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Pitture del Portico con tutte le seguenti

Edited by Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt and Andrew Jotischky

Pope Eugenius III (1145-1153)

The First Cistercian Pope

Amsterdam
University
Press

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Preface

Bernard of Pisa (c.1080s–1153) was one of the most surprising of medieval popes. A native of Pisa, he was a canon of the cathedral chapter and *vice-dominus* of his archdiocese before entering Clairvaux as a monk in 1138, and becoming abbot of the new Cistercian foundation of Tre Fontane, near Rome, in 1140. He was elected to the papal throne in 1145 as a relative unknown at a time of crisis, and spent much of his pontificate away from Rome. As the first Cistercian monk to become pope, his relationship with his former abbot Bernard of Clairvaux has often been seen as the keynote of his pontificate, and Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade has tended to overshadow Eugenius's role in the design and execution of that expedition. Yet his years as pope saw important developments in the relationship between the papal office and royal authority, in the role of the papacy as a judicial office, and in papal crusading theory. They were also critical years in the history of Rome, and of the Cistercian congregation.

The studies presented in this book consider the many facets of Eugenius as pope, exploring his oversight of judicial practice; theological developments in his pontificate; his treatment of Cistercian monasteries and of constitutional developments in his order; his relationships with Crown and Church in France and Spain, and with Rome and the Romans; his work in building up the papal states, and his view of the crusades in both the Baltic and the Mediterranean. Together these essays offer a new view not only of an under-appreciated pope but also of the institution he headed and of its place in a rapidly changing European society.

Abbreviations

ACA	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona)
Abp/abp	Archbishop/archbishop
Bernard, 'De consideratione'	Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De consideratione', in <i>Sancti Bernardi Opera</i> , ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H. Rochais, 9 vols in 10 (Rome, 1957–98), iii (1963), 379–493
Bernard, 'Epistolae'	Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Epistolae', in <i>Sancti Bernardi Opera</i> , ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H. Rochais, 9 vols in 10 (Rome, 1957–98), vii–viii
Bernard, <i>Letters</i>	<i>The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux</i> , trans. B. Scott James, 2nd edn (Stroud, 1998)
Bernard, <i>On Consideration</i>	<i>Bernard of Clairvaux, Five Books on Consideration. Advice to a Pope</i> , trans. J.D. Anderson and E.T. Kennan, Cistercian Fathers Series, 13 (Kalamazoo, 1976)
BIHR/Historical Research	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> (now <i>Historical Research</i>)
BL	British Library
BMCL	<i>Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law</i>
Boso, <i>Vita Eugenii</i>	<i>Le Liber pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd Ser., 3, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris, 1955–7), ii, 386–7
Boso, <i>Vita Innocentii II</i>	<i>Le Liber pontificalis</i> , ii, 379–85
Bp/bp	Bishop/bishop
Brixius	J.M. Brixius, <i>Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130–1181</i> (Berlin, 1912)
CB	cardinal bishop
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1953–)
CDIACA	<i>Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón</i>
Cod.	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
1–5 Comp.	<i>Quinque compilationes antiquae necnon collectio canonum Lipsiensis</i> , ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1882; repr. Graz, 1956)
Conrad III, <i>Urkunden</i>	<i>Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines Sohnes Heinrich</i> , ed. F. Hausmann, <i>MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae</i> , ix (Vienna, 1969)
CP	cardinal priest

