

THE CRUSADES

A Reader

Second Edition

edited by
S.J. Allen
and Emilie Amt

READINGS IN MEDIEVAL
CIVILIZATIONS AND
CULTURES: VIII

the same day at a station called Mansocrenae, which is under Mount Taurus, I stayed there. On the next day, going along the foot of Mount Taurus, and traveling by the route that was already known to me, through each province that I had traversed on my way out, to wit, Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, I arrived at Chalcedon, where I stayed for the sake of the very famous martyr memorial of St. Euphemia, which was already known to me from a former time.

On the next day, crossing the sea, I arrived at Constantinople, giving thanks to Christ our God who deigned to give me such grace, unworthy and undeserving as I am, for he had deigned to give me not only the will to go, but also the power of walking through the places that I desired, and of returning at last to Constantinople. When I had arrived there, I went through all the churches—that of the apostles and all the martyr-memorials, of which there are very many—and I ceased not to give thanks to Jesus our God, who had thus deigned to bestow his mercy upon me. From which place, ladies, light of my eyes, while I send these [letters] to your affection, I have already decided, in the name of Christ our God, to go to Ephesus in Asia, for the sake of prayer, because of the memorial of the holy and blessed apostle John. And if after this I am yet in the body, and am able to see any other places, I will either tell it to your affection in person, if God deigns to permit me this, or, if I have another project in mind, I will send you news of it in a letter. But do you, ladies, light of my eyes, deign to remember me, whether I am in the body or out of the body.

Jerusalem

... [The anniversaries of the] days when the holy church in Golgotha, which they call the martyrrium, was consecrated to God are called "the days of dedication"; the holy church also which is at the Anastasis, that is, in the place where the Lord rose after his Passion [that is, his suffering and death], was consecrated to God on that day. The dedication of these holy churches is therefore celebrated with the highest honor, because the cross of the Lord was found on this same day. And it was so ordained that, when the holy churches above mentioned were first consecrated, that should be the day when the cross of the Lord had been found, in order that the whole celebration should be made together, with all rejoicing, on the self-same day. Moreover, it appears from the Holy Scriptures that this is also the day of dedication, when holy Solomon, having finished the house of God which he had built, stood before the altar of God and prayed, as it is written in the books of the Chronicles [2 Chron. 6, 7:8-10].

So when these days of dedication come, they are kept for eight days. And people begin to assemble from all parts many days before; not only monks and *apostolici* from various provinces, from Mesopotamia and Syria, from Egypt and the Thebaid (where there are very many monks), and from every different

place and province—for there is none who does not turn his steps to Jerusalem on that day for such rejoicing and for such high days—but lay people too in like manner, both men and women, with faithful minds, gather together in Jerusalem from every province on those days, for the sake of the holy day. And the bishops, even when they have been few, are present to the number of forty or fifty in Jerusalem on these days, and with them come many of their clergy.

But why should I say more? For he who on these days has not been present at so solemn a feast thinks that he has committed a very great sin, unless some necessity, which keeps a man back from carrying out a good resolution, has hindered him. Now on these days of the dedication the adornment of all the churches is the same as at Easter and at Epiphany; also on each day the procession is made to the several holy places, as at Easter and at Epiphany. For on the first and second days it is to the greater church, which is called the martyrrium.

On the third day it is to Eleona, that is, the church which is on that mount from which the Lord ascended into heaven after his Passion, and in this church is the cave wherein the Lord used to teach his apostles on the Mount of Olives.

Questions: What was a pilgrim's experience like? What kinds of sites did Etheria visit and describe? What activities did she engage in? What sort of Christian presence existed in the places visited by Etheria? Etheria is from Spain; what is her attitude toward the Middle Eastern Christians? Is there any recognition in her narrative of a non-Christian population? For what audience was she writing, and what was her purpose?

2. AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO ON THE JUST WAR

Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) was one of the most influential early Christian theologians, helping to shape medieval thinking on a wide variety of topics. In the passages below, he discusses whether and when a Christian may rightly engage in violence. In the face of a strong pacifist strain in early Christian thought, Augustine was an important voice for the use of force. His arguments, though informed by biblical examples and a Christian approach, are based on the ancient secular concept of the just war, which must meet certain objective criteria.

Source: trans. R. Stothert, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, Vol. 4, *Augustine: The Writings against the Manichaeans, and against the Donatists*, ed. P. Schaff (Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company, 1897), pp. 300-03; revised.

73. According to the eternal law, which requires the preservation of natural order, and forbids the transgression of it, some actions have an indifferent [that is, neutral] character, so that men are blamed for presumption if they do them

without being called upon, while they are deservedly praised for doing them when required. The act, the agent, and the authority for the action are all of great importance in the order of nature. For Abraham to sacrifice his son of his own accord is shocking madness. His doing so at the command of God proves him faithful and submissive. . . .

74. . . . [The] account of the wars of Moses will not excite surprise or abhorrence, for in wars carried on by divine command, he showed not ferocity but obedience; and God, in giving the command, acted not in cruelty, but in righteous retribution, giving to all what they deserved, and warning those who needed warning. What is the evil in war? Is it the death of some who will soon die in any case, that others may live in peaceful subjection? This is mere cowardly dislike, not any religious feeling. The real evils in war are love of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity, wild resistance, and the lust of power, and such like; and it is generally to punish these things, when force is required to inflict the punishment; that, in obedience to God or some lawful authority, good men undertake wars, when they find themselves in such a position as regards the conduct of human affairs, that right conduct requires them to act, or to make others act, in this way. Otherwise John [the Baptist], when the soldiers who came to be baptized asked, "What shall we do?" would have replied, "Throw away your arms; give up the service; never strike, or wound, or disable anyone." But knowing that such actions in battle were not murderous, but authorized by law, and that the soldiers did not thus avenge themselves, but defended the public safety, he replied, "Do violence to no one, accuse no one falsely, and be content with your wages." . . . Again, in the case of the centurion who said, "I am a man under authority, and have soldiers under me: and I say to one, 'Go,' and he goes; and to another, 'Come,' and he comes; and to my servant, 'Do this,' and he does it," Christ gave due praise to his faith; he did not tell him to leave the service. But there is no need here to enter on the long discussion of just and unjust wars.

75. A great deal depends on the causes for which men undertake wars, and on the authority they have for doing so; for the natural order, which seeks the peace of humankind, ordains that the monarch should have the power of undertaking war if he thinks it advisable, and that the soldiers should perform their military duties in behalf of the peace and safety of the community. When war is undertaken in obedience to God, who would rebuke, or humble, or crush our human pride, it must be allowed to be a righteous war; for even the wars which arise from human passion cannot harm the eternal well-being of God, nor even hurt his saints; for in the trial of their patience, and the chastening of their spirit, and in bearing fatherly correction, they are rather benefited than injured. No one can have any power against them but what is given him from above. For there is no power but of God, who either orders or permits.

