at work during the Second Crusade.

This configuration which combines war on the outside with purification on the inside can be detected also in Scripture. Tova Ganzel examined the term "defilement" and "desecration" in connection to God's Temple in the *Book of Ezekiel*. She argues that even though both terms are related to idolatry, they nevertheless exhibit different nuances. While the defilement of the Temple is primarily caused by the worship of idols and abominations of different sorts, the Temple's desecration is usually linked to the arrival and entry of foreigners and aliens.²⁰² As has been shown, the defilement and desecration of God's Temple play a central part in the *Book of the Maccabees*. In I *Maccabees* 2, too, the threat to Judaism comes from outside but also from within and is respectively embodied by Antiochus' officer and a renegade Jew. Judas Maccabeus slays both Antiochus' legate, who wants to impose the Hellenistic culture on the Jews, and the renegade Jew, who follows Antiochus' commands. As Jan Assmann asserted, the Maccabees invoked the Deuteronomic Law of War which specifies how to deal with enemy towns but also with cities neighbouring Judea such as cities of Canaan which

quibus subrogantur *quadraginta millia virorum, et septem millia equitum, ut disperdant Judam secundum verbum regis*".

¹⁹⁹ Buc, *Holy War*, 98.

²⁰⁰ Buc, *Holy War*, 99.

²⁰¹ Buc, *Holy War*, 99.

²⁰² Cf. Tova Ganzel, "The Defilement and Desecration of the Temple in Ezekiel", in: *Biblica* 89 (2008), pp. 369-379.

not yet accepted Judaism and thus constitute Hebraic pagans (*hebräisches Heidentum*) as well as with towns that turned renegade on Judea. While the former category should be plundered, the latter should be punished mercilessly by the sword. The fact that this fictional law was part of the cultural semantics (*kulturelle Semantik*) of the canon and more broadly of monotheism, resulted in the law's historical realisation: the Maccabees carried it out literally by fighting both Antiochus IV Epiphanes as well as a brutal civil war against Hellenised Jews.²⁰³ This potentiality could be reactualised, at least on paper, in specific historical circumstances.

Gerhoch, writing in the twelfth century, stresses that it is now the spiritual warriors' task to free the temple, i.e. the church, from the spiritual – and intensified – reign of Antiochus, who symbolises schismatics and simoniacs. This time, the oppression is even worse, according to the exegete. As has already been mentioned, he writes that the evils which were committed by Antiochus back then, have already been excelled by the evils that are being committed now in God's Temple, the Church, “for God's sanctuary has been desecrated through the manifold violation of the old and the new laws and the Abomination of Desolation”.²⁰⁴ Given the fact that the reign of the spiritual Antiochus is intensifying itself, the antidote to it must also be stronger, the fight and resistance must be more intense.

The “Abomination of Desolation” – this biblical theme from the *Book of Daniel* (9:27; 11:31; 12:11) and the so-called “Olivet Discourse” held by Jesus in the synoptic Gospels is highly apocalyptic. For instance, in *Daniel* 9:26-27 the archangel Gabriel reveals to the praying Daniel that the Antichrist will set up the Abomination of Desolation:

And after sixty-two weeks Christ shall be slain: and the people that shall deny him shall not be his. And a people with their leader that shall come, shall destroy the city and the sanctuary: and the end thereof shall be waste, and after the end of the war the appointed desolation. And he shall confirm the covenant with many, in one week: and in the half of the week the victim and the sacrifice shall fail: and there shall be in the temple the abomination of desolation: and the desolation shall continue even to the consummation, and to the end.

Thus, it seems that for Gerhoch, comparing the current state of the church with and correlating it to the Abomination of Desolation, the End Times is near. That means the fight against “*spiritalis Antiochus*” becomes an even more pressing issue. In the exposition of Psalm 78,

²⁰³ Cf. Jan Assmann, “Monotheismus und die Sprache der Gewalt”, in: Peter Walter (ed.), *Das Gewaltpotential des Monotheismus und der dreieine Gott* (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna: 2005), pp. 28-32.

²⁰⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 78*, in: *OI* 2, pp. 672-673: “Haec omnia, si otium esset ad exponendum, tempestuoso huic tempori satis poterant coaptari, nisi quod malis quae tunc per Antiochium facta sunt longe superexcellunt mala quae in templo Dei, quod est Ecclesia, nunc fiunt, profanato sanctuario Dei multimoda legum veterum et novarum transgressione atque abominatione desolationis”.

Antiochus specifically symbolises schismatics (one must assume, Alexander’s enemies) and simoniacs, who, together with heretics, constitute the main menace to the Church – especially in the eyes of an ardent reformer.

However, as the exegete makes clear in another part of his *Tractatus in psalmos*, the spectrum of enemies of the Church comprises several others more. For instance, in his exegesis of Psalms 67 and 73, which both tackle the scattering of God’s enemies, Gerhoch mentions Jews, pagans, false Christians, clerics, monks, bishops, and judges, as well as false penitents, or Nicolaites (married clergy).²⁰⁵ As Brett E. Whalen asserted, this set of God’s enemies was common to the “reformist apocalyptic view” of several twelfth-century reformers, such as Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Rupert of Deutz, Honorius Augustodunensis, Anselm of Havelberg, and Joachim of Fiore.²⁰⁶

But what does this spiritual warfare against the enemies and oppressors of the Church look like, which forms does it take? One has to bear in mind that the subject of Gerhoch’s exposition is the *Book of Psalms*. The Psalms constituted an integral part of the every-day life of a medieval cleric for they were recited and performed during the liturgy of the Divine Office and throughout the whole day.²⁰⁷ The spiritual warfare against the enemies of the church was carried out by that very same recitation and chant of the Psalms.²⁰⁸ Gerhoch makes that clear in his own exegesis. After mentioning the Christian persecution on behalf of the Roman empire, he states in the commentary on Psalm 73: Asaph sings the Psalm for the one who suffers these persecutions, and against the one who carries them out, freeing the former, and condemning the latter at the end (*in fine*).²⁰⁹ Asaph, here, stands for those reciting the Psalm. In the exposition

²⁰⁵ For instance, Gerhoch states in the exposition of Psalm 67 (*PL*, 194, col. 0163d): “Surrexit enim Christus, et per omnes gentes dispersi sunt Judaei, adhuc amplius dispergendi cum caeteris inimicis ejus paganis, haeticis, falsis Christianis ultimo judicio universaliter dissipandis”; *PL*, 194, cols. 0164a-0164b: “Quamvis enim semel mortuus ac sepultus in proprio corpore surrexerit, rursum tamen crucifigitur et ostentui habetur ac sepelitur, quoties veritas, quae est ipse, opprimitur, contemnitur et mala falsitatis consuetudine quasi lapide magno advoluto intra silentii sepulcrum tenetur clausus veluti nunquam resurrecturus Christus veritas, quando per falsos Christianos, per falsos clericos, monachos, episcopos aliosque judices, nec non per falsos poenitentes ita invalescit falsitas, ut putetur esse veritas”. In the exegesis of Psalm 73, he states (*PL*, 194, cols. 0377a-0377b): “Usquequo Deus haec et similia dicendo improperebit inimicus haeticus, schismaticus, Simoniacus, Nicolaita falsusque Christianus, Christianitatis disciplinae adversarius?”.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Whalen, *Dominion of God*, pp. 72-76.

²⁰⁷ For an introduction to this topic, see, for instance, Nancy Van Deusen (ed.), *The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages* (Albany, 1999).

²⁰⁸ The Cluniacs played an important part in the militarisation of liturgy. On this complex, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression”, in: *Viator* 2 (1971), pp. 129-157.

²⁰⁹ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 73*, in: *PL*, 194, cols. 0373b-0373c: “Pro his igitur, qui has persecutiones patiuntur, et contra eos, qui eos persequuntur, psallit *Asaph*, sane intelligens et illos in fine liberandos, et istos in fine damnandos”.

of Psalm 150, right at the end of his *Tractatus in psalmos*, Gerhoch recapitulates the function of the Psalms as spiritual weapons. The daily recitation and singing of the Psalms “through the spirit and the mind”, he claims, means to “fight with the shining sword and the very strong bow: Because as we tell God ‘Draw your sword and block [the way] against those who persecute me’ (Ps. 34:3), we fight with the sword. Likewise, as we say, ‘Send your arrows and you will trouble them’ (Ps. 143:6), we fight with the bow”.²¹⁰ By interpreting and defining the Psalms’ meaning in his exegesis, Gerhoch, so to speak, refined and sharpened the spiritual swords that were meant to be wielded so ferociously by churchmen.

The idea of prayer as spiritual warfare, however, was not only confined to Gerhoch of Reichersberg but it was a rather common feature of the whole Middle Ages and the twelfth century. For instance, the *Posteriorum Excerptio Libri Tredecim Continentes Utriusque Testamenti Allegorias*, a treatise composed by Hugh of Saint Victor (c. 1096 – 1141), an important twelfth-century theologian and contemporary of Gerhoch of Reichersberg, shows how the *Books of the Maccabees* and the Maccabees’ revolt against Antiochus IV were interpreted as wars against the enemies of the Church – in other words: how twelfth-century spiritual warfare ought to function and look like.

In Chapter IV, *De mysteriis quae continentur in libro Machabaeorum*, the situation seems clear to Hugh of Saint Victor: “The blessed wars (*felicis bella*) of the Maccabean brothers must not be left unspoken inasmuch as the glorious struggles of these Saints signify their [the Maccabees’] glorious battles against their spiritual enemies”.²¹¹ After this initial statement, Hugh goes on explaining this situation in more detail. He asserts that on his deathbed, Alexander the Great divided his empire among his companions (*satellites*), i.e. the Diadochi. This symbolises how the Devil, seeing his dominion impaired by the Advent of Christ, “inspired his malice into the wicked princes of this present age (*praesens saeculum*) so they would persecute the faithful”. In this case, the wicked princes are figures of the Alexander’s

²¹⁰ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 150*, in: *PL*, 194, cols. 0997d-0998b: “Unde saluberrime assumpta est illa consuetudo in Ecclesia, ut in conventibus ecclesiasticis recitentur quotidie Psalmi, cum caetera scripta, ut Genesis, aliaque talia semel in anno soleant recitari. ‘Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente (I Cor. XIV, 15),’ ait Apostolus, atque ut alios ad ipsum provocaret, ‘nolite, inquit, inebriari vino, in quo est luxuria, sed implemini Spiritu sancto loquentes vobismetipsis in psalmis, et hymnis, et canticis, spiritualibus psallentes in cordibus vestris Domino (Ephes. V, 18, 19),’ quod est praeliari gladio fulgido et arcu fortissimo. Nam, verbi gratia, cum dicimus Deo: ‘Effunde frameam tuam, et conculce adversus eos, qui persequuntur me (Psal. XXXIV, 3),’ quasi gladio pugnamus. Item cum dicimus: ‘Emitte sagittas tuas, et conturbabis eos (Psal. CXLIII, 6),’ arcu pugnamus”.