- CS Collected Studies: Variorum Reprints/Ashgate
Variorum
- Decretum* *Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, i
- DHGE *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. A. Baudrillart, A. de Meyer, E. van Cauwenbergh, and R. Aubert (Paris, 1912–)
- Dig. *The Digest of Justinian*, ed. T. Mommsen and P. Krueger, with English translation, ed. Alan Watson, 4 vols (Philadelphia, 1985)
- Duabus civitatibus* Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister and W. Lammers, trans. A. Schmidt, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 16 (Darmstadt, 1961)
- Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, i–ii *Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879–81)
- Gallia Christiana* *Gallia Christiana (nova)*, 16 vols (Paris, 1715–1865; repr. Farnborough, 1970)
- Germania pontificia* *Germania pontificia: sive Repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a Romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII Germaniae ecclesiis monasteriis civitatibus singulisque personis concessorum*, various editors, 10 vols (Berlin/Göttingen, 1911–[2005])
- Gesta Frederici* Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici seu rectius Chronica*, ed. G. Waitz, B. Simson, and F.-J. Schmale, trans. A. Schmidt, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 17 (Darmstadt, 1965)
- Holtzmann, 'Kan. Erg.' [1], [2] W. Holtzmann, 'Kanonistische Ergänzungen zur Italia Pontificia' [1], *QF*, 37 (1957), 55–102; [2], *QF*, 38 (1958), 67–175
- Holtzmann/Cheney C.R. Cheney and M.G. Cheney, *Studies in the Collections of Twelfth-Century Decretals, from the papers of Walther Holtzmann*, MIC, Ser. B, 3 (Vatican City, 1979)
- Horn, *Studien* M. Horn, *Studien zur Geschichte Papst Eugens III. (1145–1153)*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, 508 (Frankfurt am Main, 1992)
- Inst.* *Justinian's Institutes*, trans. P. Birks and G. McLeod (with the Latin text of P. Krueger) (Ithaca, New York, 1987); cf. J.A.C. Thomas, *The Institutes of Justinian, Text*,

	<i>Translation and Commentary</i> (Amsterdam/Oxford, 1975)
<i>Italia pontificia</i>	P.F. Kehr, <i>Italia pontificia</i> , Regesta Romanorum pontificum, 10 vols in 8: i–viii (Berlin, 1906–35; repr. 1961); ix, ed. W. Holtzmann (Berlin, 1962); x, ed. D. Girsensohn (Zurich, 1975)
JL	P. Jaffé, <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ad annum 1198</i> , ed. S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, and P.W. Ewald, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1885–8)
JohnS, <i>Letters</i> , i	<i>The Letters of John of Salisbury</i> , i: <i>the early letters</i> , ed. and trans. W.J. Millor and H.E. Butler, revised C.N.L. Brooke, NMT (London, 1955; reissued Oxford, 1986)
JS <i>HistPont</i>	John of Salisbury, <i>Historia pontificalis</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, OMT, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1986)
<i>Liber pontificalis</i>	<i>Le Liber pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd Ser., 3, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris, 1955–7)
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. J.D. Mansi, cont. I.B. Martin and L. Petit, 53 vols (Florence/Venice, 1759–98; Paris, 1901–27; repr. Graz, 1960–1)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, inde ab anno Christi quintesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum</i> (Hanover/Berlin, 1824–)
MGH, <i>Constitutiones</i>	<i>MGH Legum sectio IV.1 Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum inde ab a. DCCCCXI usque ad a. MCXCVII (911–1197)</i> , i, ed. L. Weiland (Hanover, 1893),
MGH SRG	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi</i> , 78 vols (Hanover, <i>et alibi</i> , 1839–2007; variously re-edited and reprinted)
MGH SRG, NS	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum</i> , New Series (Berlin, 1922–)
MGH SS	<i>Scriptores</i> (in folio), 32 vols in 34 (Hanover, 1826–1934)
MIC	Monumenta iuris canonici
MIÖG	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
NMT	Nelson's Medieval Texts
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> (<i>Patrologia</i>