Since, therefore, a righteous man, serving perhaps under an ungodly king, may do the duty belonging to his position in the state in fighting by the order of his sovereign—for in some cases it is plainly the will of God that he should fight, and in others, where this is not so plain, it may be an unrighteous command on the part of the king, while the soldier is innocent, because his position makes obedience a duty—how much more must the one be blameless who carries on war on the authority of God, of whom everyone who serves him knows that he can never require what is wrong?

76. If it is supposed that God could not enjoin warfare, because in after times it was said by the Lord Jesus Christ, "I say unto you, that you resist not evil: but if anyone strike you on the right cheek, turn to him the left also," the answer is that what is here required is not a bodily action but an inward disposition. . . . Thus the name martyrs, which means witnesses, was given to those who, by the will of God, bore this testimony, by their confessions, their sufferings, and their death. The number of such witnesses is so great that, if it pleased Christ . . . to unite them all in one army, and to give them success in battle, as he gave to the Hebrews, what nation could withstand them? What kingdom would remain unsubdued? But as the doctrine of the New Testament is that we must serve God not for temporal happiness in this life, but for eternal felicity hereafter, this truth was most strikingly confirmed by the patient endurance of what is commonly called adversity for the sake of that felicity. So in the fullness of time the Son of God . . . sends his disciples as sheep into the midst of wolves, and bids them not fear those that can kill the body, but cannot kill the soul, and promises that even the body will be entirely restored, so that not a hair shall be lost. Peter's sword he orders back into its sheath, restoring, as it was before, the ear of his enemy that had been cut off. He says that he could obtain legions of angels to destroy his enemies, but that he must drink the cup which his Father's will had given him. He sets the example of drinking this cup, then hands it to his followers, manifesting thus, both in word and in deed, the grace of patience. . . .

78. It is therefore mere groundless calumny to charge Moses with making war, for there would have been less harm in making war of his own accord, than in not doing it when God commanded him. And to dare to find fault with God himself for giving such a command, or not to believe that a just and good God did so, shows, to say the least, an inability to consider that in the view of divine providence, which pervades all things from the highest to the lowest, time can neither add anything nor take away; but all things go, or come, or remain according to the order of nature or what is deserved in each separate case, while in humans a right will is in union with the divine law, and ungoverned passion is restrained by the order of divine law; so that a good person wills only what is commanded, and a bad one can do only what he is

permitted, at the same time that he is punished for what he wills to do unjustly. Thus, in all the things which appear shocking and terrible to human feebleness, the real evil is the injustice; the rest is only the result of natural properties or of moral demerit. . . . Still, we are sure that all these things are due either to the mercy or the judgment of God, while the measures and numbers and weights by which the Creator of all natural productions arranges all things are concealed from our view. For God is not the author, but he is the controller of sin; so that sinful actions, which are sinful because they are against nature, are judged and controlled, and assigned to their proper place and condition, in order that they may not bring discord and disgrace on universal nature. This being the case, and as the judgments of God and the movements of man's will contain the hidden reason why the same prosperous circumstances which some make a right use of are the ruin of others, and since our whole mortal life upon earth is a trial, who can tell whether it may be good or bad in any particular case—in time of peace, to reign or to serve, or to be at ease or to die—or in time of war, to command or to fight, to conquer or to be killed? At the same time, it remains true that whatever is good is so by the divine blessing, and whatever is bad is so by the divine judgment.

Questions: What criteria make war acceptable or "righteous"? What are the potential benefits of war? What are the dangers? How does Augustine answer the argument that Christ was a pacifist? How might Augustine's ideas about war be applied to a Christian offensive against non-Christians?

3. THE QUR'AN

The religion known as Islam was founded in the early seventh century by the prophet Mohammed, an Arab whose mystical visions led directly to the recording of the Qur'an (also spelled "Koran"), the holy book of Islam. Muslims believe the Qur'an is the word of Allah (the God of the Old Testament) as revealed directly to Mohammed. It occupies a place in Islam that is even more important than that of the Bible in Christianity. The following excerpts from the Qur'an discuss the Islamic view of war and interfaith relations.

Source: trans. R. Khalifa, *Quran: The Final Testament* (Tucson, AZ: Islamic Productions, 1989), pp. 29-30, 34, 42, 64, 76, 105, 110-11, 117, 119, 178, 350.

Sura 2

. . . 190. You shall fight in the cause of God against those who attack you, but do not aggress. God does not love the aggressors.

191. You may kill those who wage war against you, and you may evict them whence they evicted you, for oppression is worse than murder. Do not fight them at the sacred mosque, unless they attack you therein. If they attack you, you may kill them. This is the just retribution for such disbelievers.

192. If they refrain, then God is forgiving, most merciful.

193. You can also fight them to counter oppression, and to worship God freely. If they refrain, do not aggress, except against the aggressors.

194. Even during the sacred months, any aggression shall be met by an equivalent response. Thus, if they attack you, you may counter attack to inflict an equitable punishment. Observe God, and know that God is with the righteous.

195. You shall spend in the cause of God; do not throw yourselves with your own hands into destruction. You shall be charitable; God loves the charitable. . . .

216. Fighting may be forced upon you, though you do not like it. But you may dislike something which is actually good for you, and you may like something which is actually bad for you. God knows while you do not know.

217. They ask you about fighting during the sacred months; say, "Fighting therein is a sacrilege. But repelling from the path of God, disbelieving in him and in the sanctity of the sacred mosque, and evicting its people therefrom are greater sacrileges in the sight of God. For oppression is worse than murder." They will continue to fight you in order to revert you from your religion, if they can. Those among you who revert from their religion, and die as disbelievers, have wasted all their works in this life and in the hereafter. These will be dwellers of hell, wherein they abide forever. . . .

256. There shall be no compulsion in religion: the right way is now distinguished from the wrong way. Thus, anyone who denounces the devil and believes in God, has gotten hold of the strongest bond that never breaks. God is hearer, omniscient.

Sura 3

. . . 113. They are not all the same; among the followers of the scripture [that is, Jews and Christians as well as Muslims], there are those who are righteous. They recite God's revelations through the night, and they fall prostrate.

114. They believe in God and the Last Day, they advocate righteousness and forbid evil, and they hasten to do righteous works. They are with the righteous.

115. Any good they do will not go unrewarded. God is fully aware of who the righteous are. . . .

195. Their Lord responded to them [that is, the believers]: "I never fail to reward any worker among you for your work, be you male or female; you are equal to one another. Therefore, those who immigrate, and those who are evicted from their homes—those who are persecuted because of me—and

Source: trans. J.R. Marcus, *The Jew in the Medieval World, A Source Book: 315-1791* (Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1938), pp. 13-15.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate!

This is a writing to Omar from the Christians of such and such a city. When you [Muslims] marched against us [Christians], we asked of you protection for ourselves, our posterity, our possessions, and our co-religionists; and we made this stipulation with you, that we will not erect in our city or the suburbs any new monastery, church, cell, or hermitage; that we will not repair any of such buildings that may fall into ruins, or renew those that may be situated in the Muslim quarters of the town; that we will not refuse the Muslims entry into our churches either by night or by day; that we will open the gates wide to passengers and travelers; that we will receive any Muslim traveler into our houses and give him food and lodging for three nights; that we will not harbor any spy in our churches or houses, or conceal any enemy of the Muslims.