²¹¹ Hugh of Saint Victor, *Posteriorum Excerptio Libri Tredecim Continentes Utriusque Testamenti Allegorias*, in: *PL*, 175, col. 0749b: “Machabaeorum fratrum felicia bella silentio non sunt relinquenda. Ipsorum namque certamina gloriosa sanctorum designant agones contra spirituales hostes eorum”.

companions in the New Testament Age. From them, Hugh pursues, “the root of sin will emerge, the King Antiochus, the son of perdition, the Antichrist”. To the latter’s company belong false Christians, heretics, and persecutors of the Church. False Christians, the theologian specifies by referring to I *Maccabees* 1:12 (“In those days there went out of Israel wicked men, and they persuaded many, saying: Let us go, and make a covenant with the heathens that are round about us: for since we departed from them, many evils have befallen us”), are exactly those who make a covenant with the pagans (*gentes*). Here, pagans do not necessarily need be real pagans, but people who typologically act like pagans. Thus, for Hugh, false Christians are equally bad as pagans. They are just as wicked as the pagans, and just like them, they viciously fight against the faithful. It is through them and his princes that Antiochus “will persecute Jerusalem, the Holy City, because the Antichrist will persecute the Church with all the wicked [humans] (*omnes iniqui*)”.²¹²

There is, however, still some hope left. “Because”, as Hugh emphasises, “Mattathias and his sons are withstanding manfully, so do Jesus with his elected prelates powerfully defend the Church”. The theologian then goes on describing the weapons with which the Maccabees fight and overcome their enemies. He asks, “Which are in fact these weapons, if not virtues and good deeds (*opera bona*)?”, and specifies that they are carrying the “shield of faith” (*scutum fidei*), the “helmet of hope” (*galeam spei*), the “armour of charity” (*loricam charitatis*), and the “sword of the spirit, which is the word of God” (*gladium spiritus*). These weapons are described in *Ephesians* 6. Hugh, however, goes beyond this list and expands the spiritual warrior’s range of weapons. Furthermore, they carry the “lance of prayer (*lanceam orationis*), which is raised upwards to the Lord as well as pointed towards the enemy”. In addition, the spiritual warriors get the “greave through pilgrimage through various holy places (*per diversorum locorum deambulationem*); through the preaching bow and arrow; through moderation (*temperantiam*) the bridle as well as the spurs through the night watch (*vigilia*) and fasting (*jejunia*). What is more, in this “spiritual army (*spirituali militia*), the body is the horse, the soldier the spirit”. Without these weapons, one cannot be a warrior of Christ, Hugh asserts. “And whosoever is

²¹² Cf. Hugh of Saint Victor, *Posteriorum Excerptio*, in: *PL*, 175, cols. 0749c-0750b: “Alexander moriens imperium suum satellitibus suis dimisit, et diabolus in adventu Mediatoris Dei et hominum, hominis Christi Jesu, suum dominium minui videns, impiis principibus praesentis saeculi suam malignitatem ad persequendum credentes inspiravit. Ex quibus exhibit radix peccati rex Antiochus, filius perditionis Antichristus: qui quanto erit potentior, tanto erit ad persequendum perniciosior. Ad istius impii regis famulatum pertinent falsi Christiani, haeretici et persecutores Ecclesiae, qui quotidie ipsam persequuntur. Falsi namque Christiani ipsi sunt qui disponunt testamentum cum gentibus, quia suis sceleribus concordant gentibus, et suis pravitatibus repugnant fidelibus. Radix itaque peccati Antiochus illustris, cum principibus suis persequentur civitatem sanctam Jerusalem, quia Antichristus cum omnibus iniquis persequetur Ecclesiam”.

not his soldier, is his enemy, just as He [Christ] said himself: He who is not with me, is against me” (*Luke 9:50 and 11:23; Mark 9:40; Matthew 12:30*). After these lines, Hugh of Saint Victor ends his chapter on the mysteries that are contained in the *Book of Maccabees* with a command: “Let everyone strive to arm himself with all these weapons; learn to fight with Christ, so that you will deserve to be crowned by Christ after the victory”.²¹³

The idea of spiritual warfare against the enemies of Christ (including, above all, Antichrist) as well as the description of the weapons and armour of Christ’s spiritual army is not the product of Hugh of Saint Victor’s own mind, nor that of any other twelfth-century theologian. As a matter of fact, its roots go back to the Scriptures itself, more precisely, to the *Epistle to the Ephesians*. The letter constitutes the tenth book of the New Testament and was allegedly composed by the Apostle Paul during the second half of the first century AD. In *Ephesians 6:10-18*, an ultimately authoritative and highly influential passage on the idea of spiritual warfare, the author admonishes his readers:

Finally, brethren, be strengthened in the Lord, and in the might of his power. Put you on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood; but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against the spirits of wickedness in the high places. Therefore take unto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand in all things perfect. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breastplate of justice, And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace: In all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit (which is the word of God). By all prayer and supplication praying at all times in the spirit; and in the same watching with all instance and supplication for all the saints ...

As one can see, Hugh draws on Paul’s ideas but also elaborates them. To Paul’s initial helmet, shield, armour, and sword he adds many other weapons and fully armours the spiritual warrior.

²¹³ Hugh of Saint Victor, *Posteriorum*, in: *PL*, 175, cols. 0750b-0750c: “Sed Mathathias cum filiis suis viriliter resistit, et Christus cum electis praelatis potenter Ecclesiam defendit. Videamus autem quae sunt arma, quibus Machabaei nostri contra hostes pugnant, hostes superant, et suis finibus exagitant. Quae sunt enim arma ista, nisi virtutes, et opera bona? Habent arma *scutum fidei*, galeam spei, loricae charitatis, *gladium spiritus, quod est verbum Dei* (Ephes. VI); habent, et lanceam orationis, quae sursum ad Dominum erigitur, et in hostem dirigitur; habent ocreas per diversorum locorum deambulationem; arcum et sagittas per praedicationem; habent frenum per temperantiam, calcaria per vigiliis et jejunia. In hac autem spiritali militia, est corpus equus; miles spiritus. Quisquis vero supradictis armis armatus non est, miles Christi non est quia sine illis non potest Christi esse. Et quisquis miles ejus non est, hostis ejus est sicut ipse testatur, dicens: *Qui mecum non est, contra me est* (Luc. XI). Studeat quisque armis istis armari; studeat cum Christo praeliari, ut a Christo mereatur post victoriam coronari”.

Crusading Themes in Gerhoch's Later Exposition

This thesis' first two chapters have shown that Gerhoch of Reichersberg has accepted material warfare (in combination with the more important spiritual warfare) on the First and Second Crusade. The second chapter has shown that for Gerhoch, the twofold constellation of holy war against enemies within as well as without Christendom constituted the underlying matrix of church reform and the Second Crusade. Therefore, it is no surprise that one encounters in his later exegesis many themes, tropes, and narratives which were frequently used in crusading sources and contexts. These include eschatology, the Maccabees and their revolt, as well as the defilement of God's temple by the *gentes*, pagan nations. In order to analyse the interrelation between crusading, holy war, and reform in Gerhoch's commentary on the *Book of Psalms*, it is therefore necessary to examine these themes in their use to legitimise as well as in their function to provide them and holy warfare with an ideological framework and scenario. The following section, therefore, provides a brief overview of these themes and narratives and shows their application to and use in crusading contexts.

As has been shown in the first two chapters, Gerhoch placed the First Crusade and Second Crusade within an eschatological scenario. This is not unusual for twelfth-century chronicles and other sources dealing with the crusades.²¹⁴ Moreover, the liturgy of the late eleventh and twelfth century linked crusading and eschatology and thereby played a vital part for the dissemination of eschatological ideas in the Latin West. For example, the liturgy often connected the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem to biblical prophecies from the Book of Isaiah, Daniel, or the Book of Psalms, thus interpreting the crusade as their historical fulfilment. Furthermore, it linked the capture of Jerusalem to the coming of the new Jerusalem and thereby strongly increased the eschatological as well as apocalyptic climate.²¹⁵

In addition to eschatology and apocalypticism, the Maccabees, a priestly family of Jewish rebels and martyrs, were a popular theme in crusading sources. Due to the military efficiency of the Maccabees' fight for religious freedom and political autonomy, the veneration of these Old Testament martyrs was widespread and the use of their narrative was manifold.²¹⁶ For instance, as has been shown in this chapter, Hrabanus Maurus interpreted the brothers'

²¹⁴ See, for instance, Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*; Ibid, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*; Buc, "Crusade and Eschatology".

²¹⁵ Cf. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 143-156.

²¹⁶ Cf. Schreiner, "Die Makkabäer", p. 30.

revolt as spiritual warfare in the course of much-needed reform. As Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski stressed, the Benedictine monk Rupert of Deutz (1075/80 – 1129/30) followed this trajectory.²¹⁷ So did Gerhoch of Reichersberg, as has been and will be further emphasised in this chapter. Furthermore, as exemplary warriors fighting in the name of God and, more importantly, for God, their veneration underwent a constant process of politicisation. For instance, as Klaus Schreiner asserts, Judas Maccabeus constituted a biblical role model for many rulers, from Charlemagne in the early Middle Ages to the fourteenth-century Holy Roman emperor Charles IV.²¹⁸

The *Books of the Maccabees*' themes and narratives, moreover, were taken up enthusiastically in crusading calls and various other crusading documents and sources. For instance, Fulcher of Chartres' crusade chronicle *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem peregrinantium* depicts the crusaders as the Maccabees.²¹⁹ The Maccabees' cleansing of the holy places from the defilement that had previously been inflicted by pagan worship, thus the carrying out of God's vengeance, provided ecclesiastical authorities with a smoothly fitting narrative and scenario for their crusading endeavours. From popes Urban II (r. 1088 - 1099), Celestine II (r. 1143 - 1144), Eugene III (r. 1145 - 1153) to Innocent III (r. 1198 - 1216), whose papacy constituted a high-point for crusading, the Maccabees strongly featured in their crusading appeals.²²⁰

For instance, as Christian Auffahrt underlines, in 1144, pope Celestine II issued a widespread privilege to the Knights Templar wherein he compared them to the Maccabees: it is the Templars of Jerusalem, the new Maccabees in the age of Mercy, who took the cross and followed Christ, renouncing to all worldly desires and leaving behind all property. In reference to the Maccabees, Celestine II furthermore states that it is through the Templars that God freed the eastern Church from the defilement of the heathens, tossing out the enemies of Christendom.²²¹ In his 1145 crusading bull *Quantum praedecessores*, Eugene III, too, compares the crusaders to the Maccabees. Addressing the French king Louis VII (r. 1137 – 1180) and his

²¹⁷ Cf. Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, *Christian Memories of the Maccabean Martyrs* (New York, 2009), pp. 89-92.

²¹⁸ Cf. Schreiner, "Die Makkabäer", p. 30; on this topic see also Buc, "La Vengeance", pp. 486-473.

²¹⁹ For an English translation of Fulcher's chronicle, see Fulcher of Chartres, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, in: Oliver J. Thatcher, Edgar Holmes McNeal (trls.), *A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York, 1905).

²²⁰ Cf. Schreiner, "Die Makkabäer", pp. 33-36.

²²¹ Cf. Christian Auffahrt, "Die Makkabäer als Modell für die Kreuzfahrer. Usurpationen und Brüche in der Tradition eines Jüdischen Heiligenideals. Ein religionswissenschaftlicher Versuch zur Kreuzzugseschatologie", in: Christoph Elsass et al. (eds.), *Tradition und Translation. Zum Problem der interkulturellen Übersetzbarkeit religiöser Phänomene. Festschrift für Carsten Colpe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin and New York, 1994), pp. 368-369.

subjects, the pope mentions the capture of Edessa and many Christian castles by the ‘infidels’. Due to their advance and conquests, he claims, many Christians died, including an archbishop and numerous clerics. After admonishing his audience and readers to take up arms in defence of the eastern Church, Eugene III states:

And let the good Mattathias be an example to you. He did not hesitate for a moment to expose himself with his sons and relatives to death and to leave all he had in the world to preserve his ancestral laws; and at length with the help of divine aid and with much labour he and his offspring triumphed powerfully over their enemies.²²²

In the *Sermo in Vigilia Natalis Domini* and the exposition of Psalm 39 Gerhoch mentions Eugene III’s crusading bull.²²³ He therefore must have been perfectly aware of the connotations and implications inherent in the narrative of the Maccabees in regard to holy warfare and crusading. He himself mentions the Maccabees in the context of the Second Crusade. He does so in his commentary on Psalm 39 where he describes the seven kingdoms that correlated with the stages of history and the persecutions suffered by Christians. He claims that one of the empires being struck down is the Greek empire for it persecuted the Maccabees and other good Jews through the figure of Antiochus Epiphanes.²²⁴

Thematically connected to the *Books of the Maccabees*, the defilement of God’s temple also constitutes a reoccurring and central theme in crusading documents.²²⁵ For instance, Robert the Monk, whose *Historia Iherosolimitana* Gerhoch extensively used for his own description of the First Crusade, imagines how Pope Urban II applied the theme in his sermon at Clermont. According to Robert, after mentioning the cruelties committed by the “race of Persians” in the Holy Land, Urban II admonished his audience: “And most especially let the Holy Sepulchre of Our Lord the Redeemer move you – in the power as it is of foul races – and the holy places now abused and sacrilegiously defiled by their filthy practices”.²²⁶ To be more precise, the pope

²²² Eugene III, *Quantum praedecessores*, in: Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade. Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven and London, 2007), p. 281; trls. L. and J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality 1095-1274* (London, 1981), pp. 57-9; the Latin passage in Michael Doeberl, *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, vol. 4 (Munich, 1890), p. 42, states: “Sit vobis etiam in exemplum bonus ille Mathathias, qui pro paternis legibus et parentibus suis morti exponere et quidquid in mundo possidebat relinquere nullatenus dubitavit; atque tandem, divino cooperante auxilio, per multos tamen labores, tam ipse quam sua progenies de inimicis viriliter triumphavit”.