- latina*), 221 vols, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1841–64)
- Proceedings ... Boston** *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* [Boston College, 12–16 August 1963], ed. S. Kuttner and J.J. Ryan, MIC, Ser. C: Subsidia, 1 (Vatican City, 1965)
- Proceedings ... Cambridge** *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Cambridge, 23–27 July 1984*, ed. P. Linehan, MIC, Ser. C: Subsidia, 8 (Vatican City, 1988)
- Proceedings ... Esztergom** *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Esztergom 2008*, ed. P. Erdő and S.A. Szurómi, MIC, Ser. C: Subsidia, 14 (Vatican City, 2010)
- Proceedings ... Paris** *Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Paris 2016*, ed. F. Demoulin-Auzary, N. Laurent-Bonne, F. Roumy, MIC, Ser. C: Subsidia, 16 (Vatican City, in press).
- Proceedings ... Salamanca** *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Salamanca, 21–25 September 1976*, ed. S. Kuttner and K. Pennington, MIC, Ser. C: Subsidia, 6 (Vatican City, 1980)
- Proceedings ... Toronto 2012** *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Toronto, 5–11 August 2012*, ed. J. Goering, S. Dusil, and A. Their, MIC, Series C: Subsidia, 15 (Vatican City, 2016)
- PU England** *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, 3 vols, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, i, New Ser.*, 25 (Berlin, 1930); ii, 3rd Ser., 14–15 (Berlin 1935–6); iii, 3rd Ser., 33 (Göttingen, 1952)
- PU Frankreich** *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ed. W. Wiederhold, 7 vols in 3, *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse* (Berlin 1906–13)
- PU Frankreich, NS** *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, ed. H. Meinert, J. Ramackers, J. Lohrmann, and R. Grosse, 9 vols to date, *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3rd Ser.* (Berlin, 1932; Göttingen, 1937–[98])
- PU Heiligen Lande** *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, ed. R. Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius*, 3,

- Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3rd Ser., 136 (Göttingen, 1985)
- PU Italien** *Papsturkunden in Italien. Reiseberichte zur Italia pontificia*, ed. P. Kehr, 6 vols, Acta Romanorum pontificum 1–6 (Vatican City, 1977)
- PU Niederlanden** *Papsturkunden in den Niederlanden*, ed. J. Ramackers, 2 vols, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3rd Ser., 8–9 (Berlin, 1933–4)
- PU Portugal** *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, ed. C. Erdmann, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, New Ser., 20/3 (Berlin, 1927; repr. Göttingen, 1970)
- PU Spanien** *Papsturkunden in Spaniend*. P.F. Kehr, Vorarbeiten zur Hispania pontificia, 2 vols, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, New Ser., 18/2, 22: i (Katalanien); ii (Navarra und Aragon) (Berlin, 1926, 1928; repr. Göttingen, 1970)
- QF** *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
- RS** Rolls Series: *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, published ... under the direction of the Master of the Rolls*, 99 vols (London, 1858–96)
- s.a.** *sub anno*
- Second Crusade**, ed. Gervers *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992)
- Second Crusade**, ed. Phillips and Hoch *The Second Crusade: scope and consequences*, ed. J. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001)
- X** *Liber Extra: Decretales Gregorii IX*, ed. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, ii.
- Zenker** B. Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159* (Diss. Würzburg, 1964)
- ZRG Kan. Abt.** *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*

Maps and Figures

Cover

Image of Eugenius III in the Portico of SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio *ad aquas salvias* at Tre Fontane, recorded by Antonio Eclissi in 1630. Vatican City, BAV, Ms Barb. lat. 4402, fol. 43r. Published by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

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Introduction

Andrew Jotischky

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Pope Eugenius III was the unexpected choice of the cardinals at an election held during a period of intense crisis. His predecessor, Lucius II, died from wounds sustained when in February 1145 he led an army against the commune of Rome in order to re-establish papal control over the city. The expedition failed, and the cardinals had to withdraw to the monastery of St Caesarius to hold the election.¹ In Bernard, who took the name Eugenius, they chose a man with a complex past. As *vicedominus* or episcopal representative in the archbishopric of Pisa from 1133, Eugenius had experience both as a cathedral canon and as a clerical administrator. In 1138, however, he underwent a conversion to the reformed monastic life of Clairvaux. Only two years later he was sent back to Italy to take charge of the re-foundation of the abandoned former Greek Orthodox monastery of SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio as a Cistercian house. The restoration of a ruinous monastery was a demanding task both physically and psychologically. The pioneer monks suffered from attacks of malaria, and although the restoration had been undertaken at the request of Pope Innocent II they did not enjoy the protection or support they had expected. Contrasting this difficult experience with his initial entry into Cistercian life, Eugenius looked back on his brief period at Clairvaux as time spent ‘in the midst of the trees of Paradise’.²