That we will not teach our children the Quran; that we will not make a show of the Christian religion nor invite anyone to embrace it; that we will not prevent any of our kinsmen from embracing Islam, if they so desire. That we will honor the Muslims and rise up in our assemblies when they wish to take their seats; that we will not imitate them in our dress, either in the cap, turban, sandals, or parting of the hair; that we will not make use of their expressions of speech, nor adopt their surnames; that we will not ride on saddles, or gird with swords, or take to ourselves arms or wear them, or engrave Arabic inscriptions on our rings; that we will not sell wine; that we will shave the front of our heads; that we will wear girdles [that is, belts] round our waists.

That we will not display the cross upon our churches or display our crosses or our sacred books in the streets of the Muslims, or in their market-places; that we will strike the clappers in our churches lightly; that we will not recite our services in a loud voice when a Muslim is present; that we will not carry palm-branches [on Palm Sunday] or our [saints'] images in procession in the streets; that at the burial of our dead we will not chant loudly or carry lighted candles in the streets of the Muslims or their market-places; that we will not take any slaves that have already been in the possession of Muslims, nor spy into their houses; and that we will not strike any Muslim.

All this we promise to observe, on behalf of ourselves and our co-religionists, and receive protection from you in exchange; and if we violate any of the conditions of this agreement, then we forfeit your protection and you are at liberty to treat us as enemies and rebels.

Questions: How is the subordinate status of the Christians expressed in the terms of this document? Why do the Muslims want the Christians to promise not to teach the Qur'an,

dress like Muslims, or adopt Muslim customs? What are the long-term implications of the prohibition on repairing churches? How does this form of agreement compare with the pact made with the Christians of Damascus (doc. 4)?

6. EARLY INDULGENCES

As the Muslims began to spread through the Iberian peninsula and to venture across the Pyrenees, they encountered the armies of the Franks, the Germanic people who controlled much of western Europe from 500 to 900 and whose core territory would later be known as France. Frankish leaders, who were allied with the papacy, sometimes emphasized the religious aspect of their struggle against the Muslims in Spain. In the documents below, two different popes describe how fighting against the Muslims affected the fate of the individual Frankish soul. The context of this theology of "indulgence" is the sacrament of penance, whereby a Christian must sincerely confess his or her sins and do penance in order to receive God's forgiveness and, after death, eternal life in heaven.

Source: trans. O.J. Thatcher and E.H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Mediaeval History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 511-12.

Pope Leo IV (847-855) to the Franks

Now we hope that none of you will be slain, but we wish you to know that the kingdom of heaven will be given as a reward to those who shall be killed in this war. For [God] the omnipotent knows that they lost their lives fighting for the truth of the faith, for the preservation of their country, and the defense of the Christians. And therefore God will give them the reward which we have named.

Pope John II, 878

John II to the bishops in the realm of Louis II [the Stammerer]. You have modestly expressed a desire to know whether those who have recently died in war, fighting in the defense of the church of God and for the preservation of the Christian religion and of the state, or those who may in the future fall in the same cause, may obtain indulgence for their sins. We confidently reply that those who, out of love to the Christian religion, shall die in battle fighting bravely against pagans or unbelievers, shall receive eternal life. For the Lord has said through his prophet: "In whatever hour a sinner shall be converted, I will remember his sins no longer." By the intercession of St. Peter, who has the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on the earth, we absolve, as far as is permissible, all such and commend them by our prayers to the Lord.

never possess you. For many a day have you been held by a right good lord, never will there be such another in France the free." . . .

And again Roland smote upon the brown stone and beyond all telling shattered it; the sword grates, but springs back again into the air and is neither dented nor broken. And when the count sees he may in no way break it, he laments, saying: "O Durendal, how fair and holy a thing you are! In your golden hilt is many a relic—a tooth of St. Peter, and some of the blood of St. Basil, and hairs from the head of my lord, St. Denis, and a bit of the raiment of the Virgin Mary. It is not right that you fall into the hands of the pagans; only Christians should wield you. May no coward ever possess you! Many wide lands have I conquered with you, lands which Charles of the white beard rules; and thereby is the emperor great and mighty."

Now Roland feels that death has come upon him, and that it creeps down from his head to his heart. In all haste he fares under a pine tree, and has cast himself down upon his face on the green grass. Under him he laid his sword and his horn of ivory; and he turned his face toward the pagan folk, for he wanted Charles and all his men to say that the gentle count had died a conqueror. Speedily and full often he confesses his sins, and in atonement he offers his glove to God. . . .

Count Roland lay under the pine tree; he has turned his face towards Spain, and he begins to call many things to remembrance—all the lands he had won by his valor, and sweet France, and the men of his lineage, and Charles, his liege lord, who had brought him up in his household; and he cannot help but weep. But he would not wholly forget himself and again he confesses his sins and begs forgiveness of God: "Our Father, who art truth, who raised up Lazarus from the dead, and who defended Daniel from the lions, save thou my soul from the perils to which it is brought through the sins I wrought in my life days." With his right hand he offers his glove to God, and St. Gabriel has taken it from his hand. Then his head sinks on his arm, and with clasped hands he has gone to his end. And God sent him his cherubim, and St. Michael of the seas, and with them went St. Gabriel, and they carried the soul of the count into paradise.

Questions: What are the qualities of the ideal knight, Roland? What is considered proper conduct in and after battle? What attitudes toward warfare are held by the characters in this text? Compare these with the ideas of Augustine (doc. 2). What is the role of religion in warfare?

9. DECLARATION OF THE TRUCE OF GOD

The eleventh century saw a peace movement in Europe whereby the church attempted to restrain internal violence and warfare by a series of decrees. In 1027 the first "Truce of

God" forbade fighting on Sundays and during the holy seasons of Lent and Advent; later the times of truce were extended. The truce was supplemented by various declarations of the "Peace of God," which prohibited harming certain individuals. The decree reprinted here was issued by the bishop of Cologne in Germany in 1083.

Source: trans. D.C. Munro, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, series 1, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Department of History, 1902), no. 2, pp. 9-12; revised.

