

Is there any justification for the Crusades in the Old Testament of the Holy Bible?

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As we will see soon afterwards, there are some convergences, among historians, in the terminology relating to the wars of Israel, narrated in the Old Testament, and the preaching of the Crusades. Above all, the real question remains if both the wars of Israel and the Crusades can be considered Holy Wars or not.

Some historians do not agree with a definition of the wars of Israel as Holy Wars, because they were wars of conquest and defence to survive; at least until the time of the Maccabees, Israel did not fight for faith, but for survival. The rising of the Maccabees against Antiochus Epiphanes, ruler of the Seleucid Empire, can be regarded as a religious war, fought in order to defend the faith of Israel. Nevertheless, others observe, for the Hebrews the war had always a sacred feature¹.

On the other hand, scholars debate if the Crusades can be qualified as a Holy War. According to the Italian historian Franco Cardini, the Crusades never were a series of religious or Holy Wars, but an armed pilgrimage in order to conquer, defend, or, after 1187, re-conquer the Holy Land. We could define the Crusades as the new Exodus, i.e. the march of the Chosen People towards the Promised Land². Other historians point out that the expression "Holy War" appears for the first time in book I of "Dei Gesta per Francos", in

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¹ See E. Peretto, *La sfida aperta. Le strade della violenza e della nonviolenza dalla Bibbia a Lattanzio*, Roma 1993, pp. 20-33.

² F. Cardini, *Francesco d'Assisi*, Milano 1989, pp. 165-166.

which the author - Guibert de Nogent, a Benedictine chronicler of the First Crusade - speaks of "Proelia Sancta". In this way, the idea of a "righteous" war gains a sacred peculiarity³.

In any case, it seems that the Crusades were not simply a kind of armed pilgrimage; which would in part diminish the idea of the Crusades as a Holy or religious war⁴. Crusades historian J. Riley-Smith emphasizes that the Crusades can be considered both a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and a war for its liberation from the infidels. Pope Urban II, who preached and ordered the First Crusade at the Council of Clermont, in 1095, when describing it, on one hand used the words *iter, via, labor* and, on the other hand, coined the Latin military term: *expeditio*⁵, which is a direct link to the idea of "war". Moreover, French Medieval historian Jean Flori has remarked that the Crusades were not only an armed pilgrimage, but also, perhaps as their principal purpose, a Holy, or, more precisely, a sacralized war⁶, which aimed at the liberation of Jerusalem and, in particular, of the Holy Sepulchre⁷. It is interesting that Flori, when making a synthesis of the analogies and the differences between the Islamic Jihad and the Holy War, points out that the first preaches *conquest*, while the second preaches *reconquest*⁸. We can also recall that the French historian Dérumaux remarked that the Holy War was not a Christian institution like the Jihad for the Muslims, but it depended on occasional necessities⁹.

The sources of the Old Testament

In the Old Testament the wars of Yahweh in order to defend his people are a kind of sacred event, and God is depicted as a commander-in chief, who goes into battle and leads the army¹⁰. In support of this point of view there are

³ See G. L. Potestà- G. Vian, *Storia del Cristianesimo*, Bologna 2010, p. 193.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 192.

⁵ J. Riley-Smith, "The idea of Crusading in the Charters of early Crusaders, 1095-1102", in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la Croisade*, Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont-Ferrand (23-25 juin 1995), Roma 1997, p. 157.

⁶ J. Flori, *La guerra santa. La formazione dell'idea di crociata nell'Occidente cristiano*, Bologna 2003, pp. 11-12.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 385.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 383. P.-Y. Emery, in his edition of *De laude novae militiae* of Bernard of Clairveaux, about whom we will speak later, says that the first motive of the crusades was, at least in the beginning, the Christian ideal of the pilgrimage: see *Sources Chrétiennes* 367, Paris 1990, p. 34; however, he also qualifies the crusade as a righteous, holy war, *ibidem*, p. 33.

⁹ P. Dérumaux, *S. Bernard et les infidèles. Essai historique et doctrinal*, Paris 1943, p. 74.