Eugenius III’s spiritual mentor, Bernard of Clairvaux, professed himself appalled at the election. The cardinals had brought ‘a man crucified’ back into the world – could they find nobody better suited to leadership than a man in hiding from the world whom they had to drag from his rustic

1 F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Hamilton, 6 vols (London, 1894–8), 4/ii, 491.

2 Bernard of Pisa, *Epistolae*, 315, *PL*, clxxxii, 549: ‘Non enim satis intelligebam, cum essem in Clarevalle, me esse in loco voluptatis, inter ligna paradisi.’

pursuits to the papal throne?³ Eugenius himself appears to have shared Bernard's surprise and sense of apprehension, to judge from the letter he wrote soon after his election.⁴ Other contemporaries appeared to concur, to judge from Boso's biography in the continuation of the *Liber pontificalis*.⁵ No record that survives explains why the cardinals settled on Eugenius rather than, for example, the most senior cardinal and the man eventually elected in 1153 as Anastasius IV, Conrad, cardinal-bishop of Sabina, who as an experienced Roman might have been a more obvious choice in the circumstances.⁶ It is possible that Eugenius's status as a Cistercian, or as a spiritual protégé of Bernard of Clairvaux, carried some weight at a time of crisis; equally, Eugenius combined the attractions of monastic spirituality with previous administrative experience in Pisa, an important papal ally. In any case, the immediate situation was daunting. The commune refused to recognize the election unless the new pope in turn recognized the Senate that it had formed and gave up papal claims to control of Rome. Consequently the enthronement took place not at St Peter's but at the monastery of Farfa, on 18 February 1145.⁷

One of the reasons given by Bernard of Clairvaux for his opposition to Eugenius' election was his doubt as to whether his protégé was up to the job. Could he, Bernard wondered, exercise sufficient firmness in fulfilling the role of the apostolate?⁸ This collection of essays is, in part, an attempt to answer that question by examining Eugenius's approach to the task to which he had been called across a range of activities. The verdict on Eugenius III's pontificate has been, it is fair to say, rather mixed. Famously, John of Salisbury, calling upon his memories as a papal clerk during Eugenius's pontificate, remembered him as a pope who trusted too much in his own judgment, did not rate the advice of his counsellors highly enough, and whose suspicious nature meant that he was inclined to disbelieve most people on principle.⁹ This was the only reason John could suggest for the revoking of many of Eugenius's judgments by his successors. Yet on one occasion at least, John praised Eugenius's conduct of a legal case in which he displayed a combination of discernment and emotional strength. Hearing

3 Bernard, 'Epistolae', viii, 113–14 no. 237.

4 JL, ii, 21; Eugenius III, *Epistolae*, PL, clxxx, 1015.

5 Boso, *Vita Eugenii*, 386; see C. Egger, 'Curial Politics and Papal Power: Eugenius III, the Curia, and contemporary theological controversy', Ch. 2, below.

6 Zenker, 46–8; P. Classen, 'Papst Anastasius IV', *QF*, 48 (1968), 36–63.

7 For fuller discussion, see J. Doran, 'Eugenius III and the Roman Commune', Ch. 9, below.

8 Bernard, 'Epistolae', viii, 114 no. 237.

9 *JS HistPont*, 51, c.21.

the divorce suit of Hugh, count of Molise, the pope's natural suspicion led him to dismiss the testimony of witnesses who had been bribed, and to resolve the case by an eloquent personal appeal to the count. Caught up in the intensity of the moment, Eugenius was prepared to risk potential personal ridicule in order to resolve a legal dispute through the force of his character. Getting up from his throne, he prostrated himself before the count, his mitre falling from his head to the floor as he did so, and begged him to abandon his suit for divorce and to be absolved of any misconduct of his own in the matter. The count and his wife were duly reconciled, and Eugenius was seen by all those present to have resolved the situation through an act of charitable mercy rather than strict application of the law.¹⁰