²²³ Cf. n. 140 and 147.

²²⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 39*, in: *PL* 193, cols. 1433d-1434a: “Graecum, quod Antiocho Epiphane Macchabaeos aliosque bonos Judaeos vexaverat”.

²²⁵ Cf. Penny Cole, “‘O God, the Heathens Have Come Into Your Inheritance’ (Ps. 78.1). The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188”, in: Maya Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders & Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993), pp. 84-111.

²²⁶ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in: Kempf, Bull (eds.), p. 6: “Presertim moveat vos sanctum Domini Salvatoris nostri Sepulchrum, quod ab inmundis gentibus possidetur, et loca sancta, que nunc

emphasised that “[t]hey throw down the altars after soiling them with their own filth, circumcise Christians, and pour the resulting blood either on the altars or into the baptismal vessels”.²²⁷ Later on in his account, Robert the Monk describes how during a famine, Christ together with the Apostle Peter and the Virgin Mary appeared to a monk in a vision. Once the monk recognised them, he instantly paid obeisance and begged for Christ’s aid against the famine and enemy attacks. Jesus, however, was reluctant and emphasised the crusaders’ sinful behaviour whereupon also Mary and Peter joined the priest’s begging. The apostle Peter added to his prayer: “Lord I thank you because you have given my church over to the power of your servants after allowing it to be shamefully soiled by the vice of the pagans who have dwelt in it for so many years”.²²⁸ Being already present in Urban II’s speech and crusade chronicles of the early twelfth century, the theme of the defilement of holy places soon found a place at the core of crusading discourses and ideology.²²⁹

This is quite clear when one turns to the frescoes of the basilica Santa Maria in Cosmedin in Rome. In her 1995 article “Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes at S. Maria in Cosmedin”, Anne Derbes provides a reinterpretation of the frescoes of the basilica Santa Maria in Cosmedin which have been reconstructed. The frescoes consist of two cycles: The so-called Ezekiel cycle draws on the *Book of Ezekiel* and depicts the punishment of those desecrating and despoiling the holy places; the Daniel cycle draws on the *Book of Daniel* and depicts the prophet Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar, strongly emphasising idol worship as well but also adding in an apocalyptic dimension. Older scholarship interpreted these frescoes as depicting scenes from the investiture controversy which was at least officially resolved with the Concordat of Worms in 1122. Derbes does not entirely dismiss this interpretation. She claims, however, that “[a]t least as important in shaping the content of the frescoes was the pope’s struggle with a different foe: the forces of Islam”.²³⁰

inhoneste tractantur et irreverenter eorum immunditiis sordidantur”. Trans.: Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk’s History*, p. 80.

²²⁷ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in: Kempf, Bull (eds.), p. 5: “Altaria suis feditatibus inquinata subvertunt, Christianos circumcidunt, cruoremque circumcisionis aut super altaria fundunt, aut in vasis baptisterii inmergunt”; trans.: Sweetenham, *Robert*, pp. 79-80.

²²⁸ Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in: Kempf, Bull (eds.), p. “Domine, gratias ago tibi, qoniam ecclesiam meam in potestate tuorum sorvorum dedisti, quam propter malitiam inhabitantium in ea tot annorum curriculis paganorum feitatibus sordidari permisisti”; trans.: Sweetenham, *Robert*, p. 162.

²²⁹ For instance, the theme was strongly used from the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and the Third Crusade (insert years) onwards. Cf. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, pp. 195-208; on p. 197 she states: “Psalm 78 became the rallying cry for the crusade effort and the penitential preparation it required”. Cf. also Cole, “O God, the Heathens Have Come Into Your Inheritance” (Ps. 78.1). *The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188*”.

²³⁰ Anne Derbes, “Crusading Ideology and the Frescoes at S. Maria in Cosmedin”, in: *The Art Bulletin* 77/3 (1995), p. 463.

More concretely put, Derbes argues that besides showing the pope's struggles against the antipope during the investiture controversy, there are several reasons that suggest an interpretation of the frescoes in the light of a crusading context as well. The coming of Islam, for instance, is foretold in both biblical books depicted on the walls, the Old Testament books of *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*. Moreover, defilement and idolatry play a central role in crusading discourses which, to a large extent, characterised Muslims as idol-worshipping pagans. This, for example, is the case in Urban II's speech at Clermont as well as with the famous twelfth-century Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux. Nebuchadnezzar's dream, too, was linked to the crusades, for instance, in Lambert of St Omer's *Liber Floridus*.²³¹ In addition to these arguments, Derbes underlines pope Callixtus II's own crusading endeavours. The pope himself did not just come from a family that had been strongly invested in crusading but rather had his very own crusading phantasies and plans. The fact that the basilica Santa Maria in Cosmedin was consecrated in 1123, during the time that Callixtus was planning his own crusade against Babylon, i.e. Egypt, further suggests a crusading context of the frescoes. "[E]xecuted just at the time of Callixtus's crusade", Derbes claims, "they were carefully constructed to promote the ideology of holy warfare".²³²

Callixtus II often used art to prompt matters or affairs dear to him and the frescoes had a representative function which was meant to target manifold audiences.²³³ It is possible that Gerhoch of Reichersberg saw the frescoes at the basilica Santa Maria in Cosmedin as he visited Rome several times during his life. The first time the provost went to Rome was to attend the First Council of the Lateran in 1123, that very same year the basilica was consecrated by pope Callixtus II (r. 1119 – 1124). Three years later, in February 1126, Gerhoch visited Rome again, this time as part of an embassy of Conrad II, archbishop of Salzburg. In the period between 1141 and 1152, Gerhoch was in Rome four or even five times to represent Reichersberg Abbey and to promote church reform. In addition, he was in personal contact with several popes, for instance, with Eugene III to whom he personally submitted his reformist *Tractatus in Psalmum LXIV* in 1152.²³⁴

Anne Derbes' arguments suggest that for the twelfth-century pope Callixtus II and his contemporaries crusade and reform go hand in hand. In addition, recent scholarship has emphasised the link between crusading and reform endeavours from the late twelfth century

²³¹ Cf. Derbes, "Crusading Ideology", pp. 471-475.

²³² Derbes, "Crusading Ideology", p. 461.

²³³ Cf. Derbes, "Crusading Ideology", pp. 476-477.

²³⁴ Cf. Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 26-34 and pp. 128-137.

onwards, roughly beginning with Saladin's capture of Jerusalem in 1187 and the Third Crusade (1189 – 1192). By analysing sermons and preaching handbooks of the so-called Paris masters such as Jacques de Vitry or Peter the Chanter, Jessalynn Bird showed in several articles how crusading and reform programs intertwined during the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, in particular during the time of the Fifth Crusade (1217 – 1221) and the Albigensian Crusade (1209 – 1229).²³⁵ Norman Housley recently emphasised the dynamic interrelation between the Church's reform programs and crusading through the lens of fifteenth century conciliarism.²³⁶ These studies prove valuable insights into the mechanisms that have linked a crusading mentality with reform ideas since the third quarter of the twelfth century. However, scholarship examining this topic the preceding three quarters of the century remains relatively scant. What happened during this period, the notorious twelfth century which many scholars garlanded with concepts such as “renaissance”²³⁷ or “humanism”, attributed to it “the discovery of the individual”,²³⁸ or called foundational for modernity?²³⁹

In an attempt to fill this gap at least partially, the present inquiry examines the connection between the crusades, holy war, and Church-reform in the work of the twelfth-century theologian Gerhoch of Reichersberg. The first two chapters argued that for Gerhoch, the crusades were insofar relevant as they represented his vision of a reformed church. In particular, they stressed that the exegete downplayed the role of lay leaders and material warfare on the First Crusade in order to show the superior role of clerics and spiritual warfare. This constellation of spiritual men (clerics) guiding material men (lay rulers) correlates with Gerhoch's ecclesiology, in particular with his perception of the doctrine of the two swords, i.e. the power relations between *regnum* (kingship) and *sacerdotium* (priesthood). Furthermore, it has shown that for Gerhoch, Muslims did not constitute the primary enemy but rather formed just one element in a long line of enemies threatening the Church. When writing about a *bellum*

²³⁵ See, for instance, Jessalynn Bird, “The Victorines, Peter the Chanter's Cycle, and the Crusade: Two Unpublished Crusading Appeals in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 14470”, in: *Medieval Sermon Studies* 48 (2004), pp. 5-28; Ibid., “Crusade and reform. The sermons of Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 999”, in: E.J. Mylod et al. (eds.), *The fifth Crusade in Context. The crusading movement in the early thirteenth century* (New York and London, 2016), pp. 92-113; Ibid., “The Paris Masters and the Justification of the Albigensian Crusade”, in: Benjamin Z. Kedar, Jonathan Phillips, Jonathan Riley-Smith (eds.), *Crusades*, Vol. 6 (London, 2007), pp. 117-155.

²³⁶ See Norman Housley, “Crusade and Reform, 1414–1449: Allies or Rivals?”, in: Ibid., *Reconfiguring the Fifteenth-Century Crusade* (London, 2017), pp. 45-83.

²³⁷ Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge MA and London, 1927).

²³⁸ Cf. Carolyn Walker Bynum, “Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?”, in: Ibid., *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: 1982), pp. 82-83.

²³⁹ See, for instance, Egon Boshof, *Europa im 12. Jahrhundert. Auf dem Weg in die Moderne* (Stuttgart, 2007).

sanctum, a holy war, his notion includes all of them, from Muslims and heretics to schismatics and simoniacs.

Gerhoch's disillusionment and critique of the Second Crusade, therefore, did not simply put an end to the waging of a spiritual warfare against the enemies of the Church. To the contrary, it became an even more important issue. Especially in regard to the approaching Eschaton and the arrival of the Antichrist at End Times, reform and spiritual warfare became matters of utmost importance. As this chapter has shown so far, Gerhoch framed his calls for reform and his struggle against schismatics, simoniacs, and heretics as the spiritual fight against the spiritual reign of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, an Old Testament figure known for his suppression of Judaism and the resulting revolt of the Maccabees. The exegete thereby extensively relied on biblical themes, tropes, and narratives which strongly featured in both reformist as well as crusading discourses.

Old Testament Warfare Re-Materialised: The Maccabees in the Age of Grace

Due to the Christian notion of temporality and the logic and "grammar of exegesis", the once spiritualised Old Testament warfare could, if needed, be re-materialised again. According to Philippe Buc, this was the case during the First Crusade. He argues that during the crusade and during its aftermath, some Old Testament passages that had previously been read mystically by exegetes, were interpreted literally or historically; some events and deeds of the crusaders, on the other hand, were spiritualised.²⁴⁰ As Sylvia Schein showed, in the context of the conquest of Jerusalem, this literalisation of Old Testament prophecies can be observed with many crusade chroniclers, including Robert the Monk. Jonathan Riley-Smith explained this turn in exegesis as the result of a shock situation caused by the First Crusade.²⁴¹ Schein, however, rejects this explanation by underlining a trend in the exegesis of this time which was leaning towards a more literal interpretation of Scripture. A consequence of this new trend in exegesis, for instance, was the merger of the literally interpreted Earthly Jerusalem with the allegorical, Heavenly Jerusalem.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Cf. Buc, *Holy War*, p. 101.