Inasmuch as in our own times the church, through its members, has been extraordinarily afflicted by tribulations and difficulties, so that tranquility and peace were wholly despaired of, we have endeavored by God's help to aid it, suffering so many burdens and perils. And by the advice of our faithful subjects we have at length provided this remedy, so that we might to some extent re-establish, on certain days at least, the peace which, because of our sins, we could not make enduring. Accordingly we have enacted and set forth the following: having called together our parishioners to a legally summoned council, which was held at Cologne, the chief city of our province, in the church of St. Peter, in the 1083rd year of our Lord's incarnation, . . . after arranging other business, we have caused to be read in public what we proposed to do in this matter. After this had been for some time fully discussed "pro and con" by all, it was unanimously agreed upon, both the clergy and the people consenting, and we declared in what manner and during what parts of the year it ought to be observed:

Namely, that from the first day of the Advent of our Lord through Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost and through that whole day, and throughout the year on every Sunday, Friday, and Saturday, and on the fast days of the four seasons, and on the eve and the day of all the apostles, and on all days canonically set apart—or which shall in the future be set apart—for fasts or feasts, this decree of peace shall be observed, so that both those who travel and those who remain at home may enjoy security and the most entire peace, so that no one may commit murder, arson, robbery, or assault, no one may injure another with a sword, club, or any kind of weapon, and so that no one irritated by any wrong, from the Advent of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost, may presume to carry arms, shield, sword, or lance, or moreover any kind of armor. On the remaining days indeed, that is on Sundays, Fridays, apostles' days, and the vigils of the apostles, and on every day set aside, or to be set aside, for fasts or feasts, bearing arms shall be legal, but on this condition, that no injury shall be done in any way to anyone. If it shall be necessary for anyone in the time of the decreed peace—i.e., from the Advent

of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost—to go from one bishopric into another in which the peace is not observed, he may bear arms, but on the condition that he shall not injure anyone, except in self-defense if he is attacked; and when he returns into our diocese he shall immediately lay aside his arms. If it shall happen that any castle is besieged during the days which are included in the peace, the besiegers shall cease from attack unless they are set upon by the besieged and compelled to beat the latter back.

And in order that this statute of peace should not be violated by anyone rashly or with impunity, a penalty was fixed by the common consent of all; if a free man or noble violates it, i.e., commits homicide or wounds anyone or is at fault in any manner whatsoever, he shall be expelled from our territory, without any indulgence on account of the payment of money or the intercession of friends, and his heirs shall take all his property; if he holds a fief, the lord to whom it belongs shall receive it again. Moreover, if it is learned that his heirs after his expulsion have furnished him any support or aid, and if they are convicted of it, the estate shall be taken from them and given to the king. But if they wish to clear themselves of the charge against them, they shall take an oath with twelve men who are equally free or equally noble. If a slave kills a man, he shall be beheaded; if he wounds a man, he shall lose a hand; if he does an injury in any other way with his fist or a club, or by striking with a stone, he shall be shorn and flogged. If, however, he is accused and wishes to prove his innocence, he shall clear himself by the ordeal of cold water, but he must himself be put into the water and no one else in his place; if, however, fearing the sentence decreed against him, he flees, he shall be under a perpetual excommunication; and if he is known to be in any place, letters shall be sent thither, in which it shall be announced to all that he is excommunicate, and that it is unlawful for anyone to associate with him. In the case of boys who have not yet completed their twelfth year, the hand ought not to be cut off; but only in the case of those who are twelve years or more of age. Nevertheless if boys fight, they shall be whipped and deterred from fighting.

It is not an infringement of the peace if anyone orders his delinquent slave, pupil, or anyone in any way under his charge to be chastised with rods or cudgels. It is also an exception to this constitution of peace, if the lord king publicly orders an expedition to attack the enemies of the kingdom or is pleased to hold a council to judge the enemies of justice. The peace is not violated if, during the time, the duke or other counts, advocates, or their substitutes hold courts and inflict punishment legally on thieves, robbers, or other criminals.

The statute of this imperial peace is especially enacted for the security of those engaged in feuds; but after the end of the peace, they are not to dare to rob and plunder in the villages and houses, because the laws and penalties

enacted before the institution of the peace are still legally valid to restrain them from crime, moreover because robbers and highwaymen are excluded from this divine peace or indeed from any peace.

If anyone attempts to oppose this pious institution and is unwilling to promise peace to God . . . or to observe it, no priest in our diocese shall presume to say a mass for him or shall take any care for his salvation; if he is sick, no Christian shall dare to visit him; on his deathbed he shall not receive the Eucharist, unless he repents. The supreme authority of the peace promised to God and commonly extolled by all will be so great that it will be observed not only in our times, but forever among our posterity, because if anyone shall presume to infringe, destroy, or violate it, either now or ages hence, at the end of the world, he is irrevocably excommunicated by us.

The infliction of the above-mentioned penalties on the violators of the peace is no more in the power of the counts, centenaries, or officials, than in that of the whole people in common; and they are to be especially careful not to show friendship or hatred or to do anything contrary to justice in punishing, and not to conceal the crimes, if they can be hidden, but to bring them to light. No one is to receive money for the release of those taken in fault, or to attempt to aid the guilty by any favor of any kind, because whoever does this incurs the intolerable damnation of his soul; and all the faithful ought to remember that this peace has not been promised to men, but to God, and therefore must be observed all the more rigidly and firmly. Wherefore we exhort all in Christ to guard inviolably this necessary contract of peace, and if anyone hereafter presumes to violate it, let him be damned by the ban of irrevocable excommunication and by the anathema of eternal perdition.

In the churches, however, and in the cemeteries of the churches, honor and reverence are to be paid to God, so that if any robber or thief flees thither, he is by no means to be killed or seized, but he is to remain there until by urgent hunger he is compelled to surrender. If any person presumes to furnish arms or food to the criminal or to aid him in flight, the same penalty shall be inflicted on him as on the criminal. Moreover, by our ban we interdict laymen from punishing the transgressions of the clergy and those living under this order; but if seized in open crime, they shall be handed over to their bishop. In cases in which laymen are to be mutilated, the clergy are to be suspended from office, and with the consent of the laymen they are to suffer frequent fasts and floggings until they atone.

Questions: How violent was medieval European society? What does the decree reveal about problems of law and order? What does it reveal about the position and ambitions of the church? How likely was it that the Truce of God would noticeably reduce violence? What forms of violence were still permissible?

imperial camp. When Diogenes saw this, he ordered all his forces to regroup, but there was no one to heed his summons, for Tarkhaniat and the other [Greek] magnates had returned to Constantinople with their troops. When the emperor learned of this, he realized the treachery of his own [Greeks]. So the battle continued the next day. In the morning hours the battle trumpet was sounded, and heralds went forth and proclaimed the wishes of the emperor Diogenes; he promised honors, high positions, and jurisdiction over the towns and districts to all those who would courageously fight against the [Turkish] forces. Soon the sultan, very well organized, advanced into battle against the [Greek] troops. At that point the emperor Diogenes went forth and reached a place of battle near [Manzikert], called Toghotaḡ. There he placed the Uz and Pecheneg mercenaries on his right and left flanks and the other troops on his van and rear. When the battle grew intense, the Uz and Pechenegs went over to the side of the sultan.

At that point all the [Greek] troops were defeated and turned in complete flight. Countless [Greek] troops were slaughtered and many captives were taken. The emperor Diogenes himself was taken prisoner and brought into the presence of the sultan in chains, together with countless and innumerable captives. After a short while the sultan made an alliance of peace and friendship with the [Greek] emperor. Then the sultan adopted Diogenes as his blood brother and took an oath to God as a guarantee of his sincerity; moreover, with a solemn oath he pledged that there would be perpetual friendship and harmony between the [Turks] and the [Greeks]. After all this with great pomp Alp Arslan sent the emperor back to Constantinople, to his imperial throne.

