Week 2:

1. The Truce of God

Medieval religious and political leaders attempted a peace movement to restrict the use of violence against Christians in Europe. The "Peace of God," was a late tenth-century attempt to ban the carrying of weapons near Christian holy places and to protect holy persons such as monks and nuns and other vulnerable persons from bodily harm. It was followed in the mid- to late eleventh century by the "Truce of God." Religious leaders summoned councils of clergy and laymen and attempted to get potential belligerents to take an oath before God to uphold the Truce. The "Truce of God" was a vow to give up the use of violence from Wednesday evening to Monday dawn of each week, and during religious holidays, including over five weeks at both Christmas and Easter. This is the text of a truce promulgated by Archbishop Sigewin of Cologne, Germany.

Archbishop Sigewin The Truce of God (1083)

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, . . . 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, . . . 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 . . . 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-defence 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 within 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 whatever, 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 oath with twelve, who are equally free or equally nobles. 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 and other criminals.

If anyone attempts to oppose this pious institution and is unwilling to promise peace to God with the others 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 death-bed 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.

QUESTIONS
1. Judging from this document, what was the truce?
2. What were the penalties for violations, and who enforced them?
3. What exceptions were allowed in the injunction against the use of violence?
4. What might have helped to make this effective? Ineffective?
5. Whose interests were served by the truce?

2. Letters of Gregory VII, Henry IV and the German Bishops
In February, 1075, Pope Gregory VII forbade lay investiture, that is, lay people placing bishops and other clergy in church office, using the feudal ceremony of investiture. This declaration came in the midst of a long-simmering dispute over who should be the bishop of Milan in northern Italy. When Gregory had been elected pope in 1073, the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, pressured by political problems in Germany, promised to accept Gregory's decision about the bishopric. After Gregory forbade lay investiture in 1075, Henry defied the pope and renewed his support for a candidate who could be expected to be loyal to him, in opposition to the pope. Gregory responded with the letter of December 1075.

GREGORY VII, THE DICTATUS PAPAE
The Dictatus Papae ["statements of the pope"] of March, 1075, which survives in the record of Gregory's official correspondence, is of uncertain origin. It is a list of points that Gregory probably intended as chapter titles for a collection of canons [church laws] in support of these positions. The list provides a brief statement of his view of the nature of papal authority.

That the Roman church was founded by God alone.
That the Roman pontiff alone can with right be called universal. That he alone can depose or reinstate bishops.
That, in a council, his legate, even if of a lower grade, is above all bishops, and can pass sentence of deposition against them.
That the pope may depose the absent.
That, among other things, we ought not to remain in the same house with those excommunicated by him.
That for him alone is it lawful, according to the needs of the time, to make new laws, to assemble together new congregations, to make an abbey of a canonry; and, on the other hand, to divide a rich bishopric and unite the poor ones.
That he alone may use the imperial insignia.
That all princes shall kiss the feet of the pope alone.
That his name alone shall be recited in the churches.
That this title is unique in the world.
That it may be permitted to him to depose emperors.
That he may be permitted to transfer bishops if need be.
That he has power to ordain a cleric of any church he may wish.
That he who is ordained by him may preside over another church, but may not hold a subordinate position to others, and that such a one may not receive a higher grade from any bishop.
That no synod shall be called a general one without his order.
That no chapter and no book shall be considered canonical without his authority. That a sentence passed by him may be retracted by no one, and that he himself, alone of all, may retract it. That he himself may be judged by no one. That no one shall dare to condemn one who appeals to the apostolic see. That to the latter should be referred the more important cases of every church. That the Roman church has never erred, nor will it err to all eternity, the Scriptures bearing witness. That the Roman pontiff, if he has been canonically ordained, is undoubtedly made a saint by the merits of St. Peter, St. Ennodius, bishop of Pavia, bearing witness, and many holy fathers agreeing with him, as is contained in the decrees of St. Symmachus the pope. That, by his command and consent, it may be lawful for subordinates to bring accusations. That he may depose and reinstate bishops without assembling a synod. That he who is not at peace with the Roman church shall not be considered orthodox. That he may absolve subjects from their fealty to wicked men.