Such shafts of light illuminating the process of governance and administration remind us of personal qualities that are for the most part hidden from us. Over a thousand letters were issued by the papal chancery during Eugenius's eight years on the papal throne. Although many are routine, some provide insights into his conception of papal office, and a few are of a personal nature. Contemporary observers of the papacy – many of them critical – leave no doubt about the increase in papal business in the middle of the twelfth century. Much of the time of any pope was taken up with hearing and judging cases in law. The role of the pope in such cases was to act as ultimate arbiter: to hear arguments from witnesses and petitioners on both sides, to consult with his own legal experts in the Curia and to give a verdict based on his judgment. Bernard of Clairvaux, to whom the whole process was inimical, thought that it consisted of listening to learned men tell lies and trying to find some truth buried beneath their eloquence.¹¹ The sheer variety of such cases was daunting. Many of them concerned disputes between bishops over jurisdictional rights and possessions, or between bishops and monasteries claiming exemption from episcopal oversight. Verdicts were given, but even a papal judgment was no guarantee that it would be followed, and enforcement might be difficult especially in distant parts of Christendom. Cases could reappear before the Curia years after initial verdicts had been given. Eugenius's pontificate saw a marked increase in the range and scope of papal justice. In part this was the continuation of a trend that had begun in the 1130s, but it must also have reflected Eugenius's own conception of his office. Anne Duggan's

10 JS*HistPont*, 81–2, c.41. On this case, see also John Noonan's description of John's characterization of Eugenius as 'a kind of Dovstoevskyan saint': 'Was Gratian Approved at Ferentino?', *BMCL*, 6 (1976), 19; G. Ladner, 'Greatness in Mediaeval History', *Catholic Historical Review*, 50 (1964), 21.

11 Bernard, 'De consideratione', 408 (i.10); Bernard, *On Consideration*, 44.

comprehensive essay on Eugenius and the law shows that, in this respect, Eugenius was a man of his times; that in Italy especially the law had always been a prominent feature of civic administration; and that the increased handling of cases by the Curia was a mark of the ever-expanding intellectual horizons of the papacy. As she points out, Eugenius, a Pisan, was familiar with a thoroughly developed system of civic law; nor was he in any way daunted by the professionalization of legal practice that was so evident in mid-century, and which made Bernard of Clairvaux so uncomfortable. Eugenius understood the importance of developments that were already well under way when he became pope, and the need for the papacy to grasp opportunities to exercise authority by deploying the weapons of the law and of legal learning.

In describing Eugenius to the cardinals as a rustic whom they had dragged away from his mattock and hoe, Bernard of Clairvaux was appealing to the image of the ideal monk as a man of wisdom rather than intellect; of simplicity rather than of deep knowledge. Yet as pope he had to deal with troubling questions of theology. Christoph Egger shows how he negotiated the treacherous paths of theological orthodoxy between a multitude of errors or potential errors born from the fast-developing theological cursus in the schools. The sojourn in France and Germany in 1147–8 brought Eugenius into contact with two quite different examples of the problem: the case of Gilbert of Poitiers that came before him at Reims in 1148, and the request from the mystic Hildegard of Bingen for ratification of her writings. In the latter case, Eugenius had to evaluate the quality and nature of a body of work unfamiliar to him. As Egger shows, he did so in a manner that echoes in some respects the techniques of legal judgment: sending for a representative body of her work, having it read in consistory and taking advice from experts (including the ubiquitous Bernard) before reaching a verdict. The case of Gilbert was far more fraught, and here Eugenius had to deal with a cardinalate that resented the imputation of interference from the *ecclesia gallicana* in theological matters, and that required reassurance that the case of a suspect theologian would not result in changes to the creed.