¹⁰ Cfr. Peretto, *La sfida aperta*, cit., p. 20.

several very interesting passages in the Old Testament, such as the ones reported below:

Exodus 15, 3-4: Yahweh is a warrior. The chariots and the army of Pharaoh he has hurled into the sea, the pick of his horsemen lie drowned in the Sea of Reeds.

1 Samuel 15, 2-3 (The war against the Amalekites): Thus speaks Yahweh Sabaoth: I will repay what Amalek did to Israel when they opposed them on the road by which they came up out of Egypt. Now, go and strike down Amalek; put him under the ban with all that he possesses. **Do not spare him, but kill man and woman, babe and suckling**, ox and sheep, camel and donkey.

This passage is particularly expressive, especially if we take into consideration the fact that, as the Catholic historian Joseph Lortz argues¹¹, it is undoubted that the Crusaders, when they conquered the Holy Sepulcher and occupied Jerusalem, did not spare either women or children whom they considered Infidels. Anyway, according to further passages:

1 Samuel 17, 37 (when David challenged Goliath): Saul said to David: Go, and Yahweh be with you.

Psalms 89, 11: You (God)... scattered your enemies with your mighty arm.

Psalms 136, 17-18: He (God) struck down mighty kings. He slaughtered famous kings.

Isaiah 13, 3: I, For my part, issue orders to my sacred warriors, I summon my knights to serve my anger, my proud champions.

Joel 4, 9-10. Proclaim this among the nations. **Prepare for war!** Muster the champions! Warriors, advance, **quick march!** Hammer your ploughshares into swords, your sickles into spears, let the weakling say, 'I am a fighting man'.

We will find such words in the preaching of the Crusades, in which the Christian soldiers were urged to prepare themselves for war and march in order to free the Holy Land. The verb *to march* can also be found in a passage from the book of *Judges*, where the people going into battle are proclaimed as God's people, God's army¹²:

Judges 5, 13: Then Israel **marched** down to the gates; Yahweh's people, like heroes, **marched** down to fight for him.

Furthermore:

Zechariah 14, 2-3 (the eschatological battle): Yahweh will gather all the nations to Jerusalem for battle. The city will be taken, the houses plundered, the women ravished... Then Yahweh will take the field; he will fight against these nations as he fights in the day of battle.

Sources before the Crusades: Sergius IV and Gregory VII

¹¹ J. Lortz, *Storia della Chiesa*, I, Milano 1987, p. 303.

¹² See also *Exodus 12, 41*.

In regard to the Crusades, there is a document, the so-called “Encyclical of Pope Sergius IV”, in which Pope Sergius appeals to all of those with faith to give armed assistance to the Holy Sepulcher, summoning Christians to take it away from the Infidels¹³. According to the Polish historian Aleksander Gieysztor, this document’s authenticity is debatable, because he considered the “Encyclical” to be a production completely foreign to the Papal Chancery. Nevertheless, this document includes many Biblical quotations, which played an important role in the arguments advanced by many other appeals for pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

In particular, in the document we find a quote from *Isaiah* 11, 10: “its home will be glorious”¹⁴, which in the second half of the eleventh century appears in writings dealing with the idea of a Crusade¹⁵. Moreover, the epithet applied to the enemies of the Church, the so called *gente Agarena*, an idea which originates from *Psalms* 82, 7¹⁶ and alludes to Agar, the Egyptian slave, wife of Abraham and mother of Ismael¹⁷. In the Encyclical there are also some locutions, like “Domini est vindicare” (*Ecclesiasticus* 5, 3)¹⁸ and “prelium Domini” (*1 Samuel* 25, 28). However, as Flori points out, even if this document is not authentic, it contains the main subjects, which will be developed in the preaching of the Crusades¹⁹.

Before Urban II, Pope Gregory VII, in an epistle sent to the emperor Henry IV, which dates to 1074, had thought of leading an army toward the Holy Land against the enemies of God in order to reach the Holy Sepulcher. It is interesting that the Pope used the military terms *expeditio* and *armata manus* to characterize this expedition to the Palestine²⁰.

¹³ See A. Gieysztor, *The Genesis of the Crusade: The Encyclical of Sergius IV (1009-1012)*, «Medievalia et Humanistica», V (1948), pp. 3-4.