LETTER OF GREGORY VII TO HENRY IV, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR
(DECEMBER, 1075)

Bishop Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to King Henry, greeting and apostolic benediction—that is, if he is obedient to the apostolic see as becomes a Christian king. Considering and carefully weighing with what judgment we shall have to render account for the ministry entrusted to us by St. Peter, chief of the apostles, it is with hesitation that we have sent to you the apostolic benediction, for you are said knowingly to exercise fellowship with those excommunicated by a judgment of the apostolic see and by sentence of a synod. If this is true, you know yourself that you may receive the favor neither of the divine nor of the apostolic benediction unless, those who have been excommunicated being first separated from you, and compelled to do penance, you, with condign repentance and satisfaction, seek absolution and indulgence for your transgression. Therefore, we counsel your highness that, if you do feel yourself guilty in this matter, you seek the advice of some canonical bishop with speedy confession, who, with our permission, enjoining on you a proper penance for this fault, shall absolve you and shall endeavor by letter to inform us truly, with your consent, the measure of your penitence. For the rest it seems strange enough to us that, although you send us so many and such devoted letters; and although your Highness shows such humility through the words of your legates—calling yourself the son of holy mother church and of ourselves, subject in the faith, unique in affection, foremost in devotion—although, finally, you commend yourself with all devotion of sweetness and reverence, you nonetheless in stubborn deeds show yourself contrary to the canonical and apostolic decrees in those matters which the religion of the church enjoins as the chief ones. For, not to mention other things, in the affair of Milan the actual outcome of the matter shows plainly how you carry out—and with what intent you made them—the promises made to us through your mother and through our colleagues the bishops whom we sent to
you. And now, indeed, inflicting wound upon wound, contrary to the establishments of the apostolic see, you have given the sees [bishoprics] of Fermo and Spoletto—if indeed a church could be given or granted by a man-to certain persons not even known to us, whom, unless they are previously well known and proven, it is not lawful even to consecrate.

Since you confess yourself to be a son of the church, it would have become your royal dignity to look more respectfully upon the master of the church—that is, St. Peter, the chief of the apostles. To him, if you are of the Lord's flock, you were given over by the Lord's voice and authority to be fed, Christ himself saying, "Peter, feed my sheep." And again, "To you are given over the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever you shall bind upon earth shall be bound also in Heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed also in Heaven." Inasmuch as in his seat and apostolic ministration we, however sinful and unworthy, act as the representative of his power, surely he himself has received whatever, through writing or in bare words, you have sent to us. And at the very time when we are either perusing the letters or listening to the voices of those who speak, he himself is discerning with subtle inspection, in what spirit the instructions were issued. Wherefore your Highness should have seen to it that no defect of good will should have been found towards the apostolic see in your words and messages. And, in those things through which the Christian faith and the state of the church chiefly progress towards eternal salvation, you should not have denied the reverence due, not to us but to God Almighty, disregarding the fact that the Lord saw fit to say to the apostles and their successors, "Who hears you, hears me; and who scorns you, scorns me." For we know that he who does not refuse to show faithful obedience to God, does not scorn to observe our commands—which we have spoken according to the decrees of the holy fathers—even as if he had heard them from the lips of the apostle himself.

... 

Nevertheless, lest these things should seem burdensome beyond measure or wrong to you, we sent word to you through your faithful servants that the changing of an evil custom should not alarm you; that you should send to us wise and religious men from your land, who, if they could, by any reasoning, demonstrate or prove in what, saving the honor of the eternal King and without danger to our soul, we might moderate the decree as passed by the holy fathers, we would yield to their counsels.

... 

LETTER OF HENRY IV TO GREGORY VII (JANUARY 24, 1076)

This was Henry's answer.

Henry, king not through usurpation but through the holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, at present not pope but false monk. You have merited such a greeting through your disturbances, inasmuch as there is no grade in the church which you have omitted to make a partaker not of honor but of confusion, not of benediction but of malediction. For, to mention a few outstanding cases out of
many, not only have you not feared to lay hands upon the rulers of the holy
church, the anointed of the Lord—namely the archbishops, bishops and priests—but
you have trodden them under foot like slaves ignorant of what their master is
doing. You have won favor from the common herd by crushing them; you have
looked upon all of them as knowing nothing, upon yourself alone, moreover, as
knowing all things. You have used this knowledge, however, not for edification
but for destruction …