It is tempting to assume that we can know something of Eugenius through his close relationship with Bernard of Clairvaux, a relationship documented by a mutual exchange of letters as well as Bernard's treatise *De consideratione*, written for the pope as he grappled with the burden of his office. As Bernard himself advised, in order to understand the office-holder, you must first strip away titles and trappings and see the person himself.¹²

12 Bernard, 'De Consideratione', 414–15 (ii.2); Bernard, *On Consideration*, 52–4.

Bernard's attitude to episcopal office, indeed, lent particular weight to the moral and spiritual qualities of candidates above all. Yet Bernard's view of the Church and Christian society can sometimes appear to overshadow Eugenius III's pontificate; he is, in many ways, inseparable from Eugenius's occupancy of the throne of St Peter. Eugenius was drawn into existing problems in which Bernard had already immersed himself, such as the case of the disputed election to the archbishopric of York. As Emilia Jamroziak demonstrates in her essay, Eugenius's involvement in the question was coloured by the mode of his introduction to the affair. In the same letter Bernard first congratulated Eugenius, in ambivalent terms, on his election, then, having established the nature of their newly reversed relationship as father and son, launched into his own version of the problematic election and the conduct of the archbishop, William Fitzherbert.¹³ Dependence on Bernard's views seems to be the hallmark of Eugenius's own attitude to the question.

Dependence on Bernard is often, likewise, seen as a striking feature of the preaching of the Second Crusade, which Eugenius proclaimed in the letter *Quantum praedecessores* in December 1145. Eugenius's approach to the launching of the crusade is, inevitably, contrasted with that of Urban II in 1095, at least in respect of Eugenius's delegation of preaching to Bernard.¹⁴ Whereas Urban is associated indelibly with the First Crusade because of the dramatic narrative accounts of his preaching written by a group of chroniclers after the success of the crusade, the military failure of the Second Crusade serves only to expose the absence, in retrospect, of such a decisive moment. In fact, Eugenius's approach reflected both the development of holy war practices in the West since 1095 and the more business-like setup of the papal office fifty years after Urban. Eugenius's crusade was more centrally planned than Urban's, and, as Jonathan Phillips demonstrates, the pope's role in its multi-directional design and execution was critical. The Second Crusade featured a number of innovations, from the issue of the bull to the involvement of kings that reveals a considered and creative approach to holy war. For Eugenius, the threat to Frankish settlers in the East posed by the loss of Edessa in 1144 opened wider questions about the defence of Christendom and the meaning both of Urban's role in 1095 and of subsequent developments in the defence of the Holy Land.

13 E. Jamroziak, 'The Cistercians, Pope Eugenius III, and the Disputed York Election', Ch. 3, below.

14 E.g. H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1988), 95; C. Tyerman, *God's War: a new history of the crusades* (London, 2006), 275.

It was in Eugenius's pontificate that the papacy for the first time issued crusading privileges for war against the pagans of the Baltic region. Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt argues that Eugenius was, in a general sense, reactive rather than proactive in adopting this theatre of war under the crusading formula of *Quantum praedecessores*, but that he formed his own distinctive idea about the value of the Wendish expedition. The fact that Eugenius appears to have endorsed actions already taken by Bernard of Clairvaux in offering a crusade indulgence do not necessarily deny Eugenius agency in the planning of the Wendish Crusade; he personally met representatives of the crusaders in March 1147, before the issue of *Divini dispensatione*, the bull authorizing the expedition.¹⁵ Although undeniably influenced by Bernard, Eugenius was capable of understanding and articulating specific regional concerns within the wider framework of crusading that he was developing. This is also clear from contemporary remarks on the conduct of the crusade in the Iberian peninsula, where Eugenius encouraged the intervention of crusaders from northern Europe.¹⁶ Indeed, his actions in the period 1145–7 stamped papal authority over 'the business of the Cross'; an authority it would never lose.