When Diogenes reached Sebastia, news came to him that Michael, the son of Duca, occupied the imperial throne. At this all the emperor's troops abandoned him and fled, and so he was forced to take refuge in the city of Adana. The emperor Michael's forces gathered against him. Diogenes, in turn, because of the danger in which he found himself, put on the garments of an *abeghaya* [that is, a monk] and, going to the [Greek] general who was the brother of Duca, said: "You no longer need to worry about me, for henceforth I intend to live in a monastery; let Michael be emperor and may God be with him." Notwithstanding all this, on that same day the [Greek] nation once again crucified God as had the Jews, for they tore out the eyes of Diogenes, their very own sovereign, who then died from the intense pain [of the blinding]. When Alp Arslan heard this, he wept bitterly and regretted the death of Diogenes. Then the sultan said: "The [Greek] nation has no God, so this day the oath of peace and friendship taken by both the [Turks] and the [Greeks] is nullified; henceforth I shall consume with the sword all

those people who venerate the cross, and all the lands of the Christians shall be enslaved."

Questions: What sense of historical causation is evident in this text? What tensions within the Byzantine Empire are revealed? How does the Armenian Christian viewpoint influence the content of the account? Compare this story with the extracts from the Song of Roland (doc. 8).

II. GREGORY VII'S CALL FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE GREEKS

The second capture of Manzikert by the Seljuks, described in the preceding narrative by Matthew of Edessa, led directly to the following document, issued in 1074. In it, Pope Gregory VII urges European Christians to intervene against the Seljuk Turks on behalf of the Byzantine Greeks. His call was largely ignored.

Source: trans. O.J. Thatcher and E.H. McNeal, *A Sourcebook for Medieval History, Selected Documents Illustrating the History of Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 512-13.

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all who are willing to defend the Christian faith, greeting and apostolic benediction.

We hereby inform you that the bearer of this letter, on his recent return from across the sea [that is, from Palestine], came to Rome to visit us. He repeated what we had heard from many others, that a pagan race had overcome the Christians and, with horrible cruelty, had devastated everything almost to the walls of Constantinople, and were now governing the conquered lands with tyrannical violence, and that they had slain many thousands of Christians as if they were but sheep. If we love God and wish to be recognized as Christians, we should be filled with grief at the misfortune of this great [Greek] empire and the murder of so many Christians. But simply to grieve is not our whole duty. The example of our Redeemer and the bond of fraternal love demand that we should lay down our lives to liberate them. "Because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren" [I John 3:16]. Know, therefore, that we are trusting in the mercy of God and in the power of his might and that we are striving in all possible ways and making preparations to render aid to the Christian [Greek] Empire as quickly as possible. Therefore, we beseech you by the faith in which you are united through Christ in the adoption of the sons of God, and by the authority of St. Peter, prince of apostles, we admonish you that you be moved to proper

compassion by the wounds and blood of your brethren and the danger of the aforesaid empire and that, for the sake of Christ, you undertake the difficult task of bearing aid to your brethren [the Greeks]. Send messengers to us at once to inform us what God may inspire you to do in this matter.

Questions: What exactly does Gregory ask for in this document? How does he justify the call? Who is his intended audience? How does he try to appeal to that audience? How does this letter meet the criteria laid out in Augustine's discussion of justifiable war (doc. 2)?

CHAPTER TWO

THE FIRST CRUSADE

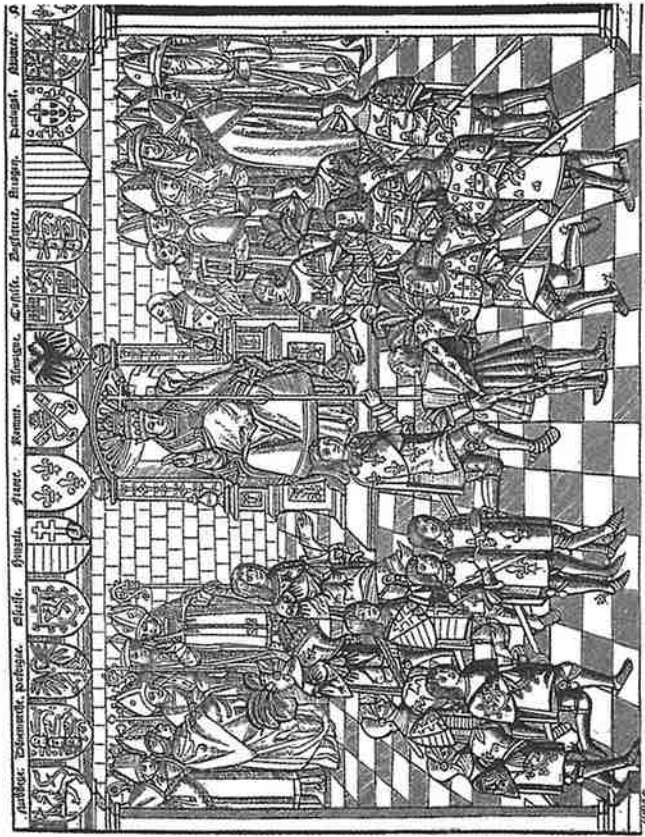


Fig. 2.1: The Council of Clermont, 1095, in a fifteenth-century woodcut. Pope Urban II preaches the First Crusade to an assembly of churchmen and knights. From P. Lacroix, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874).

12. URBAN II'S CALL FOR A CRUSADE

In March 1095, envoys from the Byzantine emperor Alexius I addressed Pope Urban II at a church council at Piacenza, describing Constantinople's urgent need for soldiers to supplement his existing mercenaries and home guard in the fight against the Turks. The envoys' words are not recorded, but it is clear that they wanted the pope to recruit European soldiers to serve in Alexius's army.

A few months later, in November, the crusading movement was launched at the close of a general church council at Clermont in France, when Urban delivered a sermon that responded to Alexius's plea by calling upon European Christians to rescue the Holy Land from Muslim occupation. Below are four accounts of this address, all by churchmen and all written after the conclusion of the First Crusade. Fulcher of Chartres, Robert the Monk, and Baldric of Dol are all believed to have been present at the council. Evidence also suggests that some, if not all, of these accounts were based on earlier records of this event.

Sources: Fulcher and Robert: trans. O.J. Thatcher and E.H. McNeal, *A Source Book for Medieval History: Selected Documents Illustrating the History of Europe in the Middle Ages* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), pp. 514, 516–21, revised; Baldric and Guibert: trans. A.C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-witnesses and Participants* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1921), pp. 33–40.

Fulcher of Chartres

"Most beloved brethren: Urged by necessity, I, Urban, by the permission of God chief bishop and prelate over the whole world, have come into these parts as an ambassador with a divine admonition to you, the servants of God. . . .