¹⁴ This is the passage of *Isaiah* quoted in the Encyclical: “Et erit sepulchrum eius gloriosum”: cfr. the critical edition of H.M. Schaller, “Zur Kreuzzugszyklika Papst Sergius’ IV”, in H. Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter*, Tübingen 1991, p. 151. According to this scholar it is not demonstrated that the Encyclical is not authentic, *ibidem*, p. 148; in his opinion, this document dates from 1010, *ibidem*, p. 150.

¹⁵ Cfr. Gieysztor, *The Genesis...*, «Medievalia et Humanistica», V (1948), p. 20; VI (1950), p. 10.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, V (1948), p. 21 n. 77; VI (1950), p. 33. Ed. Schaller, p. 151.

¹⁷ Cfr. *Genesis* 16, 3. 15.

¹⁸ Ed. Schaller, p. 151.

¹⁹ J. Flori, *La guerra santa...*, cit., p. 327.

²⁰ *Registrum* II, 31: “si me possunt in expeditione pro duce ac pontifice habere, armata manu contra inimicos Dei volunt insurgere et usque ad sepulchrum Domini ipso ducente pervenire”; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae selectae II*, Berolini 1955, p. 166. See Flori, *La guerra santa...*, cit., pp. 329-334.

Urban II and the Preaching of the First Crusade

As we have said, Urban II preached the First Crusade during the Council of Clermont, which sat from November 18 to November 28 1095. As the historian Steven Runciman points out, only four contemporary chroniclers have reported the Pope's words: Robert the Monk, Baudri of Dol, Fulcher of Chartres and Guibert of Nogent. However, no one of these four chroniclers has professed to give an accurate verbal account of Urban's speech. Each of them wrote a few years later the Council had taken place; that's why we can only know approximately and in a way, we must hypothesize, what Urban in fact said²¹.

According to J.A. Brundage, Robert the Monk was the only one to make a definite claim that he was present at the Council; this historian, in regard to Robert's account, says: "An eyewitness reports his words (i.e. of the Pope) as follows"²². It seems that Urban began his speech by telling his hearers of the necessity of aiding their Christian brothers in the East, and described the sufferings of the pilgrims that journeyed to the Holy Land²³.

According to Robert the Monk, the Pope said, quoting *Psalm* 78, 8 and alluding to *Psalm* 67, 22:

The people of the Persian kingdom, an alien people, a race completely foreign to God, a generation of false aims, of a spirit that broke faith with God²⁴, has invaded Christian territory and has devastated this territory with pillage, fire and the sword²⁵... You are the people upon whom God has bestowed glory in arms, greatness of spirit, bodily agility, and the courage to humble the proud lock²⁶ of those who resist you. ²⁷

Further in the speech, always according to Robert the Monk, the Pope instituted a comparison with the story of Israel and referred to the land given by God to his people:

"Conquer that land which the wicked have seized, the land which was given by God to the children of Israel and which, as the Scripture says, is all milk and honey"²⁸.

This explicit reference made to the Old Testament of the Bible and to the conquest of the Promised Land, appears as a clear argument to justify the

²¹ S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I, Cambridge 1951, p. 107.

²² J.A. Brundage, *The Crusades. A documentary Survey*, Milwaukee 1962, p. 23, n.7.

²³ Runciman, *A History...*, cit., I, pp. 107-108.

²⁴ *Psalm* 78, 8.

²⁵ So also in the speech of the Pope reported by Fulcher: *Historia Hierosolymitana* I, 3; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, t. III, Paris MDCCCLXVI, p. 324.

²⁶ See *Psalm* 67, 22.

²⁷ *Historia Hierosolymitana* I, 1; *Recueil*, p. 728. Cfr. Brundage, *The Crusades...*, cit., p. 18.

²⁸ *Exodus* 3, 8; *Recueil*, p. 728. See Brundage, *The Crusades...*, cit., p. 19.

Crusades and the re-conquest of the Holy Land. Urban continued his speech using the military terminology of the wars of Israel, led by Yahweh:

When you make an armed attack on the enemy, let all those on God's side cry out together, 'God wills it! God wills it'.²⁹

The following words of Pope Urban II also delineate the Crusades as a pilgrimage:

Nor, indeed, should laymen begin the pilgrimage without their priest's blessing.³⁰

According to Runciman, Urban made his great appeal particularly effective by using the term "march", which we have seen in *Joel* 4, 10 and *Judges* 5, 13, and by qualifying the Crusades as righteous wars led by God: "Let western Christendom march to the rescue of the East... They should fight a righteous war, doing the work of God, and God would lead them"³¹.