The preaching and preparations for the crusade took Eugenius to France. This journey was in itself a major undertaking involving administrative, liturgical, and diplomatic complexities, here examined in detail for the first time by Anne Duggan. France provided the papal Curia with a place of refuge between March 1147 and May 1148, but it was important to be able to present the French sojourn in a positive light rather than simply as an escape from troubles in Rome. The council over which Eugenius presided at Reims in 1148 was thus an opportunity to exercise personal authority over the French Church at a time when the king was absent from the kingdom on crusade. As Pascal Montaubin demonstrates, the papacy was the Capetian kingdom's protector during this period, a position that reflects the relationship of trust that Eugenius had established with Louis VII, Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, and other high clergy since the issue of *Quantum praedecessores*. Eugenius was sensitive enough to realize that Suger should be left in effective control over most affairs, but his presence in France allowed him to consecrate new churches, to issue privileges, and to preside as judge over difficult cases in law. His continued concern for Capetian affairs is shown by the solicitude he showed to Louis and Eleanor of Aquitaine in trying to patch up their

¹⁵ For the title, see below Ch. 5, n. 52.

¹⁶ D. Smith, 'A Golden Rose and the Deaf Asp that Stoppeth her Ears: Eugenius III and Spain', below, Ch. 8.

failing marriage when they passed through Italy on return from the East in the autumn of 1149. John of Salisbury claimed that Eugenius loved more the Church in France than in any other kingdom of Christendom; certainly his pontificate cemented a relationship between Capetians and the papacy that was to have an enduring legacy.¹⁷

Involvement with 'national' Churches could only be fruitful where a good relationship existed with the Crown. The situation faced by Eugenius in the Iberian peninsula was entirely different from France owing to the fluid frontiers created by the Reconquista. The primacy of the archbishopric of Toledo had been recognized by Urban II in 1088 and by Eugenius's immediate predecessor as recently as 1144, but, as Damian Smith explains, the political implications of this, implying as they did recognition of the primacy of León-Castile, were by the 1140s no longer acceptable to other Christian rulers in the peninsula. The archbishop of Braga resisted formal recognition of Toledan primacy until 1150, while other prelates from bishoprics outside the Castilian political orbit found a variety of strategies to avoid such recognition. Eugenius's response to the problem was not invariably the same, and in the case of Pamplona he was unable to prevent the bishop from stalling for time.

Closer to home, Eugenius was eventually able to enforce his authority within Rome. The inauspicious start to his pontificate, and the need to rule from outside Rome for much of the time, can lead to an evaluation of Eugenius as a weak pope. John Doran, in the last essay he wrote before his tragically early death, argues the contrary: that Eugenius's consummate political skills allowed him to understand and to deal with the two besetting Roman problems, namely the commune and the city prefecture. Doran's claim that without Eugenius the pontificate of Innocent III would not have been possible is based on an appreciation of Eugenius's skill in compromising with the leadership of the commune so as to allow the restoration of the prefecture but in a limited capacity. Eventually Eugenius was able to use the Senate to dominate the administration of the city. Moreover, Eugenius used his periods of absence from Rome to establish papal control over the Roman patrimony. Brenda Bolton demonstrates how Eugenius's experience as *vicedominus* of Pisa before his election had already prepared him for the political and legal complexities of securing and managing large ecclesiastical estates, often in the face of determined secular lordship, and how he applied this experience in building up the papal patrimony. It is Eugenius,

17 JS *HistPont*, 62, c.30.

she argues, rather than any of his successors, who deserves to be seen as the father of the Papal States.