"Although, O sons of God, you have promised more firmly than ever to keep the peace among yourselves and to preserve the rights of the church, there remains still an important work for you to do. Freshly quickened by the divine correction, you must apply the strength of your righteousness to another matter which concerns you as well as God. For your brethren who live in the east are in urgent need of your help, and you must hasten to give them the aid which has often been promised them. For, as most of you have heard, the Turks and Arabs have attacked them and have conquered the territory of Romania [that is, the Greek empire] as far west as the shore of the Mediterranean and the Hellespont, which is called the Arm of St. George. They have occupied more and more of the lands of those Christians, and have overcome them in seven battles. They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches and devastated the empire. If you permit them to continue thus for a while with impunity, the faithful of God will be much more widely attacked by them. On this account I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish

this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, footsoldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. I say this to those who are present, but it is meant also for those who are absent. Moreover, Christ commands it.

"All who die by the way, whether by land or by sea, or in battle against the pagans, shall have immediate remission of sins. This I grant them through the power of God with which I am invested. O what a disgrace, if such a despised and base race, which worships demons, should conquer a people which has the faith of omnipotent God and is made glorious with the name of Christ! With what reproaches will the Lord overwhelm us if you do not aid those who, with us, profess the Christian religion! Let those who have been accustomed to wage unjust private warfare against the faithful now go against the infidels and end with victory this war which should have been begun long ago. Let those who for a long time have been robbers now become knights. Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians. Let those who have been serving as mercenaries for small pay now obtain the eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out in both body and soul now work for a double honor. Behold! on this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on that, the rich; on this side, the enemies of the Lord, on that, his friends. Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses; and as soon as winter is over and spring comes, let them eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide."

Robert the Monk

In 1095 a great council was held at Auvergne, in the city of Clermont. Pope Urban II, accompanied by cardinals and bishops, presided over it. It was made famous by the presence of many bishops and princes from France and Germany. After the council had attended to ecclesiastical matters, the pope went out into a public square, because no house was able to hold the people, and addressed them in a very persuasive speech, as follows:

"O race of Franks, O people who live beyond the mountains [that is, from Rome], O people loved and chosen by God, as is clear from your many deeds, distinguished over all other nations by the situation of your land, your catholic faith, and your regard for the holy church, we have a special message and exhortation for you. For we wish you to know what a grave matter has brought us to your country. The sad news has come from Jerusalem and Constantinople that the people of Persia, an accursed and foreign race, enemies of God, 'a generation that set not their heart aright, and whose spirit was not steadfast with God' [Ps. 78:8], have invaded the lands of those Christians and devastated

them with the sword, rapine, and fire. Some of the Christians they have carried away as slaves; others they have put to death.' The churches they have either destroyed or turned into mosques. They desecrate and overthrow the altars. They circumcise the Christians and pour the blood from the circumcision on the altars or in the baptismal fonts. Some they kill in a horrible way by cutting open the abdomen, taking out a part of the entrails and tying them to a stake; they then beat them and compel them to walk until all their entrails are drawn out and they fall to the ground. Some they use as targets for their arrows. They compel some to stretch out their necks, and then they try to see whether they can cut off their heads with one stroke of the sword. It is better to say nothing of their horrible treatment of the women. They have taken from the Greek empire a tract of land so large that it takes more than two months to walk through it. Whose duty is it to avenge this and recover that land, if not yours? For to you more than to other nations the Lord has given the military spirit, courage, agile bodies, and the bravery to strike down those who resist you. Let your minds be stirred to bravery by the deeds of your forefathers, and by the efficiency and greatness of Charles the Great, and of Louis his son, and of the other kings who have destroyed Turkish kingdoms and established Christianity in their lands. You should be moved especially by the holy grave of our Lord and Savior which is now held by unclean peoples, and by the holy places which are treated with dishonor and irreverently befouled with their uncleanness.

"O bravest knights, descendants of unconquered ancestors, do not be weaker than they, but remember their courage. If you are kept back by your love for your children, relatives, and wives, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel: 'He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me' [Matt. 10:37]; 'and everyone that hath forsaken houses, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake shall receive a hundredfold and shall inherit everlasting life' [Matt. 19:29]. Let no possessions keep you back, no solicitude for your property. Your land is shut in on all sides by the sea and mountains and is too thickly populated. There is not much wealth here and the soil scarcely yields enough to support you. On this account you kill and devour each other, and carry on war and mutually destroy each other. Let your hatred and quarrels cease, your civil wars come to an end, and all your dissensions stop. Set out on the road to the holy sepulcher, take the land from that wicked people and make it your own. That land which, as the scripture says, is flowing with milk and honey, God gave to the children of Israel. Jerusalem is the best of all lands, more fruitful than all others, as it were a second paradise of delights. This land our Savior made illustrious by his birth, beautiful with his life, and sacred with his suffering; he redeemed it with his death and glorified it with his tomb. This royal city is now held captive by her enemies, and made pagan by those who know not God. She asks

and longs to be liberated and does not cease to beg you to come to her aid. She asks aid especially from you because, as I have said, God has given more of the military spirit to you than to other nations. Set out on this journey and you will obtain the remission of your sins and be sure of the incorruptible glory of the kingdom of heaven."

When Pope Urban had said this and much more of the same sort, all who were present were moved to cry out with one accord, "It is the will of God, it is the will of God." When the pope heard this he raised his eyes to heaven and gave thanks to God, and, commanding silence with a gesture of his hand, he said: "My dear brethren, today there is fulfilled in you that which the Lord says in the Gospel, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst' [Matt. 18:20]. For unless the Lord God had been in your minds you would not all have said the same thing. For although you spoke with many voices, nevertheless, it was one and the same thing that made you speak. So I say unto you, God, who put those words into your hearts, has caused you to utter them. Therefore let these words be your battle cry, because God caused you to speak them. Whenever you meet the enemy in battle, you shall all cry out, 'It is the will of God, it is the will of God.' And we do not command the old or weak to go, or those who cannot bear arms. No women shall go without their husbands, or brothers, or proper companions, for such would be a hindrance rather than a help, a burden rather than an advantage. Let the rich aid the poor and equip them for fighting and take them with them. Clergymen shall not go without the consent of their bishop, for otherwise the journey would be of no value to them. Nor will this pilgrimage be of any benefit to a layman if he goes without the blessing of his priest. Whoever therefore shall determine to make this journey and shall make a vow to God and shall offer himself as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God [Rom. 12:1], shall wear a cross on his brow or on his breast. And when he returns after having fulfilled his vow he shall wear the cross on his back. In this way he will obey the command of the Lord, 'Whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me is not worthy of me'" [Luke 14:27].

When these things had been done, while all prostrated themselves on the earth and beat their breasts, one of the cardinals, named Gregory, made confession for them, and they were given absolution for all their sins. After the absolution, they received the benediction and permission to go home.