And we, indeed, have endured all this, being eager to guard the honor of the
apostolic see. You, however, have understood our humility to be fear, and have
not, accordingly, shunned to rise up against the royal power conferred upon us
by God, daring to threaten to divest us of it. As if we had received our kingdom
from you! As if the kingdom and the empire were in yours and not in God's hand!
And this, although our Lord Jesus Christ did call us to the kingdom, He did not,
however, call you to the priesthood. For you have ascended by the following
steps: by wiles, namely, which the profession of monk abhors, you achieved
money; by money, favor; by the sword, the throne of peace. And from the throne
of peace you have disturbed peace; inasmuch as you have armed subjects
against those in authority over them and inasmuch as you, who were not called,
have taught that our bishops called of God are to be despised; inasmuch as you
have usurped for laymen the bishops' ministry over their priests, allowing them to
depose or condemn those whom they themselves had received as teachers from
the hand of God through the laying on of hands of the bishops. On me also who,
although unworthy to be among the anointed, has nevertheless been anointed to
the kingdom, you have lain your hand. I, who, as the tradition of the holy Fathers
teaches, am subject to the judgment of God alone, and am not to be deposed for
any crime unless, God forbid, I should stray from the faith. For the wisdom of the
holy fathers committed even [the Roman emperor] Julian the apostate not to
themselves, but to God alone, to be judged and to be deposed. For himself, the
true pope, Peter, also exclaims, "Fear God, honor the king." But you who do not
fear God, dishonor in me his appointed one. Wherefore St. Paul … says, "If
anyone, either I or an angel from Heaven, should preach a gospel other than that
which has been preached to you, he shall be damned." Therefore, condemned
by this curse and by the judgment of all our bishops and by our own, descend
and relinquish the apostolic see which you have usurped. Let another ascend the
throne of St. Peter, who shall not practice violence under the cloak of religion, but
shall teach the sound doctrine of St. Peter. I, Henry, king by the grace of God,
say to you, together with all our bishops: Descend! Descend!

LETTER OF BISHOPS IN GERMANY TO GREGORY VII (JANUARY 24, 1076)
This letter was sent by twenty-seven German bishops, who were imperial
supporters. Gregory VII had denied that they were legitimate bishops because
they were appointed by the emperor.

To Brother Hildebrand.
Although it was well known to us, when you first invaded the government of the
church, what an unlawful and nefarious thing you, with your well known arrogance, presumed to do contrary to right and justice, we nevertheless thought it best to veil the vicious beginnings of your elevation by a certain excusatory silence. We had hoped that such wicked beginnings would be rectified, and to some degree obliterated, by the probity and zeal of the rest of your reign. But now, as the lamentable state of the universal church proclaims and bemoans, you stubbornly and sadly fulfill the promise of your evil beginnings through the still worse progress of your actions and decrees.

... You, being swelled with unheard of pride, have, like a standard-bearer of schism, torn with proud cruelty and cruel pride all the members of the church, which, following the apostle, were enjoying a quiet and tranquil life before your times. With raging madness you have scattered through all the churches of Italy, Germany, Gaul and Spain the flame of discord which, through your ruinous factions, you started in the Roman church. For by taking away from the bishops, as much as you could, all the power which is known to have been divinely conferred upon them through the grace of the holy Spirit, which manifests itself chiefly in ordinations, and by giving over to the fury of the people all the administration of ecclesiastical affairs-seeing that now no one is bishop or priest unless he has bought this by most unworthy assent from your magnificence-you have disturbed, with wretched confusion, all the vigor of the apostolic institution.

... Furthermore you have filled the whole church, as it were, with the stench of a most grave charge concerning overly familiar living together and cohabitation with another person's wife. Our sense of shame suffers more than our case on this account, although this general complaint has resounded everywhere: that all the decrees of the apostolic see have been set in motion by women-in a word, that through this new senate of women the whole circle of the church is administered. For no amount of complaining suffices concerning the injuries and insults against the bishops whom you most unworthily call sons of harlots and the like. Since, therefore, your accession has been inaugurated by such perjuries; since, through the abuse of your innovations, the church of God is in danger through so severe a storm; and since you have defiled your life and conduct with such manifold infamy, we renounce the obedience which we never promised to you, nor shall we in future at all observe it. And since, as you have publicly proclaimed, not one of us has been a bishop to you thus far, so also you shall henceforth be pope to none of us.

Questions:
1. What were Gregory's complaints about Henry? How did the pope view the relationship between imperial and papal authority? What was he threatening to do?
2. How did Henry respond? What was his accusation against the pope?
3. What were the German bishops' charges against Gregory?
4. What explains the tone of these letters? Why did Henry and the bishops
address the pope as Hildebrand, his name before he became pope?