Eugenius had been a Cistercian monk at the time of his election for much less time than he had been a priest, cathedral canon, and ecclesiastical administrator. Because he was the first Cistercian to become pope, however, his pontificate is inescapably seen in terms of his 'Cistercianism'. Two essays in this volume discuss the pope's involvement with his monastic congregation. Stuart Morgan's examination of the privileges granted to the Cistercians between 1145 and 1153 finds that a subtle shift occurred under Eugenius in the relationship between Cistercian houses in England and episcopal authority, exemplified by the absence of the words referring to bishops in the clause 'salva sedis apostolice auctoritate et diocesani episcopi' in some instances. At the same time, Eugenius shared Bernard's misgivings about privileges freeing monastic communities from episcopal oversight, and showed little inclination to use his authority to loosen such ties. In general, Eugenius's pontificate saw the increasing tendency towards centralization within the congregation, especially after his reissue of the *Carta caritatis* in 1152. Discussing the Cistercian chapter-general of 1147, Clare Oglesby compares Eugenius's approach to his own monastic brethren with that shown to two other new reforming congregations, the Gilbertines and the community founded by Stephen of Obazine. Siding with those who have dismissed Constance Berman's argument against the existence of a chapter-general in that year, Oglesby shows that not only did it take place but that Eugenius's role in the decision to absorb Obazine into the Cistercian congregation was critical. Equally, the decision not to absorb Gilbert of Sempringham's communities owed much to Eugenius's judgment that Gilbert should himself lead his distinctive monastic foundation.¹⁸

A little over one-third of all the letters emanating from the papal chancery in Eugenius's reign were concerned with petitions from monasteries in respect of alleged encroachments on their possessions or rights. Two cases discussed by Andrew Jotischky from the kingdom of Jerusalem, that bear comparison with a celebrated dispute between the abbey of Vézelay and the bishopric of Autun, show Eugenius at work. Although he decided in favour of the Benedictine community of Notre-Dame de Josaphat in disputes with the archbishopric of Nazareth over presentations of clergy and tithes, it would be difficult to argue that he did so because as a monk

18 C. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution. The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000), 143; see now J. Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, Borthwick Studies and Texts, 35 (York, 2006), xxv–xxvii.

he was predisposed to side with monasteries. His judgment rested, rather, on the quality of the evidence submitted to him. Local considerations were also important. In so far as the judgment appears to contradict a ruling he later made against monks fulfilling parochial ministries, this probably reflected the needs of a Church on the frontier of Christendom where Latin parish clergy were scarce.

Eugenius's judgment in the case of Gilbert of Poitiers may have been significant, as Christoph Egger observes, in demonstrating the increasing self-confidence of Eugenius's cardinalate, perhaps at the same time serving to loosen Eugenius's dependence on Bernard of Clairvaux. There are other clear signs that during his pontificate he either developed or was able to give voice to interests and concerns that were not previously apparent in his career. One of these is exemplified by his interest in the work of Anselm of Havelberg, the German bishop who, besides his important role in the Wendish Crusade, also had wide experience as a papal diplomat in the Greek Orthodox world. Perhaps as a result of his contact with Anselm, Eugenius sought Latin scholarly knowledge of Orthodox patristics, and Burgundio – like the pope, a Pisan – dedicated translations of John Chrysostom's *Homilies* to him. Eugenius's growing interest in the wider Christian world is also signalled in his reception of Armenian envoys in the winter of 1145, and his invitation to them to observe the celebration of a Pontifical High Mass.

It was as he was celebrating Mass on this occasion, Otto of Freising reports, that a halo-shaped sunbeam was clearly seen to frame the pope's head.¹⁹ Even his most fervent admirers have not claimed sanctity for Eugenius, and it would be difficult to find one single outstanding achievement that characterized his pontificate. He struggled with many aspects of the papal office, and he did not succeed in every initiative. He failed to reconcile Louis VII with Eleanor, some of his judgments were reversed by his successors, and he was unable in the end to deal with Arnold of Brescia and the commune. Most signally, his crusading enterprise in the East was crowned with failure. Nevertheless, he showed himself more than capable of shouldering the burden that in 1145 his mentor doubted he could manage. He was a pope of wide accomplishments, of practical wisdom and personal integrity, and his pontificate saw the papacy develop significantly in its pursuit of progressive, centralized governance of the Church.

19 *Duabus civitatibus*, 360–3 (vii.32).

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