Baldric of Dol

"We have heard, most beloved brethren, and you have heard what we cannot recount without deep sorrow—how, with great hurt and dire sufferings, our Christian brothers, members in Christ, are scourged, oppressed, and injured in

Jerusalem, in Antioch, and the other cities of the East. Your own blood-brothers, your companions, your associates (for you are sons of the same Christ and the same church) are either subjected in their inherited homes to other masters, or are driven from them, or they come as beggars among us; or, which is far worse, they are flogged and exiled as slaves for sale in their own land. Christian blood, redeemed by the blood of Christ, has been shed, and Christian flesh, akin to the flesh of Christ, has been subjected to unspeakable degradation and servitude. Everywhere in those cities there is sorrow, everywhere misery, everywhere groaning (I say it with a sigh). The churches in which divine mysteries were celebrated in olden times are now, to our sorrow, used as stables for the animals of these people! Holy men do not possess those cities; nay, base and bastard Turks hold sway over our brothers. The blessed Peter first presided as bishop at Antioch; behold, in his own church the gentiles [that is, the non-Christians] have established their superstitions, and the Christian religion, which they ought rather to cherish, they have basely shut out from the hall dedicated to God! The estates given for the support of the saints and the patrimony of nobles set aside for the sustenance of the poor are subject to pagan tyranny, while cruel masters abuse for their own purposes the returns from these lands. The priesthood of God has been ground down into the dust. The sanctuary of God (unspeakable shame!) is everywhere profaned. Whatever Christians still remain in hiding there are sought out with unheard of tortures.

"Of holy Jerusalem, brethren, we dare not speak, for we are exceedingly afraid and ashamed to speak of it. This very city, in which, as you all know, Christ himself suffered for us, because our sins demanded it, has been reduced to the pollution of paganism and, I say it to our disgrace, withdrawn from the service of God. Such is the heap of reproach upon us who have so much deserved it! Who now serves the church of the blessed Mary in the valley of Josaphat, in which church she herself was buried in body? But why do we pass over the Temple of Solomon, nay of the Lord, in which the barbarous nations placed their idols contrary to law, human and divine? Of the Lord's Sepulcher we have refrained from speaking, since some of you with your own eyes have seen to what abominations it has been given over. The Turks violently took from it the offerings which you brought there for alms in such vast amounts, and, in addition, they scoffed much and often at your religion. And yet in that place (I say only what you already know) rested the Lord; there he died for us; there he was buried. How precious would be the longed-for, incomparable place of the Lord's burial, even if God failed there to perform the yearly miracle! For in the days of his passion all the lights in the Sepulcher and round about in the church, which have been extinguished, are re-lighted by divine command. Whose heart is so stony, brethren, that it is not touched by so great a miracle? Believe me, that man is bestial and senseless whose heart such divinely

manifest grace does not move to faith! And yet the gentiles see this in common with the Christians and are not turned from their ways! They are, indeed, afraid, but they are not converted to the faith, nor is it to be wondered at, for a blindness of mind rules over them. With what afflictions they wronged you who have returned and are now present, you yourselves know too well, you who there sacrificed your substance and your blood for God. . . .

"What are we saying? Listen and learn! You, girl about with the badge of knighthood, are arrogant with great pride; you rage against your brothers and cut each other in pieces. This is not the [true] soldiery of Christ which rends asunder the sheep-fold of the Redeemer. The holy church has reserved a soldiery for herself to help her people, but you debase her wickedly to her hurt. Let us confess the truth, whose heralds we ought to be; truly, you are not holding to the way which leads to life. You, the oppressors of children, plunderers of widows; you, guilty of homicide, of sacrilege, robbers of another's rights; you who await the pay of thieves for the shedding of Christian blood—as vultures smell fetid corpses, so do you sense battles from afar and rush to them eagerly. Verily, this is the worst way, for it is utterly removed from God! If, forsooth, you wish to be mindful of your souls, either lay down the girdle of such knighthood, or advance boldly, as knights of Christ, and rush as quickly as you can to the defense of the eastern church. For she it is from whom the joys of your whole salvation have come forth, who poured into your mouths the milk of divine wisdom, who set before you the holy teachings of the Gospels. We say this, brethren, that you may restrain your murderous hands from the destruction of your brothers, and in behalf of your relatives in the faith oppose yourselves to the gentiles. Under Jesus Christ, our leader, may you struggle for your Jerusalem, in Christian battle-line, most invincible line, even more successfully than did the sons of Jacob of old—struggle, that you may assail and drive out the Turks, more execrable than the Jebusites, who are in this land, and may you deem it a beautiful thing to die for Christ in that city in which he died for us. But if it befall you to die this side of it, be sure that to have died on the way is of equal value, if Christ shall find you in his army. God pays with the same shilling, whether at the first or eleventh hour. You should shudder, brethren, you should shudder at raising a violent hand against Christians; it is less wicked to brandish your sword against Saracens. It is the only warfare that is righteous, for it is charity to risk your life for your brothers. That you may not be troubled about the concerns of tomorrow, know that those who fear God want nothing, nor those who cherish him in truth. The possessions of the enemy, too, will be yours, since you will make spoil of their treasures and return victorious to your own; or empurpled with our own blood, you will have gained everlasting glory. For such a commander you ought to fight, for one who lacks neither might nor wealth with which to reward you. Short

is the way, little the labor, which, nevertheless, will repay you with the crown that fades not away. Accordingly, we speak with the authority of the prophet: 'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O mighty one.' Gird yourselves, every one of you, I say, and be valiant sons; for it is better for you to die in battle than to behold the sorrows of your race and of your holy places. Let neither property nor the alluring charms of your wives entice you from going; nor let the trials that are to be borne so deter you that you remain here."

And turning to the bishops, he said, "You, brothers and fellow bishops; you, fellow priests and sharers with us in Christ, make this same announcement through the churches committed to you, and with your whole soul vigorously preach the journey to Jerusalem. When they have confessed the disgrace of their sins, do you, secure in Christ, grant them speedy pardon. Moreover, you who are to go shall have us praying for you; we shall have you fighting for God's people. It is our duty to pray, yours to fight against the Amalekites [that is, biblical enemies of the Hebrews]. With Moses, we shall extend unwearied hands in prayer to heaven, while you go forth and brandish the sword, like dauntless warriors, against Amalek."

As those present were thus clearly informed by these and other words of this kind from the apostolic lord, the eyes of some were bathed in tears; some trembled, and yet others discussed the matter. However, in the presence of all at that same council, and as we looked on, the bishop of Puy, a man of great renown and of highest ability, went to the pope with joyful countenance and on bended knee sought and entreated blessing and permission to go. Over and above this, he won from the pope the command that all should obey him, and that he should hold sway over all the army in behalf of the pope, since all knew him to be a prelate of unusual energy and industry.

Guibert of Nogent

"... Most beloved brethren, if you reverence the source of that holiness and glory, if you cherish these shrines which are the marks of his footprints on earth, if you seek [the way], God leading you, God fighting in your behalf, you should strive with your utmost efforts to cleanse the holy city and the glory of the Sepulcher, now polluted by the concourse of the gentiles, as much as is in their power.