²⁴¹ Cf. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 142-143.

²⁴² Cf. Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City. Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 24-25.

The literalisation of Old Testament passages and prophecies as well as the spiritualisation of crusading events, had, following Buc, also an implication for warfare: it became twofold. The crusaders' fight was both a material one against the physical soldiers occupying the holy city, Jerusalem, as well as a spiritual one against their demonic masters. Therefore, in spite of the prioritisation of spiritual warfare (prayer) over material warfare, the latter, carried out against the demonic masters' servants as part of a bigger spiritual war, still constituted a proper means of fighting demonic forces. Hence, due to the apocalyptic atmosphere and the mechanisms of Christian exegesis, massacres inflicted upon the enemies of Christ were carried out as the sublime vengeance of the Lord at the End of Times, the Eschaton.²⁴³

The literalisation of Old Testament passages and prophecies in the context of the First Crusade can as well be observed in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Tractatus in Psalmos*.²⁴⁴ For instance, he does so in his exposition of Psalm 33. After mentioning the 12000 men from each tribe that at the Apocalypse are marked with the sign of the cross in the Holy Church, he states that it is rightfully said concerning them: "Who is she that rises with the sunrise, beautiful as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army ordered into camps? Also: Behold! You are beautiful, my beloved (*amica*), sweet like Jerusalem, terrible as an army ordered into camps".²⁴⁵ In this passage, Gerhoch describes the Church as a terrifying, yet beautiful army. These verses of the Old Testament book *Song of Songs* (also known as the *Song of Solomon*) serve the exegete as prophetic evidence as he pursues his description of the First Crusade:

The beautiful spectacle of such an army shone in our days with outstanding brightness when pope Urban of blessed memory, through his urbane sermon animated the Christian soldiers, which were visibly marked by the cross of Christ, to march on to Jerusalem, to free the Holy City from pagan hands.²⁴⁶

In addition, Gerhoch also quotes the liturgy of the second Sunday of Advent as prophecy at another point of his description of the First Crusade.²⁴⁷ Thus, arguably, Gerhoch of

²⁴³ Cf. Buc, *Holy War*, pp. 104-105.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 144-145.

²⁴⁵ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 257: "*Quae est ista quae ascendit quasi aurora congruens, pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate?* Item: *Ecce tu pulchra es, amica mea, suavis sicut Ierusalem, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*". Here, Gerhoch quotes *Cant.* 6:9 and 6:3. Cf. n. 71.

²⁴⁶ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 33*, in: *OI 2*, p. 257: "*Pulchrum talis militiae spectaculum nostris in diebus praeulsit, quando beatae memoriae papa Urbanus urbano sermone christianos milites ad hoc animavit ut, etiam visibiliter signati cruce Christi, pergerent Hierosolymam liberare illam civitatem sanctam de manu paganorum*".

²⁴⁷ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 145.

Reichersberg was no stranger to the literal exegesis of Old Testament passages. Is this literal exegesis only confined to Gerhoch's interpretation of the First Crusade, or does one find it as well in the context of Church reform, especially in regard to the spiritual fight against Antiochus and his servants? What about the Maccabees' warfare, back then (*tunc*) carried out so violently by agonistic bloodshed but now (*nunc*) spiritualised?

As has been shown in this essay, Gerhoch had been a lifelong rejector and critic of clerical warfare, in particular if carried out by bishops. For instance, in his 1138 tractate *Opusculum de aedificio Dei* (second version) he sharply condemns the bellicose bishops of his time. Many bishops, Gerhoch claims, "have united with the secular princes and have, moreover, learned the latter's crafts to the point that many [bishops] know how to storm a fortification or to move in battle-gear towards an enemy".²⁴⁸ However sharp-tongued Gerhoch's remarks might have been, as Peter Classen pointedly remarked, when facing the attacks on the monastery of Reichersberg, Gerhoch, who spend a lifetime fighting clerical military service, was forced to legitimise the armed defence of the monastery.²⁴⁹ The provost of Reichersberg did so in his last tractate, *De quarta vigilia noctis*, which he composed in 1167 during the last years of his life.

De quarta vigilia noctis, which takes the form of a dialogue, draws on Matthew 14:22-33. In this Gospel, Jesus orders his disciples to cross the Galilean Sea on a little boat. During the night, a storm brewed, and an increasingly strong wind frightened the Apostles who floated in the middle of the sea. Suddenly during the fourth watch of the night, Jesus walked by on the water; the disciples, however, were terrified for they mistook him for a ghost. Once Christ revealed himself to the Apostles, he ordered Peter to step out of the boat and reach him. Peter did as had been demanded by Christ but while walking on the water, he was shaken and unbalanced by the wind. Frightened he began to drown but a disappointed Jesus pulled him out of the water and back into the safety of the boat. As they climbed back into the boat, the wind abated.

Gerhoch makes use of this image of the little boat threatened by the wind to structure the history of the Church according to the four watches of the night, and, at the same time, to rethink the coming of the Antichrist. All of the four watches correspond to a specific group of

²⁴⁸ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Opusculum de aedificio Dei*, in: Ernst Sackur (ed.), *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 145: "Nonne et episcopi commixti sunt secularibus principibus et ita dedicerunt opera eorum, ut nonnulli eorum sciant castra expugnare, procinctum contra hostes movere et cetera quae duci magis quam pontifici conveniunt ordinare?"; cf. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart, 1980), p. 54-55.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Classen, *Gerhoch*, p. 290.

watchmen who are exposed to a menace which they ultimately overcome with the help of Christ. In these battles, the people of Christ (*populus Christi*) were and still are fighting against the people of the Antichrist (*populus Antichristi*) and the kingdom of Christ (*regnum Christi*) against the kingdom of the Antichrist (*regnum Antichristi*). On both sides stand extraordinary figures of history. The Antichrist, however, is protean. There are both many antichrists, embodied by Christians who do not follow the Christian faith or those who teach something against it,²⁵⁰ and a metaphysical Antichrist, who morphed into a different form of wickedness in every period of church history.

During the age of the persecution of the martyrs, it was the bloody Antichrist; during the age of heresy, it was the deceptive Antichrist; during the age of the corruption of the morals, it was the impure Antichrist; and, lastly, during the age of avarice, it is the avaricious and greedy Antichrist who is tormenting the Church which is symbolised by the little boat of the Apostles.²⁵¹ The avaricious Antichrist is threatening the disciples during the fourth watch of the night, which started with the reign of pope Gregory VII (r. 1073 – 1085). The papal schism of 1159 constituted the peak of the corruption of the final age. This last Antichrist, however, is not to be overcome by humans, only Christ himself will overthrow his reign at his Second Advent. The final destruction of the Antichrist and his people will be followed by the Last Judgement. This way, Gerhoch brings the schism, the destruction of the last Antichrist, the Last Judgement and the final Coming of Christ closely together.²⁵²

For Gerhoch, Christ's Second Coming was impending.²⁵³ What is more, in this upcoming battle with the last and exceedingly avaricious Antichrist, avarice will be fought "in the city" [Rome] and afterwards "in the whole world" (*orbs*). Only those, Gerhoch claims, who will fight the last Antichrist as God's law commands (*legitime*), will gain the "golden crown afterwards; all those, however, who do not fight him according to God's law, will not be crowned. Although the "countenance (*facies*) of this last Antichrist" has not been revealed yet, the "mystery of the iniquity" is here already. Unjust cupidity abounds, "seeking not only what is its own but also what belongs to others as both laymen shamelessly grasp after clerical wealth

²⁵⁰ Cf. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, p. 157.

²⁵¹ Gerhoch rethought and changed this model in the course of his long career. On its evolution and the similarities with Bernard of Clairvaux's fourfold model of history, see Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 154-158.

²⁵² This short summary of *De quarta vigilia noctis* draws on Classen, *Gerhoch*, pp. 293-196 and Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, pp. 156-159.

²⁵³ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De quarta*, in: *MGH, Libelli* III, p. 523: "[...], sic etiam nunc appropinquante vel iam cito imminente secundo adventu ispsius Christi, [...]".

and clerics shamelessly after lay wealth. As charity grows cold, it seeks not what belongs to it".²⁵⁴

After describing the abuses of the Antichrist and lamenting yet again the defilement of God's temple, Gerhoch finds comfort in the deeds of the Maccabees. Back then (*tunc*), he states, the house of God in Jerusalem was ravaged by the reigning Antiochus. But the holy Maccabees and their fellow combatants "purged the house of God from the filth of the idols, adorned the front of the temple with golden crowns, and destroyed the altar for it had been defiled by the nations". Subsequently, they consecrated a new altar causing great joy among the people. In a similar fashion, Gerhoch claims, "God's Church should be cleansed now (*nunc*) from the filth of foulness and simony as well as adorned with golden crowns". This should be done in preparation for the Second Advent of Christ. For as soon as the last Antichrist will be destroyed, "there will be great joy among the Christian people".²⁵⁵

This time, however, the fight against the spiritual Antiochus and his servants, in this instance against schismatics and simoniacs, is carried out both spiritually as well as materially. In fact, Gerhoch legitimises the Church's hiring of soldiers and, moreover, equates them with the Maccabees as he had previously done with spiritual warriors:

Thus, the soldiers who now stand for the Church in the imminent schism, deserve to be glorified (*glorificari*) alongside the holy Maccabees, as long as, in doing so, they do not seek their own, but the glory of God; such warriors do not only deserve an eternal, but also a temporal reward. Therefore, those people who revile (*blasphemant*) either the Lord Pope Alexander II or our Salzburgian Lord [the bishop] because at their exhortation (*hortatus*) Christian warriors fight against Schismatics, supported in this by the Church's stipend, sin as they are passing bold judgement on their judges, not distinguishing that it is one thing to cause unjust fights (what the holy Gregory never did), and that it is something else to defend the Church from the unjust fights that are

²⁵⁴ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De quarta*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 521: "Abhinc videtur esse conflictus contra ultimum Antichristum nimis avarum. Contra quem si legitime certabitur, ita ut primo in urbe, deinde in orbe avaricia impugnetur et in quantum fieri potest expugnetur, corona aurea expressa signo sanctitatis in imminente persecutione multis tribulationum malleis legitime certanti fabricatur, qua non oronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit contra hunc ultimum Antichristum, cuius facies etsi nondum revelata cognoscatur, tamen iam misterium iniquitatis abundante ubique iniquitate avariciae, querentis non tantum que sua sunt, sed etiam que aliena sunt, dum et laici clericalia et clerici laicalia lucra impudenter ambiunt, refrigescente caritate non querente que sua sunt".

²⁵⁵ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De quarta*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 523: "Ecce relinquetur vobis domus vestra deserta, sicut regnante Antiocho eius preambulo immundissimo et avarissimo domus Dei deserta fuit in civitate Ierusalem tunc vastata. Sed confidimus in Dei clementia, quod, sicut per sanctos Machabeos et eorum fideles coadiutores domus Dei a spurciciis idolorum tunc fuit purificata, ita ut facies templi coronis aureis ornaretur et altari destructo, quod a gentibus pollutum fuerat, altare novum dedicaretur, quo dedicato facta est leticia magna in populo: ita nunc, priusquam veniat Dominus manifesto adventu, ecclesia Dei a spurciciis immundiciae ac symoniae sic purificetur et quasi coronis aureis ornatur, ut fiat leticia magna in populo christiano Antichristo ultimo destructo per dominici adventus illustrationem, que sicut aurora solis ortum sic prevenire credenda est ipsum Dominum iudicaturum".

now provoked against justice, [a defence] which should primarily be done by judges, who have been invested lawfully, and who do not carry the sword without a reason (*Romans* 13:4). But since these people fight not serving Christ, but serving the spiritual Antiochus against the city of Jerusalem – namely the holy Church – offering the priesthood for sale and handing it over to their Jasons, Alcimis, and Menelais who do many illicit things in order to desecrate God’s holy Temple, therefore warriors, similar to the Maccabees, who will oppose this injustice are necessary.²⁵⁶

In this passage, the theologian re-materialised through a literal exegesis the previously allegorised Old Testament warfare waged by the Maccabees. Thus, by equating the warriors with the Maccabees, the defence and purge of the Church and Christendom was carried out on a spiritual as well as material level. The spiritual and material fight against the servants of Antiochus both merged together: now, one could be a Maccabee, an avenger of God par excellence, by spiritually fighting the schismatic enemies of the Church and also by physically killing them. For Gerhoch, with regard to the imminent final Advent of Christ, the material purge and purification of God’s holy Temple, i.e. the Church, had become again a matter of utmost importance in 1167.