The response was immediate. Cries of 'Deus le volt', God wills it!, interrupted the speech of the Pope³².

It is interesting that in Urban's speech, as reported by Italian theologian and historian G.D. Mansi³³, the enemy of the Christians is called the "son of the Egyptian slave", and there is a supporting quotation from *Genesis* 21, 10: "Drive away that slave girl and her son", and from *1 Maccabees* 2,8: "Her Temple (i.e. of the Holy City) has become like a man of no repute, the vessels that were her glory have been carried off as booty". In this text the free (*libera*) wife of Abraham, Sarah, and the Egyptian slave, Agar, are opposed; here we are dealing with the *gens Agarena*, which we have seen in the so-called Encyclical of Sergius IV, and this, supposedly justified the fight against a people, which violently occupied the Holy Land.

Moreover, Mansi's edition reports the speech of Urban II according to William of Malmesbury, who wrote approximately thirty years after the Council. In this account the Pope mentioned the history of Israel, when the Jews, after their liberation from slavery in Egypt, crossed the Red Sea and

²⁹ *Recueil* I, 2; p. 729.

³⁰ *Ibidem*. Cfr. Brundage, *The Crusades...*, cit., p. 20.

³¹ Runciman, *A History...*, cit., I, p. 108.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ See J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 20, Graz 1960, 822: "Haec igitur salutis nostrae cunabula, Domini patriam, religionis matrem, populus absque Deo, **ancillae filius Aegyptiae** possidet violenter et captivitatis liberae filiis extremas imponit conditiones, quibus versa vice merito servire tenebatur. Sed quid scriptum est? **Eiice ancillam et filium eius**".

took up arms to occupy Canaan and drive their enemies out of the country³⁴. It is important to point out the use of the verb *prefigure*, which is fundamental in Biblical exegesis, and which highlights that the events of the Old Testament are emblematic of the future events appertaining to the Christian age.

In this case the Israelite occupation of the Promised Land prefigured the Christian liberation of the Holy Places. Urban added in his speech that he retained righteous to brandish the sword against the Saracens, comparing them to the people of Amalek³⁵, as a further justification for the Crusades. As Flori asserts, in regard to the connection between the Crusades and the Old Testament, God, through the figure of the Pope, asked his Christian followers to participate in the re-conquest of the Holy Places under His leadership, as once the Israelites had re-taken possession of the Holy Land occupied by the inhabitants of Canaan³⁶.

The Preaching of the Second Crusade: Bernard of Clairvaux

Bernard of Clairvaux was the official preacher and the guiding spirit of the Second Crusade. He wrote some epistles, which contain several quotations or allusions from the Old Testament. In epistle 458, sent to Wladislas of Bohemia, Bernard urged Christians to take part in the Second Crusade, mentioning the Army of the Lord and alluding to *1 Maccabees* 6, 39: "When the sun glinted on the bronze and golden shields the mountains caught the glint", and 41: "Everyone trembled at the noise made by this vast multitude"³⁷. By doing this, the abbot of Clairveaux connected the religious war of the Maccabees, fought with the purpose of defending the faith of Israel, to the Crusade, led by God—the same God of both Israel and of the Christian Church.

Epistle 363, sent to many addressees, is called an encyclical, and was written to support the Crusade. Bernard alludes to *Isaiah* 59, 1: "No, the hand of

³⁴ Ed. Mansi, p. 825: "Filiis Israel ab Aegyptiis educti, qui rubri maris transitu vos praefiguraverunt, terram illam armis suis, Iesu duce (i. e. Joshua), sibi vendicaverunt, Iebusaeos et alios convenas inde expulerunt".

³⁵ Cfr. *Exodus* 17, 8. Ed. Mansi, p. 826: "In Saracenos gladium vibrare, singulare bonum est quia et caritas est pro fratribus animas deponere... Vestrum est contra Amalecitas pugnare".