3. First Crusade:
The Speech of Urban II at the Council of Clermont: Two Accounts

The Account of Fulcher of Chartres
In 1095 Pope Urban II attended the church council held at the French town of Clermont. The council was called in order to further the Truce of God and the reform of the church. Urban II also called a special session. The exact text of his speech does not survive, but he preached a military effort that became the First Crusade (1096-1099). One of the four surviving descriptions of the council was written by Fulcher of Chartres, who may have been in attendance, and who took part in the crusade as a chaplain to Stephen, count of Blois. He recounted the events at the council in his history of the crusade, composed at least several years after its conclusion. The first portion is Urban’s sermon urging reform and the Truce.

Most beloved brethren, moved by the exigencies of the times, I, Urban, wearing by permission of God the papal tiara, and spiritual ruler of the whole world, have come here to you, the servants of God, as a messenger to disclose the divine admonition. I desire that those whom I have believed to be the faithful servants of God shall show themselves such, and that there shall be no shameful dissimulation. But if there is in you, contrary to God’s law, any deformity or crookedness, because you have lost the moderation of reason and justice, I will earnestly strive to root out the fault. For the Lord has placed you over His family as stewards in order that you may feed its members with pleasant tasting food suited to the time. You will be happy indeed, if when He requires of you an account, He shall find that you have been faithful in your stewardships. You are also called shepherds; be not hirelings. Be true shepherds. and have your crooks always in your hands. Fall not asleep, but watch in all places over the flock committed to your charge. For if, through your carelessness or negligence, any wolf snatches away a sheep, you will not only lose the reward prepared for you in the presence of your Lord, but also, having been first bitterly tortured by remorse for your crimes, you will be savagely hurled into the deadly abode. In the words of the Gospel, "Ye are the salt of the earth." But if you fail in your duty, how, we ask, can it be salted? Oh, how admirable is that salting! Truly, you must strive by the salt of wisdom to correct these foolish people, hastening open-mouthed after the pleasures of this world, lest putrefied by sins and unsalted, they may be a stench in the nostrils when the Lord wills on some future day to address them. For if, through your neglect of duty, He shall find in them any worms, that is, sins, He will in contempt order them to be hurled into the abyss of unclean things. And because you are unable to make good to Him so great a loss, He will certainly drive you, condemned by His judgment, from the presence of His love. But for
this reason the distributor of this salt ought to be wise, prudent, modest, pacific, learned, watchful, pious, just, equitable, pure. For how can the unlearned make others learned, the immodest make others modest, the impure make others pure? If anyone hates peace, how can he be a peace-maker? Or if one's own hands are unclean, how can he cleanse the impurities of another? We read also that "if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." Accordingly first correct yourselves, so that without reproach you may be able to correct those under your charge. If you wish to be the friends of God, do willingly the things which you believe to be agreeable to Him. Look to it especially that the rules of the church are vigorously maintained, so that simoniacal heresy in no way takes root among you; take heed lest purchasers and vendors alike, struck by the chastisement of the Lord, be miserably driven through narrow ways to confusion and destruction. Keep the church and those in its service entirely free from all secular power, cause the tithes due to God from all the fruits of the field to be faithfully paid; let them not be sold or held back. If anyone shall lay hands on a bishop, let him be considered as wholly an outlaw. Of anyone shall seize or despoil monks, priests, nuns, and their servants, or pilgrims or merchants, let him be anathematized. Let robbers, incendiaries and their accomplices be shut out from the church and stricken with the anathema. Therefore we must, as Gregory says, especially consider how he, who steals the property of another is to be punished, if he who from his own possessions does not employ a part in alms, incurs the damnation of hell. ... For so it befell Dives mentioned in the Gospel, who forsooth was punished not for having stolen the property of another, but because he was a bad steward of what had been intrusted to him. By these evils, therefore, as has been said, dearly beloved brethren, you have seen the world troubled for a long time to such an extent that in some places in your provinces, as has been reported to us-perhaps through your weakness in administering justice-hardly anyone can venture to travel upon the highways, by night or day, without danger of attack by thieves or robbers; and no one is sure that his property at home or abroad will not be taken from him by the violence or craft of the wicked. Therefore, let us reenact the law made by our holy ancestors long ago and commonly called "the Truce of God." I most earnestly exhort you that each one should strenuously do all in his power to have it observed in his bishopric. But if anyone misled by pride or cupidity breaks it voluntarily, let him be anathematized by the authority of God and by the sanction of the decrees of this council.