Only five years prior, in his 1162 tractate *De investigatione Antichristi*, Gerhoch of Reichersberg had claimed that it was up to spiritual men to reform the Church. In particular, he had stated that the Church “has to be reformed by those who are called spiritual and must be spiritual on the ancient model of the apostolic [age] perfection before the last coming of Christ”.²⁵⁷ However, for the reform of the Church in 1167 he juxtaposed physical warriors to the once exclusively spiritual men. This constellation reminds one of Gerhoch’s own description of the First Crusade where the spiritual and material swords harmonised, fighting together against the enemy with the *sacerdotium* guiding the *regnum*.

²⁵⁶ Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De quarta*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, pp. 515-516: “Ita et nunc in scismate imminente milites, qui stant pro ecclesia, cum sanctis Machabeis merentur glorificari, si tamen hoc facientes non suam, sed Dei gloriam querunt, et hi tales non solum eterna, sed etiam temporali mercede digni sunt. Unde qui vel domnum papam vel domnum nostrum Salzburgensem propter hoc blasphemant, quod eorum hortatu milites catholici contra schismaticos pugnant, adiuti ad hoc stipendiis ecclesiae, temere suos iudices iudicando peccant, non distinguendo, quod aliud est pugnas iniquas excitare, quod sanctus Gregorius numquam fecit, aliud pugnis iniquis iam contra iusticiam suscitatis ecclesiam defendere, quod maxime decet fieri per iudices ordinatos legaliter, qui non sine causa gladium portant. Verum cum idem ipsi non Christo, sed spiritali Antiocho antichristo famulantes civitatem Ierusalem, videlicet sanctam ecclesiam, impugnant, sacerdotium venale habentes et hoc suis Iasonibus, Alcimis, Menelais tradentes, per quos multa illicita fiunt, ad profanandum sanctum Dei templum, tunc necessari sunt Machabeorum consimiles milites iniquitati huic obsistentes”.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *De investigatione antichristi*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 352: “[...] quod [ante] ultimum quoque Christi adventum aecclesia, que est vera et viva domus Dei viventis in his, qui spirituales dicuntur et esse debent, ad antiquam apostolice perfectionis institutionem reformanda sit, ad annitentibus qualibuscumque principibus et Herodi similibus”.

What is more, when Gerhoch talks about the need of physical warriors to defend the Church, he likely alludes to Gratian's *Decretum* of 1139. In particular the use of "*hortatus*", "*stipendium*", and "*difendere*" stands out. As Stanley Chodorow pointed out, Gratian employs these terms when he discusses the two swords and the coercive power of churchmen, including physical bloodshed. For instance, he claims that the clergy can exhort (*hortari*) laymen to physically fight against God's enemies and in defence against the oppressors of the Church. In another *dictum*, Gratian mentions that Gregory VII decreed stipends (*stipendia*) for the warriors who took up arms at his command.²⁵⁸ Gerhoch himself knew Gratian's *Decretum*. As Peter Classen mentions, he refers to it in his 1166 *Opusculum ad cardinales* and in his earlier *Tractatus contra Grecorum errorem negantium Spiritum Sanctum a Filio procedere* (1157 - 1164).²⁵⁹ Interestingly, Gerhoch had also used "*hortatus*" (exhortation) in the context of the Second Crusade. In his Christmas sermon he had written that Eugene III and Bernard of Clairvaux exhorted the crusaders to fight against the enemies of Christ.²⁶⁰ These fine nuances in terminology once again show the connection between Church reform, holy war, and the crusades in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's work. They also show the thinly woven web of meaning of the twelfth century in which they are embedded and which links them together.

The arguments of this chapter also have implications for Rubenstein's argument concerning Gerhoch's crusade critique and reinterpretation of the Apocalypse. It seems that in Gerhoch's view the apocalypse indeed began "at home". However, in *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream* Rubenstein missed the material struggle in the course of the schism as well as the numerous crusading themes in Gerhoch's exegesis. This shows that in spite of his criticism of the Second Crusade, crusade ideology was still alive in the provost's work. Although Gerhoch of Reichersberg did not explicitly call for a holy war against schismatics, simoniacs, or heretics, the trajectory of his exegesis nonetheless foreshadows what about forty years later should

²⁵⁸ Cf. Stanley Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century. The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1972), pp. 239-240. The passages in question are C. 23, q. 8, dict. post c. 6 ("His ita respondetur: Sacerdotes propria manu arma arripere non debent; sed alios ad arripiendum, ad oppressorum defensionem, atque ad inimicorum Dei oppugnationem eis licet hortari") and C. 23, q. 8, dict. post c. 18 ("In registro etiam legitur, quod B. Gregorius ciuibus Tusciae, ut contra Longobardus arma pararent, mandavit, et militantibus stipendia decreuit. Hoc igitur exemplo et premissis auctoritatibus claret, quod sacerdotes, etsi propria manu arma arripere non debeant, tamen uel his, quibus huiusmodi officia comissa sunt, persuadere, uel quibuslibet, ut ea arripiant, sua auctoritate ualeant inperare").

²⁵⁹ Cf. Classen, *Gerhoch*, p. 276 n. 19 and p. 463. The use of Gratian is evident in Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Opusculum ad cardinales*, in: *MGH, Libelli III*, p. 404. In the *Opusculum* Gerhoch addresses the Schism of 1159.

²⁶⁰ Cf. n. 140.

become a brutal reality: the inner-Christian violence against ‘heretics’ in the form of the Albigensian Crusade.²⁶¹

Four important and to some extent interconnected observations can be drawn from the analysis of Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s *Tractatus in psalmos* and *De quarta vigilia noctis*. Firstly, crusade and reform follow the same ideological framework: both employ the same themes, tropes, and narratives such as the defilement of God’s holy Temple through pagans (an ambiguous category) and the consequent purge by the Maccabees. Moreover, both use the same rhetoric and images rooted in Scripture and older exegetical works. Secondly, spiritual and material warfare intertwine and form part of a dialectic which allows the latter to be spiritualised and the former to be materialised (even if previously it had been rejected fiercely by the same thinker). Thirdly, historical events influenced exegesis and vice versa: both the failure of the Second Crusade as well as the attacks on the Church’s estates constituted points of inflexion in Gerhoch’s exegesis. They led him to accept ecclesiastically promoted material warfare against the imperial intruders at Reichersberg. Fourth and lastly, despite the influence of outside factors on Gerhoch’s exegesis and ideas, it was nevertheless an inner-Christian logic, the “grammar of exegesis”, that made intelligible religious violence and holy warfare. One sees here how there is an inherent violent potential lying at the heart of Christian theology which, despite its usually vehemently emphasised pacifism, could, if necessary, be easily animated anew. After all, to put it with Gerhoch of Reichersberg’s own words, because “[...] all the holy Scripture is the book of the wars of the Lord and the book of the just, we are being taught to “fight against flesh and blood as well as against the princes of this world, the rulers of the darkness, [and] against the spiritual wickedness in the heavens” (*Ephesians* 6:12) [...]”²⁶²

²⁶¹ For a study that traces the origins and developments of crusading against Christians, see Norman Housley, “Crusades against Christians: their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216”, in: Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *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* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 17-36.

²⁶² Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Tr. in Ps. 150*, in: *PL*, 194, col. 0997b: “Cum ergo sacra Scriptura tota sit liber bellorum Domini et liber justorum, quo docemur praeliari adversus carnem et sanguinem, etiam adversus principes mundi, rectores tenebrarum, contra spiritalia nequitiae in coelestibus, recte liber Psalmorum quodammodo insignitus inter caetera scripta *liber bellorum Domini, et liber justorum* dici potest, [...]”.

Conclusion

This thesis analysed the evolution and trajectory of the idea of holy war and its connection to Church reform in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Tractatus in psalmos* and other exegetical works. The first two chapters explored the theologian's attitude towards the events of the First Crusade (1095-1099), which still strongly reverberated in the twelfth century, and the then ongoing Second Crusade (1147-1148). Both chapters argued that Gerhoch intrinsically links the Crusades to Church reform: the first chapter submitted that Gerhoch's description of the First Crusade can be read as a promotion of his reform ideas; the existing hierarchies between spiritual and lay leaders as well as spiritual and lay warfare correlate with his view on the relationship between the *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. The second chapter discussed how Gerhoch understands the ongoing Second Crusade as a facet of a broader reform of a Christendom that faces the End Times. This showed how the exegete embeds the expeditions to the Holy Land in an eschatological scenario. The purification of Christendom and the holy war carried out in the Holy Land thereby go hand in hand as they both constitute an effort to prepare the world for the Eschaton, the End of Times. When it comes to warfare, Gerhoch of Reichersberg prioritises spiritual over material warfare thus the fight against the enemies within Christendom such as heretics, simoniacs, or false Christians. He does so as well when it comes to the crusades. However, in the case of the crusades, the exegete also approves of, understands and accepts material warfare by interpreting the crusaders' fight as the fulfilment of Old Testament scenarios.

The third chapter of this thesis analysed how Gerhoch framed and legitimised the fight against the internal enemies of Christendom after the disastrous outcome of the Second Crusade led him to a critique and complete rejection of crusading to the Holy Land. It showed how Gerhoch interpreted the fight against heretics, simoniacs, and schismatics as the fight against the spiritual Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The Antichrist is the spiritual fulfilment of the historical Old Testament king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (primarily known for his oppression of Judaism and the resulting revolt of the Maccabees). Gerhoch interprets those who now, during the last epoch in Church history, fight the spiritual Antiochus as the Maccabees in the age of the New Testament. It is the task of these spiritual warriors to purge the Temple of the Lord, the Church, from the spiritual Antiochus's defilement. In applying the themes of the Maccabees, the defilement of holy places, and eschatology in his exposition, Gerhoch made use of a variety of themes which had been well-established by twelfth-century crusading discourses. To Gerhoch,

this fight was of a spiritual nature. However, as the provost's situation worsened in the papal schism of 1159 and as Christianity was facing the immediate threat of the Apocalypse which for Gerhoch was inexorably approaching, he changed his mind on material warfare. By re-materialising the once spiritualised Old Testament material warfare of the Maccabees, he legitimised the use of material warfare against the servants of the Antichrist, the schismatics who had sided with Frederick I Barbarossa.

Overall, this essay showed how medieval exegesis both influenced and in turn was influenced by contemporary events as well as how Christian exegetical mechanisms were able to legitimise and contribute to religiously motivated violence. Drawing on the ideas of Gerard Caspary and Philippe Buc, it essentially argues that violence is structurally engrained in Christian theology and in the logic and mechanisms of its exegesis. This approach stands in opposition to many other approaches towards Christianity and violence. Many scholars maintain that Christianity is in its nature fundamentally eirenic.²⁶³ Acts of violence are thereby usually seen as perversions and attributed to outside influences. Among these, for instance, is the conversion of Constantine and the resulting entanglement of Christianity with politics from the fourth century CE onwards. For example, in his chapter "Religion and Violence in Christian Traditions" in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, Lloyd Steffen argues that "[t]he involvement [of Christianity] with violence is not a surprising development given that the religion early in its history became the official religion of the Roman Empire and thus became a player embedded in the world of power politics".²⁶⁴ Similarly, Charles Kimball deems Constantine's rise to power a key moment for a shift in Christianity's attitude from pacifism towards violence. "From this point forward", he claims, "Christianity in Europe became linked with state power. Threats to the state now became threats to the church. While the pacifist tradition did not disappear, it was marginalized as most church leaders sought to redefine the responsibilities of Christians within the state"²⁶⁵ In addition to the conversion of Constantine, the influence of elements of barbarian war-oriented culture, feudalism, or state building have

²⁶³ See, for instance, Karen Armstrong, *Fields of Blood. Religion and the History of Violence* (London, 2014) and William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence. Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (Oxford, 2009).