³⁶ See J. Flori, *La guerra santa...*, cit., p. 384. See also A. Vauchez, "Les composantes eschatologiques de l'idée de croisade", in *Le Concile de Clermont*, p. 235. Vauchez quotes in particular *Psalms* 32, 12.

³⁷ *Ep.* 458: "ut refulgeat sol in eis et terrore dissipetur gentium fortitudo"; see J. Leclercq, *L'encyclique de Saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade*, in «*Revue Bénédictine*», 81 (1971), p. 287; G.G. Coulton, "Saint Bernard guerrier de Dieu", in *Saint Bernard et son temps*, Association bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes, Congrès de 1927, t. I, Dijon 1928, pp. 121-129.

Yahweh is not too short to save"³⁸, and emphasizes the defensive nature of the military expedition (*ad tuendam et restituendam... hereditatem*). Moreover, he makes a reference to *1 Maccabees* 3, 58: "Stand to your arms... acquit yourselves bravely, be ready to fight", and, urging the Christians to be fearless, he qualifies them as happy because of their decision to seize arms³⁹. In this epistle there is also a reference to *2 Chronicles* 13, 3: "Abijah went into battle with an army of brave fighters", where Bernard, once again mentioning the Lord's army, urges to choose bellicose men⁴⁰.

In epistles 457 and 247 there is the presence of the military term *expeditio*: *De expeditione in terram sanctam*⁴¹ or *Ierosolymitana expeditio*⁴², used by Urban II as formerly pointed out. That is why according to Bernard, the Devil excited the pagans (the Muslims) who occupied the Holy Places⁴³. Consequently, Bernard urges the Christians to arm themselves against the Muslims, whose arrogance will be humbled by God, so that the way to Jerusalem will not be prevented⁴⁴. In this passage it is possible to see not only the idea of war in order to defend the Holy Land (*armari*), but also the conceiving of the Crusade as a pilgrimage (*via*). In this context the abbot of Clairveaux quotes the Holy Bible⁴⁵, perhaps alluding to *Isaiah* 52, 9, a reference that can also be found in the treatise- *De laude novae militiae*⁴⁶.

It is also very interesting that in an epistle written by Bernard's secretary, Nicholas of Clairveaux, there is a quotation from *Psalms* 113, 2: "Where is their God?"; the Crusade is seen as a defense of the Holy Places, in particular of the Holy Sepulcher; in this Biblical quotation we again find the mention of the pagans (*gentes*), i.e. the Muslims⁴⁷.

³⁸ Ep. 363: "Numquid abbreviata manus Domini, aut impotens facta est ad salvandum, quod ad tuendam et restituendam sibi hereditatem suam (cfr. *Psalms* 32, 12) exiguos vermiculos vocat?"; Leclercq, *L'encyclique...*, cit., p.297.

³⁹ Ep. 363: "Accingimini et vos viriliter et felicia arma corripite christiani nominis zelo"; Leclercq, *L'encyclique...*, cit., p.297.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*: "Viros bellicosos et gnaros talium duces eligere est, et simul proficisci exercitum Domini, ut ubique habeat robur"; Leclercq, *L'encyclique...*, cit., p. 299.

⁴¹ Ep. 457; *Patrologia Latina* 182, 651-652.

⁴² Ep. 247, 1; *Patrologia Latina* 182, 447.

⁴³ Ep. 457; 651: "malignus... aliud damnum veretur longe amplius de conversione gentium, cum audivit plenitudinem eorum introituram, et omnem quoque Israel fore salvandum. Hoc ei nunc tempus imminere videtur... Suscitavit proinde semen nequam filios sceleratos paganos quos... nimis diu sustinuit Christianorum fortitudo".

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*: "fiet ergo, Deo volente, ut eorum superbia citius humilietur, et non propter hoc impediatur via Hierosolymitana... denuntiamus armari Christianorum robur adversus illos".

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*: "quia dicit Scriptura: Ante ruinam exaltabitur cor".

⁴⁶ See below.

⁴⁷ Ep. 467, 2; 672: "defendite loca mortis eius et redemptionis nostrae, ne quando dicant gentes. Ubi est Deus eorum?".