"If in olden times the Maccabees attained to the highest praise of piety because they fought for the ceremonies and the Temple, it is also justly granted you, Christian soldiers, to defend the liberty of your country by armed endeavor. If you, likewise, consider that the abode of the holy apostles and any other saints should be striven for with such effort, why do you refuse to rescue the cross, the blood, the tomb? Why do you refuse to visit them, to

spend the price of your lives in rescuing them? You have thus far waged unjust wars, at one time and another; you have brandished mad weapons to your mutual destruction, for no other reason than covetousness and pride, as a result of which you have deserved eternal death and sure damnation. We now hold out to you wars which contain the glorious reward of martyrdom, which will retain that title of praise now and forever. . . .

"And you ought, furthermore, to consider with the utmost deliberation, if by your labors, God working through you, it should occur that the mother of churches should flourish anew to the worship of Christianity, whether, perchance, he may not wish other regions of the East to be restored to the faith against the approaching time of the Antichrist. For it is clear that Antichrist is to do battle not with the Jews, not with the Gentiles; but, according to the etymology of his name, he will attack Christians. And if Antichrist finds there no Christians (just as at present when scarcely any dwell there), no one will be there to oppose him, or whom he may rightly overcome. . . .

"If neither the words of the scriptures arouse you, nor our admonitions penetrate your minds, at least let the great suffering of those who desired to go to the holy places stir you up. Think of those who made the pilgrimage across the sea! Even if they were more wealthy, consider what taxes, what violence they underwent, since they were forced to make payments and tributes almost every mile, to purchase release at every gate of the city, at the entrance of the churches and temples, at every side-journey from place to place: also, if any accusation whatsoever were made against them, they were compelled to purchase their release; but if they refused to pay money, the prefects of the gentiles, according to their custom, urged them fiercely with blows. What shall we say of those who took up the journey without anything more than trust in their barren poverty, since they seemed to have nothing except their bodies to lose? They not only demanded money of them, which is not an unendurable punishment, but also examined the calluses of their heels, cutting them open and folding the skin back, lest, perchance, they had sewed something there. Their unspeakable cruelty was carried on even to the point of giving them scammony [that is, a purge] to drink until they vomited, or even burst their bowels, because they thought the wretches had swallowed gold or silver; or, horrible to say, they cut their bowels open with a sword and, spreading out the folds of the intestines, with frightful mutilation disclosed whatever nature held there in secret. Remember, I pray, the thousands who have perished vile deaths, and strive for the holy places from which the beginnings of your faith have come. Before you engage in his battles, believe without question that Christ will be your standard-bearer and inseparable forerunner."

The most excellent man concluded his oration and by the power of the blessed Peter absolved all who vowed to go and confirmed those acts with

apostolic blessing. He instituted a sign well suited to so honorable a profession by making the figure of the cross, the stigma of the Lord's passion, the emblem of the soldiery, or rather, of what was to be the soldiery of God. This, made of any kind of cloth, he ordered to be sewed upon the shirts, cloaks, and *byrna* [that is, a type of cloak] of those who were about to go. He commanded that if anyone, after receiving this emblem, or after taking openly this vow, should shrink from his good intent through base change of heart, or any affection for his parents, he should be regarded an outlaw forever, unless he repented and again undertook whatever of his pledge he had omitted. Furthermore, the pope condemned with a fearful anathema all those who dared to molest the wives, children, and possessions of these who were going on this journey for God.

Questions: What reasons does the pope give for calling on Europeans to go to the East? What do these accounts tell us of the aims and ambitions of the papacy and the church at this time? What rewards, both material and spiritual, does the pope offer to those who go on crusade? How does the papal view of warfare compare with that of Augustine (doc. 2)? How and why do the four accounts differ from each other? Of the four accounts of Urban's speech, which do you believe to be the most accurate? Why?

13. ALBERT OF AACHEN ON THE PEASANTS' CRUSADE

While the army of the First Crusade was assembling, there arose a number of popular crusading movements led by a variety of charismatic preachers. Unorganized and often violent, these groups exhibited a fanatical belief in the justness of their cause—a belief that resulted in the slaughter of Jewish communities in Europe and hostile encounters with fellow Christians in both eastern Europe and Byzantium as the "armies" made their way toward Jerusalem during 1096. Most medieval accounts of these popular crusaders are critical of their actions and motives, and it is certainly true that politics and personal gain were as much a part of the movement as religious feeling. Although not accepted by higher church authorities, leaders such as Peter the Hermit gained a great following, demonstrating the intensity of popular piety within Europe at this time. Despite the criticism, every major medieval crusade would be accompanied by pogroms against the Jews of Europe, and hostility between western and eastern Christians would continue to be a prominent feature of the crusading movement. Albert of Aachen, a twelfth-century historian, was not a crusader, but his account of the Peasants' Crusade is believed to be based on the reports of an eyewitness or participant.

Source: trans. A.C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-witnesses and Participants* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1921), pp. 48–52, 54–56, revised.

There was a priest, Peter by name, formerly a hermit. He was born in the city of Amiens, which is in the western part of the kingdom of the Franks, and he was appointed preacher in Berri in the aforesaid kingdom. In every admonition and sermon, with all the persuasion of which he was capable, he urged setting out on the journey as soon as possible. In response to his constant admonition and call, bishops, abbots, clerics, and monks set out; next, most noble laymen, and princes of the different kingdoms; then, all the common people, the chaste as well as the sinful, adulterers, homicides, thieves, perjurers, and robbers; indeed, every class of the Christian profession, nay, also, women and those influenced by the spirit of penance—all joyfully entered upon this expedition. . . .

In the year of the incarnation of the Lord 1096, . . . in the reign of Pope Urban II, formerly Odoard, on the eighth day of March, Walter, surnamed the Penniless, a well-known soldier, set out, as a result of the preaching of Peter the Hermit, with a great company of Frankish foot soldiers and only about eight knights. On the beginning of the journey to Jerusalem he entered into the kingdom of Hungary. When his intention and the reason for his taking this journey became known to Lord Coloman, most Christian king of Hungary, he was kindly received and was given peaceful transit across the entire realm, with permission to trade. And so without giving offense, and without being attacked, he set out even to Belgrade, a Bulgarian city, passing over to Malevilla, where the realm of the king of Hungary ends. Thence he peacefully crossed the Morava river.

But sixteen of Walter's company remained in Malevilla, that they might purchase arms. Of this Walter was ignorant, for he had crossed long before. Then some of the Hungarians of perverse mind, seeing the absence of Walter and his army, laid hands upon those sixteen and robbed them of arms, garments, gold, and silver, and so let them depart, naked and empty-handed. Then these distressed pilgrims, deprived of arms and other things, hastened on their way to Belgrade, which has been mentioned before, where Walter with all his band had pitched tents for camp. They reported to him the misfortune which had befallen them, but Walter heard this with equanimity, because it would take too long to return for vengeance.

On the very night when those comrades, naked and empty-handed, were received, Walter sought to buy the necessities of life from a chief of the Bulgarians and the magistrate of the city; but these men, thinking it a pretense, and regarding them as spies, forbade the sale of anything to them. Wherefore, Walter and his companions, greatly angered, began forcibly to seize and lead away the herds of cattle and sheep, which were wandering here and there through the fields in search of pasture. As a result, serious strife arose between the Bulgarians and the pilgrims who were driving away the flocks, and they