²⁶⁴ Lloyd Steffen, "Religion and Violence in Christian Traditions", in: Mark Jurgensmeyr, Margo Kitts, Michael Jerryson (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 100-125, 101.

²⁶⁵ Charles Kimball, "Religion and Violence from Christian Theological Perspectives", in: *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, p. 426.

also been blamed for Christianity's inclination towards violence during the last two millennia.²⁶⁶

The often criticised but nonetheless highly popular mimetic theory of René Girard, a French literary critic and anthropologist, emphasises the eirenic character of Christianity as well.²⁶⁷ To be more precise, Girard expresses the view that it was only Christianity that overcame archaic violence. René Girard considers competition and mimetic desire or rivalry to be the central reasons for human violence. In archaic societies these mimetic desires resulted in communal crises and violent outbursts. Mimesis, however, is not only the reason for these crises, but also the means to overcome it. For instance, a group can unite in order to fight a common rival. After this rival is killed or eliminated through a violent act, peace is re-established. Girard calls this phenomenon the scapegoat mechanism. In this sense, the killing of the victim by the group becomes a sacrifice in order to prevent larger outbreaks of violence. The victim, moreover, exhibits an ambivalent role: it is both the Evil which had to be killed, but also the bringer of peace. As such, archaic societies divinised and sacralised the victim.²⁶⁸

Girard therefore claims that through their rites and prohibitions and in particular through the scapegoat mechanism archaic religions limited violence, which in turn constitutes a central element in the development of human culture. Wolfgang Palaver, a catholic theologian and outspoken "Girardian", succinctly sums up Girard's theory on the scapegoat mechanism: "According to Girard, the scapegoat mechanism is the origin of religion and culture that makes all the central elements of religion (myths, rites, prohibitions) intelligible".²⁶⁹ The Bible, however, constitutes a rupture in this tradition. As Girard claims, biblical texts usually side with the victim, not the aggressor or murderer, especially in the New Testament. The best example for this phenomenon is Jesus who, as self-sacrifice, turned the scapegoat mechanism upside-down. In this sense, the Bible and Christianity overcame archaic sacrificial violence and the scapegoating mechanism.²⁷⁰

This conclusion does not allow for a nuanced critique of Girard's mimetic theory or other approaches towards the role of violence in Christianity. However, the observations and

²⁶⁶ Cf. Buc, *Holy War*, p. 68.

²⁶⁷ For a critique of Girard's *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore, 1977), see, for instance, Hayden White, "Ethnological 'Lie' and Mythical 'Truth'", in: *Diacritics* 8/1 [Special Issue on the work of René Girard] (1978), pp. 2-9.

²⁶⁸ Cf. Wolfgang Palaver, "Mimetic Theories of Religion and Violence", in: *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Violence*, pp. 534-536.

²⁶⁹ Palaver, "Mimetic Theories", p. 536.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Palaver, "Mimetic Theories", pp. 536-540.

results which have been obtained from an analysis of Gerhoch of Reichersberg's works suggest a different view. Rather than attributing violence in the name of Christianity to outside factors and emphasising the eirenic nature of Christianity, the Casparian approach explores the structural forces within Christian theology insofar as they can legitimise and contribute to violence, suggesting that there lies a violent potential at its core. The case of Gerhoch of Reichersberg provides a good example of how these exegetical mechanisms work and how attitudes towards physical warfare can easily be adjusted, changed, and reinterpreted due to the dialectic of letter and spirit.

The twelfth century has long passed by; since then much has happened and the Church has changed, one might argue. Has it, though? In a 2013 video released on the video hosting service YouTube, Bishop Robert Barron, whose online contents on Catholicism are highly popular, responds to what he maintains to be a common argument of the so-called New Atheists: that the God of the Bible is a dreadful, a violent God.²⁷¹ In the video he explains that the argument itself is not new or innovative but rather an old one which already preoccupied the Church Fathers in the second century AD. One of the theologians tackling this problem, Barron states, was Origen of Alexandria who proposed that the Bible should be read from the standpoint of its last book, the *Revelation of John*, and from the standpoint of the crucified Christ. In doing so, the violent passages of the Bible should be read in a metaphysical, allegorical, and symbolic way as representing not the physical, but spiritual struggles of man against Evil and one's sins. However, as Barron claims, the bellicosity of these passages nonetheless teaches us an important thing: namely that we should fight our enemies "all the way down". We should not toy with Evil and sins, or fight it only with half-measures, but with all fierceness possible. "Some forms of Evil are so profound", he asserts in reference to the events in I *Samuel* 15, "they have to be hacked to pieces. We have to put the ban on them".²⁷² In this sense, the militaristic metaphors of the Bible are describing the absolute power of God.

As becomes evident in this instance, the argument and practice of the spiritualisation and allegorisation of Old Testament violence has survived for nearly two millennia. However, it is also evident that in its metamorphosis the biblical bellicism has survived for nearly two millennia as violent imagery and discourses are still to be found in the twenty-first century. We should hack to pieces the profound Evil in this world – this statement is timeless; it could be a

²⁷¹ Cf. Bishop Robert Barron, "Bishop Barron on Violence in the Bible", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1A65Wfr2is0> (accessed on 24.04.2020).

²⁷² *Ibid.* on min 08.07.

quote from Gerhoch of Reichersberg or Bishop Barron alike. Evil, however, was always and will always be an ambivalent and ambiguous category as the historical trajectory of this concept shows. Whoever defines it, defines the war to be waged. Admittedly, the times when the Pope roused his fellow Christians to take the sword and carry out the Lord's sublime vengeance are over. However, other men instead carried on this tradition, took his place; even in the so-called "post-Christian" societies which are often perceived as secular, the imprint which has been left by various forms of Christian violence, persisted and is still persisting. One does not have to go as far back in time as the twelfth century in order to find "holy warriors". The rhetoric of former US President George W. Bush, for instance, did dovetail in many aspects with that of Urban II, when he roused his soldiers to fight the forces of Evil in his speeches propagating the Iraq War in 2003.²⁷³

There are even more recent instances. Following the Christchurch mosque shootings in which over fifty persons fell victim to a right-wing terrorist attack on the 15 March 2019, Australian right-winged Senator, Fraser Anning, instantly commented on the incident:

The truth is that Islam is not like any other faith, it is the religious equivalent of fascism. And just because the followers of this savage belief were not the killers in this instance, does not make them blameless. As we read in Matthew 26:52, 'all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword' and those who follow a violent religion that calls on them to murder us, cannot be too surprised when someone takes them at their word and responds in kind.²⁷⁴

What might seem like the utterance of a crusade preacher, is in fact of a man who was at that time an Australian MP. In this statement, the (former) senator does not only approve of the murder of over fifty innocent people, but also finds legitimation in the *Gospel of Matthew*.

²⁷³ The *longue-durée* imprint which Christian theology had and still has on "the West" is explored at length in Buc, *Holy War*; for Bush's speeches, see Bruce Lincoln, *Holy Terrors. Thinking about Religion after September 11* (Chicago and London, 2003).

²⁷⁴ The statement by Queensland Senator Fraser Anning has been posted by the journalist Jim Sciutto on Twitter: <https://twitter.com/jimsciutto/status/1106516923922239489/photo/1> (accessed last on 26.06.2020); see further <https://www.vox.com/2019/3/15/18267077/australian-senator-new-zealand-attack-muslims-immigrants> (accessed on 26.06.2020).

Appendix: Transcription of Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1558, fol. 42^r-50^r.

The following is a transcription of Gerhoch of Reichersberg's 1147 *Sermo in Vigilia Natalis Domini* from Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1558, fol. 42^r-50^r. Apart from short sections it has not yet been edited.²⁷⁵ The transcription is done to the letter, i.e. it does not capitalise where the manuscript does not; & is left as in the manuscript while Tironian notes are developed. Full stops are transcribed as “ . “ whereas colons are transcribed as semicolons (“ ; “). Interlinear or marginal additions are in parentheses with footnotes indicating whether they are *in margine* or *supra linea*. Underlined words or erasures are transcribed as such, i.e. underline and ~~erasure~~. Multiple possible readings or colours in the manuscript are indicated in the footnotes. Quotations from the Bible are italic with the cited passages indicated in parentheses. When developing abbreviations “prae” is favoured instead of “pre”.

fol. 42^r:

Item in Vigilia Natalis Domini²⁷⁶

*IUDA & iherusalem nolite timere cras egrediemini & dominus erit vobiscum*²⁷⁷ (II Chronicles 20:17) . Quod ista verba cantici non inconvenienter sed maxima convenientia ea die celebra sunt . sumpta | fol. 42^v | videlicet de eo scripturę loco libri paralippome non ubi congregati leguntur de his locis quę transmare sunt & de syria filii ammon et moab et mons seyr ; contra iosaphat ad pugnam . Quod cum nunciatum esset regi iosaphat ipse in universo iuda praedicans ieiunium totum se contulit ad rogandum dominum . congregatusque est iudas ad deprecandum dominum . & de omnibus urbibus convenerunt ad obsecrandum eum . Cumque stetisset iosaphat in medio cetu iudeę & ierusalem in domo domini ante atrium novum ait . Domine deus patrum nostrorum tu es deus in celo & dominaris cunctis regnis gentium in manu tua est fortitudo & potentia nec quisquam tibi potest resistere²⁷⁸ & cetera . *Nunc igitur ecce filii ammon et moab per quos non concessisti filiis israel ut transirent quando egrediebantur de egipto sed declinaverunt ab eis & non interfecerunt illos e contrario agunt & nituntur eicere nos de*

²⁷⁵ Parts of fol. 49^v and 50^r are transcribed in Classen, *Gerhoch*, p. 132 n. 19 and Buc, “Crusade and Eschatology”, p. 334 n. 163 and 165.

²⁷⁶ The title of the sermon is in red.

²⁷⁷ *Supra lin.* not readable.

²⁷⁸ Cf. 2 *Chron.* 20:1-6

possessione quam tradisti nobis deus noster . Ergo non iudicabis eos ? In nobis quidem non tanta est fortitudo ut possimus huic multitudini resistere quę irruit super nos . Sed cum ignoremus quid agere debeamus hoc solum habemus residui . ut oculos nostros dirigamus ad te . Cumque staret omnis iuda coram domino cum parvulis & uxoribus et liberis factus est spiritus domini super ihezabel filium zacharię | fol. 43^r | in medio turbę & ait . Attendite omnis iuda & qui habitatis in iherusalem & tu rex iosaphat . Hęc dicit dominus vobis. Nolite timere nec paveatis hanc multitudinem . non est enim hec vestra pugna sed dei . Cras ascendetis contra eos . Ascensuri sunt enim per clivum nomine sis . & invenietis eos in summitate torrentis qui est contra solitudinem iherusalem . Non enim eritis vos qui dimicabitis . sed tantummodo confidenter state & videbitis auxilium domini super vos . O iuda et ierusalem nolite timere nec paveatis . cras egrediemini contra eos & dominus erit vobiscum (II Chronicles 20:10-17) . Sicque factum est. Nam cum proni in terra dominum rex & omnis iuda adorassent ac deum super prophetię²⁷⁹ consolationis oraculo conlaudassent . & altero die mane surgentes egressi in obviam per desertum thecuę fuissent . stans iosaphat in medio eorum dixit . Audite me iuda & habitatores iherusalem . Credite in domino deo vestro et securi eritis . credite prophetis eius & cuncta evenient prospera . Deditque consilium populo & statuit cantores domini ut laudarent eum in turmis suis suis & antecederent exercitum ac voce consona dixerunt . Confitemini domino quoniam in eternum misericordia eius . Cumque cepissent laudes canere vertit dominus insidias eorum in semetipsos filiorum scilicet ammon & moab et montis seyr; qui egressi | fol. 43^v | fuerant pugnare contra iudam & percussi sunt . Namque filii ammon & moab consurrexerunt adversus habitatores montis syon ut interficerent & delerent eos . Cumque perpetrassent etiam in semetipsos versi mutuis concidere vulneribus . Porro iudas cum vidissent ad speluncam que respicit solitudinem vidit procul omnem latam regionem plenam cadaveribus nec superesse quemquam qui necem potuisset evadere . Venit ergo iosaphat & omnis populus cum eo ad detrahenda spolia mortuorum . Inveneruntque inter cadavera variam suppellectilem vestes quoque et vasa praeciosissimas et diripuerunt ita ut omnia portare non possent . nec per tres dies spolia auferre pro praedę magnitudine . Die autem quarto congregati sunt in valle benedictionis . Reversusque est omnis vir iuda & habitatores ierusalem & iosaphat ante eos in ierusalem cum leticia magna eo quod dedisset eis dominus gaudium de inimicis suis . Ingressique sunt in iherusalem cum psalteriis & citharis & tubis in domum domini . Irruit autem pavor domini super universa regna terrarum . cum audissent quod pugnasset dominus contra inimicos iherusalem . Quievitque regnum iosaphat & praebuit ei dominus pacem per circuitum

²⁷⁹ Or: propheticę.