Bernard also wrote a treatise, *De laude novae militiae*, in which he addressed the warrior monks, called the Knights Templar, whose role was to defend the pilgrims visiting the Holy Places⁴⁸. In this work there is an evident connection between the mission of the Knights Templar and the Second Crusade, because the new army, which took part in the defense of the Holy Places, accomplished, in their historical significance, the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the re-establishment of Jerusalem⁴⁹. The abbot of Clairveaux points out that, after the overthrow of His enemies would have taken place, God would have returned to His inheritance and His house; then he alludes to *Jeremiah* 31, 11-12: "For Yahweh has ransomed Jacob, rescued him from a hand stronger than his own. They will come and shout for joy on the heights of Zion. They will throng towards the good things of Yahweh"⁵⁰, and quotes *Isaiah* 52, 9-10: "Break into shouts of joy together, you ruins of Jerusalem; for Yahweh is consoling his people, redeeming Jerusalem. Yahweh bares his holy arm in the sight of all the nations"⁵¹. The Templars acted as a kind of police force which guaranteed access to the Holy Places⁵². In this regard, Bernard quotes some passages in particular from the Book of *Psalms*⁵³, which stigmatized and condemned the unfaithful, who tried to take away the riches of the Jewish people, which were placed in Jerusalem, and to profane the Holy Things⁵⁴. Moreover, Bernard touches upon the Theory of the Two Swords, according to which both the material sword and the spiritual

⁴⁸ See the edition of *De laude novae militiae* by P.-Y. Emery; «Sources Chrétiennes» 367, p. 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 24. Cfr. *De laude novae militiae* III, 6; p. 66: "quidquid huic tempori significando ex Prophetarum vocibus usurpamus, ne per id quod cernitur evanescat quod creditur, et spei copias imminuat penuria rei, praesentium attestatio sit evacuatio futurorum".

⁵⁰ So Bernard synthesizes the prophetic passage: "redemit Dominus populum suum et liberavit eum, et venient et exsultabunt in monte Sion, et gaudebunt de bonis Domini": *De laude novae militiae* III, 6; pp. 62-64.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*; p. 64: "Gaudete et laudate simul, deserta Ierusalem, quia consolatus est Dominus populum suum, redemit Ierusalem, paravit Dominus brachium sanctum suum in oculis omnium gentium".

⁵² See Emery, p. 23.

⁵³ *Psalms* 67, 31: "dissipentur gentes quae bella volunt"; 100, 8: "disperdantur de civitate Domini omnes operantes iniquitatem"; 82, 13. "hereditate possidere sanctuarium Dei" (according to the text of the Septuaginta); 113, 2: "ne quando dicant gentes: Ubi est Deus eorum?" (as we have seen, this passage is quoted by Nicholas of Clairveaux): *De laude novae militiae* III, 5; p. 62.

⁵⁴ *De laude novae militiae, ibidem*: "...qui repositas in Hierosolymis Christiani populi inaestimabiles divitias tollere gestiunt, sancta polluere".

sword, must be turned against the enemies⁵⁵; and he thinks of the material sword as the Christian wars, like the Crusade⁵⁶.

Conclusion

In conclusion, linguistic analogies definitely exist between the wars of Israel, as they are narrated in the Old Testament, and the preaching of the Crusades. Both the Israelite wars and the Crusades, appear to be a kind of Sacralized war led by God to give protection to His people. Sometimes we find the same military terminology. After all, the preachers of the Crusades quote or allude to many passages of the Old Testament, in particular from the *Psalms* and the *Prophets*, to justify the Re- conquest (not the conquest) and the defense of the Holy Places and, above all, of the Holy Sepulcher. In this regard, the Crusades, an armed pilgrimage or a series of Holy Wars, however that may be, were the new Exodus, the march of the Chosen People towards the Promised Land, i.e. the Crusades' preachers drew more from certain messages of the Old Testament rather than the prevailing message of love and forgiveness.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*: "Exseratur gladius uterque fidelium in cervicibus inimicorum".

⁵⁶ See Emery, pp. 62-63 n. 2. The theory of two swords is based on the Pauline epistles to the Romans 13, 4 (the material sword) and to the Ephesians 6, 17 (the spiritual sword).

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