(II *Chronicles* 20:20-30) . Nunc videndum quid ad edificationem nostram eadem hystoria et regni dei sacramenta continentem posuerimus quidque secundum rationem instantis sollempnitatis contineat . | fol. 44^r | Etenim cum dicitur cras egrediemini & dominus erit vobiscum . nostri emmanuel . idest domini nostri iesu christi adventus in carne praedicatur . Emmanuel namque in hebreo sermone interpretaatum in latino nobiscum deus interpretatur . Quid est autem nobiscum deus nisi homo deus de quo in psalmo canimus homo natus est in ea & ipse fundavit eam altissimus ? Ad eius itaque adventum suscipiendum & digne in eius fide conversandum iuda et ierusalem constantia praemunitur . ne videlicet confessores christi & verę pacis amatores timeant eos qui occidunt corpus & post hęc non habent amplius quid faciant . Dum vero sic ad iudam & ierusalem adventum domini cantando praenunciamus . & praenunciantes canimus ut veteris quoque pugnę vel periculi memoriam ad mentem revocemus . pariter etiam pugnę nostrę certamina cum illius tempestatis tribulatione conferre commonemur . Sicut enim sub rege iosaphat cuius nomen est domini iudicium ab iuda & ierusalem contra triformem gentium scilicet ammonitarum moabitarum et montis seyr multitudinem dimicatum est ; ac potius pugnante pro eo domino triumphatum est ita sub domino nostro iesu christo qui de semetipso ait *in iudicium ego veni in hunc mundum* (*John* 9:39) a vero iuda et ierusalem per christi videlicet confessores & martyres & verę pacis sectatores contra triformem iniquorum vel impietatum aciem triumphatum est . ita sub domino nostro iesu christo qui de semet * | fol. 44^v | Qui enim sunt triformes ecclesię inimici nisi pagani iudei carnales & heretici ? A quibus quanta mala ecclesia christi pertulerit tam ex actibus apostolorum quam ex ecclesiasticę hystorię libris manifestum est . Aliter triformes ecclesię inimici sunt primi scilicet pagani reges & principes ecclesiam gladiis persequentes Secundo loco heretici fidei veritatem suis falsitatibus impugnantes . tertio autem falsi christiani fidem ore confitentes factis autem negantes contra quos per martyres confessores ac doctores ac tertio loco pastores communi vita cum piis gregibus degentes dimicatum ac triumphatum est . Igitur vero iudę & ierusalem christi adventum recipienti non minori immo et multo maiore constantia opus fuit . & est atque erit . quam carnali iudę et ierusalem contra filios ammon & moab & habitatores montis seyr ; pugnaturis fuerit . Recte itaque & nobis quemadmodum illis spiritu prophetico intonatur ac dicitur . *O iuda & ierusalem nolite timere nec paveatis hanc multitudinem cras egredemini & dominus erit vobiscum* (II *Chronicles* 20:17) . Sic enim per prophetam ihaziel praedictum & postea in ore ecclesię concelebratum est . ita per martyres christi contra persecutores per doctores contra hereticos per pastores ecclesię contra pseudochristianos ac simoniacos

* Something is missing at the end of fol. 44^r.

pugnatum ac triumphatum est . De hac triformi inimicorum ecclesie acie in libro iob scriptum est . *Kaldei tres turmas* | fol. 45^r | *fecerunt (Job 1:17)* . harum turmarum tres principes item in libro iob per tria nomina scilicet avis behemot leviathan praesignati sunt.²⁸⁰ Nam quod ibi de leviathan dictum est persecutorum crudelitati . quod de ave strucione hereticorum callide simulationi . quod de behemoth symoniacorum & pseudochristianorum inmundicie aptari valet . Item ecclesie propugnatores videlicet martyres confessores & pastores per tria in scripturis sibi congruentia vocabula praesignati sunt nimirum per leonem gallum et arietem dicente sapientia . *Tria sunt que bene gradiuntur . Leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pavebit occursum & gallus succinctus lumbos*²⁸¹ . & *aries nec est qui rex resistat ei (Proverbs 30:29-31)* . Benedictus itaque dominus qui non dedit ecclesiam suam in captionem dentibus²⁸² inimicorum suorum . sed sicut in tribus turmis ecclesie inimicis *mirabiles elationes maris* fuerunt . ita per leoninam fortitudinem martyrum . per gallicinia confessorum per duces rationabilium gregum *mirabilis in alto dominus* (Psalm 92:4) inventus est . Per hoc semper vero iuda & ierusalem triumphante . quod dominus cum ea fuisse iuxta hodiernum canticum non dubitatur . sicut ipse fidelibus suis promittere dignatus est dicens . *Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi (Matthew 28:20)* . Unde est et illud . Non vos estis qui loquimini . sed sanctus patris vestri . Item ad saulum quid me inquit | fol. 45^v | persequeris ? Cum sanctos suos ille persequeretur in quibus et ipse erat ac patiebatur in illis ac per eos ipse triumphabat . ut recte illis dictum ihaziel prophete conveniat quo filios iuda alloquens ait . *Non vestra est pugna sed dei (II Chronicles 20:15)* . Item . *Non eritis vos qui dimicabitis sed tantummodo confidenter state & videbitis auxilium domini super vos (II Chronicles 20:17)* . hec plane omnia sicut praedicta audivimus sic & in typo veteri & in mysterio novitatis completa vidimus . Nam ipsi qui persequebantur tandem aliquando conversi inimicos ecclesie revincebant . & sanguinis sui testimonio fidei subiugabant . & confessionis sacre mucrone aiuta gentilis erroris iugulabant . & sicut prius per reges impios novimus hereticos defensatos ita postmodum regum catholicorum edictis hereticos vidimus & audivimus correctos (coercitos)²⁸³ . Vidimus & nostro tempore inimicos ecclesie reges contra se patrem in filium & filium in patrem divisos & utrosque tandem ab ecclesia proiectos completo in illis psalmigraphi dicto quo ait ut destruas inimicum & ultorem . sicque ammonitas & moabitas contra montis seyr habitatores dimicasse . quibus delectis tandem & ipsos mutuis inter se concidisse

²⁸⁰ Cf. *Job* 40 and 41.

²⁸¹ Here, the rooster is the counterpart of Behemoth whose strength is in his loins; cf. *Job* 40:11.

²⁸² Ps. 123:6

²⁸³ "coercitos" in margine.

vulneribus . Et in singulis hiis turmis maximi quidam antichristi interempti sunt primus videlicet persecutor & crudelis . secundus hereticus et fraudulentus . tertius symoniacus et immundus | fol. 46^r | propugnantis semper in parte fidelium admissus duobus testibus . primis videlicet petro & paulo contra neronem persecutorem . antichristum crudelem . secundis iohanne et paulo contra iulianum apostatam antichristum fraudulentum . ac tertiis Gregorio septimo et urbano romanis pontificibus contra regem symoniacum antichristum scilicet immundum dimicantibus . In quorum laude testium id quod in apocalipsi de duobus testibus dictum est decantari conveniat . *Isti sunt due olive & duo candelabra lucentia ante dominum (Revelation 11:3)* . Singuli enim testes gemelli et erecti confessione veritatis tamquam lucerne persisterunt . & velut due olive misericordie (a celo imperande)²⁸⁴ feraces non dubitantur . Sed cum iam per nostri emmanuelis per dei nobiscum manentis gratiam omnes he victorie peracte sint . iamque ecclesia contra has ammonitarum moabitarum & filiorum montis seyr turmas . per martyres . confessores . ac pastores triumphaverit . quid est quod adhuc per singulos annos redeunte dominici adventus sollempnitate quasi ad nova & rediviva bella cohortamur . dum dicitur nobis per os ecclesie decantis . *O iuda & ierusalem nolite timere cras egrediemini & dominus erit vobiscum* . Item . *Constantes estote videbitis auxilium domini super vos* ? quid inquam est nisi quia fex huius trine impietatis nos impugnantis nondum penitus est exinanita . sed bibunt adhuc ex ea omnes peccatores terre . Est enim una turma spiritualium nequiciarum demonum scilicet nos | fol. 46^v | impugnantium & temptationes nobis per applicationes suas nobis immittentium . Est & alia turma hominum malignorum mala consilia suggerentium ac lesiones intendentium aut etiam odiis persequentium . vel a bonis faciendis nos impediendum & quietem animi nostri perturbantium & tamquam spinis lilia compungentium ; De qualibus dictum est a sponso in canticis canticorum *Sicut liliū inter spinas ; sic amica mea inter filias (Canticum 2:2)* . Tertia vero turma malorum est cogitationum et carnalium concupiscentiarum ex nobismetipsis nos impugnantium . dum unusquisque nostrum temptatur ex propria concupiscentia abstractus & illectus . Pro hiis ergo impugnantibus nos turmis dicitur (adhuc)²⁸⁵ ecclesie *o iuda & ierusalem nolite timere* . Aliter . Hec trine ammonitarum & moabitarum & filiorum montis seyr nos impugnantur turme sunt . quibus iohannes apostolus nos vetat confederari dicens . *Karissimi nolite diligere mundum neque ea que sunt in mundo . Omne enim quod in mundo est aut concupiscentia carnis est aut concupiscentia oculorum aut superbia vite (I John 2:15)* . ad quas expugnandas divina clementia nobis elemosinarum ieiuniorum & orationum nobis adiutoria procuravit . Siquidem per elemosinarum largitatem dum huius mundi divicias dispergimus

²⁸⁴ “imperande” or “impetrande” *supra lin.*

²⁸⁵ *Supra lin.*

dando pauperibus ambicio seculi expugnatur . per ieiunia & abstinentias carnis concupiscentia devincitur ; Per orationum suffragia & | fol. 47^r | laudum sollempnia cum in domino solo delectamur vicium curiositatis in diversa trahentis & animum per multa spargentis com (ex)²⁸⁶ pungitur ; Et hæc sunt vicia nobis cognata per quæ israeli vero transire ac funditus ipsa delere concessum non est . Quis enim est hominum vivens in carne qui nullam legem in membris suis legi mentis suæ repugnantem deprehendat . cum facilius in nonnullis queat vita carnis extinguere . quam fomes concupiscentiæ ex ea penitus extirpari . Huc accedit quod quedam in nobis concupiscentiæ non tam vicium naturæ quam naturale bonum esse comprobantur . Similiter novitatum appeticio usque adeo non semper vicium est . ut divina sapientia liberalium quoque artium diversitatem ad relevationem tedii animarum esse voluerit . sicut diversitatem quoque ciborum & multiformitatem vestium . mutacionem locorum corporum sanitati utiliter procuravit . Iam vero sicut interest ubi & quando & quantum se quis vel quare humiliare debeat ita ratio est . ubi & quando & pro qua causa erectus animus in sui magnanimitate persistat . & testante ecclesiaste sicut tempus spargendi . ita quoque tempus & causa divicias congregandi est . Igitur non sicut seon regem amorreorum nec sicut og regem basan . idem non sicut (ir)²⁸⁷rationales motus mentis . aut irracionales motus corporis . Hoc enim per hæc regum vel gentium nomina significari palam est . Nam seon quod est | fol. 47^v | interpretatum germen inutile vel alloquium inutile vel germen quod non est aut calor sive temptacio laccessiens qui est rex amorreorum id est amarificantium vel loquentium motus animi irracionales significat . Og vero quod interpretatur coaceruans sive absconditus qui est rex basan id est bruci . vel pinguedinis vel confusionis . motus designat eos nimirum qui secundum carnem sunt . & a nobis penitus extinguendi sunt . hii videlicet maxime de quibus apostolus *quoniam qui talia (inquit)*²⁸⁸ *agunt regnum dei non consequentur (Galatians 5:21)* . Non igitur inquam sicut regem amorreorum seon & og regem basan filii israel deleverunt & loca eorum possederunt . ita etiam ammonitas & moabitas ac filios montis seyr delere eis concessum est . id est non sicut irracionales motus mentis & corporis post quos ambulantes regnum dei non consequentur . ita & *concupiscentiam carnis & concupiscentiam oculorum aut superbiam vitæ* semel ac simul abdicare valemus . Non enim non possumus non comedere & bibere ac dormire . non possumus tamquam simulacra insensata non moveri & nulla nova appetere . non possumus omni(bus)²⁸⁹ indifferenter & usquequaque subici . & nullas terrenas facultates appetere . sine hiis enim nobis

²⁸⁶ *Supra lin.*

²⁸⁷ *Supra lin.*

²⁸⁸ *Supra lin.*

²⁸⁹ *Supra lin.*

vita super terram non est . Non inquam has naturales affectiones semel abdicare aut funditus extirpare possibile nobis est . verumtamen sicut pilos carnis nostrę non radicitus evellimus . sed eorum excrementa superflua praecidimus ita . et de hiis affectionibus estimandum est . Sunt enim nobis cognatę sicut nomina quoque istarum gentium innuunt siquidem . ammon filius populi mei . moab ex patre seyr . pilosus interpretaetur . quę nomina utique manifeste (affe)²⁹⁰ctiones has nobis esse cognatas . ac proinde non radicitus evellendas . sed ad similitudinem pilorum novacula censurę rationis superfluas castigandas . Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit . sed nutrit & fovet eam . Dum ergo pro carne nutrienda hiis quoque affectionibus castigandis parcimus . & eas superfluas nutrimus . interdum fit ut tanta multitudine hiis ammonitę ac moabitę & filii montis seyr congregentur contra nos . ut nitantur nos eicere de habitacione quam tradidit nobis deus nisi ad orationis suffragia omnimodis cum rege iosaphat convertamur . & confiteamur eadem peccata nostra ut simus vere iuda (id est)²⁹¹ confitentis . simus etiam ierusalem in pace ecclesię conversantes & fraternitatis amore invicem diligentes . sine pace enim et sanctimonia nemo videbit deum . Fidelis autem deus confitentibus nobis dimittit peccata & karitas in nobis multitudinem peccatorum operit . diceturque nobis ad consolationem in spiritu prophetię per os ecclesię coniubilantis . *O iuda & ierusalem nolite timere* et cetera . nosque constantes in domino confidenter dicemus . *Si consistant adversum me castra n[on] t[imebit] c[or] m[eum]* . Si exurgat contra me prelium . *in hoc ego sperabo* (Psalm 26:3) . | fol. 48^v | Et in hoc ipso bello gratias agere debemus dicentes *benedictus dominus deus meus qui docet m[anus] m[eas] ad proelium* (Psalm 143:1) & cetera . Et victoria peracta verus israel dicat . *Nisi quia dominus erat in nobis . cum exurgerent homines in nos forte vivos degluttissent nos* (& cetera)²⁹² (Psalm 123:2-3) . Et quidem sub hiis hostibus omnes homines etiam iusti ante christi adventum praemebantur . nec in aliquo nostrum erat tanta fortitudo quantumcumque iusto . ut possimus hiis hostibus resistere . At ubi venit christus & nobiscum cepit esse in carne dominus verus emmanuel . qui pro nobis quiescentibus in cruce pugnavit . iam nunc nichil dampnationis est hiis qui sunt in christo iesu qui non secundum carnem ambulant²⁹³ . Lex enim christi liberabit nos a lege peccati quę est in membris nostris tantum orationibus insistamus . ieiunus & elemosinis satagamus . & sic nobis cras idest ob futurę mercedis retributionem de vana nostra conversatione egredientibus & satagentibus dominus erit nobiscum & pugnabit pro nobis . facietque ut inimici nostri contra semetipsos dimicantes mutua

²⁹⁰ *Supra lin.*

²⁹¹ *Supra lin.*

²⁹² *Supra lin.*

²⁹³ Cf. II *Corinthians* 10:2-3.

cede corruant . Hęc enim sunt milicię christianę tirocinia . ut zelus noster honestatis amore & humane laudis appetitu permixtus quasi ammonitis & moabitibus adiutus . vicia primitus in se carnalis concupiscentię tamquam filios montis seyr deletat dumque in ipsis delendis fortiter ac strenue * | fol. 49^r | laborabit . ne hunc laborem suum perdat . occulta quoque dedecoris quę in ambitione seculi vel appetitu laudis terrene possederat abdicare incipit . dumque a se ipso intus vinci confunditur . laudabili superbia contra vicium superbię & vanitatis extinguendum erigitur . fitque plerumque ut dum vicium superbię in semetipso vel in aliis aliquanto inconsiderantius persequitur . vel a semetipso vel ab aliis confusus ac sibimet ostensus ad humilem suimetipsius recognitionem reducatur . sicut petrus iunior accingens se & ambulans ubi volebat ex hoc ipso non parum ad humilitatem profecit . quod nimia praesumptionis confidentia de se ipso professus fuerat dicens . *Et si omnes scandalizati fuerint ego numquam scandalizabor (Matthew 26:33)* . Similiter aliquis scripturas sanctas legendo curiose in ipsa curiosa investigatione per sepe invenit . unde curiosita(tis)²⁹⁴ vicium extingui possit . & hoc est per moabitas & ammonitas extinctis filiis montis seyr etiam in semetipsos converti ac mutuis concidere vulneribus . Sed et per tres dies tunc spolia congregantur . dum pro quolibet vicio extincto virtus ei contraria cumulatur . dum superbię vel ambitionis vicium in humilitatem ac magnanimitatem conmutatur . dum curiose investigata sapienter conservant | fol. 49^v | & ad edificationem proximorum expenduntur . dum pro carnis concupiscentia castimonia possidetur . habentibus nobis fructum nostrum in sanctificationis puritate in sapientię pulchritudine . in humilitatis mansuetudine . In quibus ternis virtutibus cum santam trinitatem magnificamus . dum per humilitatem patris omnipotentiam praedicamus . cum per sapientię studium . christum dei sapientiam conlaudamus . cum per sanctimonię mundiciam spiritum sanctum benedicimus . cum trinum & unum deum in omnibus nostris studiis & operationibus glorificamus veluti ~~quarto die~~ (collectis hoc triduo spoliis multis & trium temporum vite praesentis ante legem sub lege sub gratia in unum congregatis omnibus civibus iuda & ierusalem quarto iam die futuri saeculi clarescente)²⁹⁵ in vallem benedictionis ad conlaudandum deum convenimus . ut sit nobis unus atque idem locus & vallis iosaphat . id est vallis iudicii propter viciorum extinctionem . & vallis benedictionis propter laudationis dei benedictionem . Pro qua re ut estimamus (etiam)²⁹⁶ extremum iudicium in valle iosaphat²⁹⁷ futurum (iohelis testimonio)²⁹⁸ prophetatur . non quod in illum terre sinum

* Sign at the end of fol. 48^v: f .

²⁹⁴ *Supra lin.*

²⁹⁵ *In margine.*

²⁹⁶ *Supra lin.*

²⁹⁷ Cf. *Joel* 3:12.

²⁹⁸ *In margine.*

omnes gentes locali motu congregentur . sed quod tali modo contra diabolum contra impios quoque homines eorumque impietates ac vicia iudicium extremum in acquisitione virtutum ad laudem et benedictionem dei celebrandum sit . quemadmodum illud olim iudicium in valle iosaphat . contra ammonitas & moabitas ac filios montis seyr (in acquisitione spoliorum ad laudem & gloriam dei peractum est . ipsis contra semetipsos dimicantibus . Cui rei illud quod nostro in tempore fieri incipit persimile valde iudicium est . dum homines saeculares viciorum sectatores ac moabitis et ammonitis atque filiis montis seyr)²⁹⁹ . simillimi ac mente & corpore pilosi . quippe quos (vel imitatores absalon)³⁰⁰ gravat | fol. 50^r | intus et foris cesaries superbi tumidi & curiosi (hortatu Eugenii papae III & venerabilis viri Bernhardi abbatis clarevallensis)³⁰¹ repentina mutacione signaculo sanctę crucis communiti arma contra inimicas christi & civitatis iherusalem gentes corripunt . & pro christi mori aut vincere (parati)³⁰² ad bella proficiscuntur . tanta multitudine de universis terminis ecclesię simul properante quanta numquam super terram visa legitur . Ut igitur ille bellorum motus ad laudem & benedictionem dei maximam proveniat . atque ut gentium quę adhuc supersunt reliquię salvę fiant (&)³⁰³ in filios benedictionis commutate in vallem benedictionis ad laudandum deum nobiscum occurrant . ubi benedicamus manentem nobiscum deum emmanuel in eternum . Prestet ipse dominus noster iesu christo .

²⁹⁹ *In margine.*

³⁰⁰ *Supra lin.*

³⁰¹ *In margine.*

³⁰² *Supra lin.*

³⁰³ *Supra lin.*

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the connection between holy war, crusading, and church reform in Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Tractatus in psalmos* and other exegetical works. For Gerhoch, the earlier First and the present Second Crusade constituted a facet of church reform. By exploring the various forms and manifestations of spiritual and material warfare, this essay shows that both the material fight on the crusades and the spiritual fight against the inner-Christian enemies such as heretics, schismatics, or simoniacs were part of an eschatological fight for salvation at End Times. It furthermore shows how current events can influence exegesis and how exegetical mechanisms as well as Christian concepts of End Time can legitimate and contribute to religiously motivated violence. Gerhoch re-materialised the once spiritualised Old Testament warfare against schismatics in the face of the imminent End Times and raids on Reichersberg Abbey in the course of the 1159 Schism.

Keywords: Gerhoch of Reichersberg; Holy War; Church Reform; Crusades; Inner-Christian Violence; Eschatology; Psalms; Medieval Exegesis.

In dieser Arbeit wird der Zusammenhang zwischen Heiligem Krieg, Kreuzzug und Kirchenreform in Gerhoch von Reichersbergs „Tractatus in psalmos“ und anderen exegetischen Werken analysiert. Für Gerhoch stellte der Erste und dann der laufende Zweite Kreuzzug eine Facette der Kirchenreform dar. In diesem Aufsatz werden die verschiedenen Formen und Manifestationen von spiritueller sowie materieller Kriegsführung analysiert und gezeigt, dass sowohl der materielle Kampf auf den Kreuzzügen als auch der spirituelle Kampf gegen die innerchristlichen Feinde wie Ketzer, Schismatiker oder Simonisten Teil eines eschatologischen Kampfes um die Erlösung am Ende der Zeit waren. Darüber hinaus wird gezeigt, wie aktuelle Ereignisse die Exegese beeinflussen können und wie exegetische Mechanismen sowie christliche Endzeitvorstellungen religiös motivierte Gewalt legitimieren und zu ihr beitragen können. Gerhoch re-materialisierte den einst spiritualisierten alttestamentlichen Kampf gegen die Schismatiker angesichts der immer immanenter werdenden Endzeit und der Überfälle auf das Stift Reichersberg im Zuge des Schismas von 1159.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Gerhoch von Reichersberg; Heiliger Krieg; Kirchenreform; Kreuzzüge; Innerchristliche Gewalt; Eschatologie; Psalmen; Mittelalterliche Exegese.