Here Urban paused and the council enacted the decrees which he desired. All who were present took an oath to obey them faithfully. The pope then proceeded:

Since, Oh sons of God, you have promised the Lord more earnestly than heretofore to maintain peace in your midst and faithfully to sustain the laws of the church, there remains for you, newly fortified by the correction of the Lord, to show the strength of your integrity in a certain other duty, which is not less your concern than the Lord's. For you must carry succor to your brethren dwelling in the East, and needing your aid, which they have so often demanded. For the
Turks, a Persian people, have attacked them, as many of you know, and have advanced into Roman [Byzantine] territory as far as that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Arm of St. George; and occupying more and more the lands of those Christians, have already seven times conquered them in battle, have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and devastated the kingdom of God. If you permit them to remain for a time unmolested, they will extend their sway more widely over many faithful servants of the Lord. Wherefore, I pray and exhort, nay not I, but the Lord prays and exhorts you; as heralds of Christ, by frequent exhortation, to urge men of all ranks, knights and foot-soldiers, rich and poor, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the lands of our brethren; and to bear timely aid to the worshippers of Christ. I speak to those who are present, I proclaim it to the absent, but Christ commands. Moreover, the sins of those who set out thither, if they lose their lives on the journey, by land or sea, or in fighting against the heathen, shall be remitted in that hour; this I grant to all who go; through the power of God vested in me.

Oh, what a disgrace if a race so despised, degenerate, and slave of the demons, should thus conquer a people fortified with faith in omnipotent God and resplendent with the name of Christ! Oh, how many reproaches will be heaped upon you by the Lord Himself if you do not aid those who like yourselves are counted of the Christian faith! Let those who have formerly been accustomed to contend wickedly in private warfare against the faithful, fight against the infidel and bring to a victorious end the war which ought long since to have been begun. Let those who have hitherto been robbers now become soldiers of Christ. Let those who have formerly contended against their brothers and relatives now fight as they ought against the barbarians. Let those who have formerly been mercenaries at low wages, now gain eternal rewards. Let those who have been striving to the detriment both of body and soul, now labor for a two-fold reward. What shall I add? On this side will be the sorrowful and poor, on the other the joyful and rich; here the enemies of the Lord, there His friends. Let not those who are going delay their journey, but having arranged their affairs and collected the money necessary for their expenses, when the winter ends and the spring comes, let them with alacrity start on their journey under the guidance of the Lord.

The Account of Urban’s speech by Robert the Monk

Robert the Monk wrote his history roughly ten years after the crusade; he seems to have relied on witnesses for his account of the Council of Clermont.

Oh, race of Franks, race from across the mountains, race chosen and beloved by God-as shines forth in very many of your works-set apart from all nations by the situation of your country, as well as by your catholic faith and the honor of the holy church! To you our discourse is addressed and for you our exhortation is intended. We wish you to know what a grievous cause has led us to your country, what peril threatening you and all the faithful has brought us.
From the confines of Jerusalem and the city of Constantinople a horrible tale has gone forth and very frequently has been brought to our ears, namely, that a race from the kingdom of the Persians, an accursed race, a race utterly alienated from God, a generation forsooth which has not directed its heart and has not entrusted its spirit to God, has invaded the lands of those Christians and has depopulated them by the sword, pillage and fire; it has led away a part of the captives into its own country, and a part it has destroyed by cruel tortures; it has either entirely destroyed the churches of God or appropriated them for the rites of its own religion. They destroy the altars, after having defiled them with their uncleanness. They circumcise the Christians, and the blood of the circumcision they either spread upon the altars or pour into the vases of the baptismal font. When they wish to torture people by a base death, they perforate their navels, and dragging forth the extremity of the intestines, bind it to a stake; then with flogging they lead the victim around until the viscera having gushed forth the victim falls prostrate upon the ground. Others they bind to a post and pierce with arrows. Others they compel to extend their necks and then, attacking them with naked swords, attempt to cut through the neck with a single blow. What shall I say of the abominable rape of the women? To speak of it is worse than to be silent. The kingdom of the Greeks is now dismembered by them and deprived of territory so vast in extent that it can not be traversed in a march of two months.

On whom therefore is the labor of avenging these wrongs and of recovering this territory incumbent, if not upon you? You, upon whom above other nations God has conferred remarkable glory in arms, great courage, bodily activity, and strength to humble the hairy scalp of those who resist you. Let the deeds of your ancestors move you and incite your minds to manly achievements; the glory and greatness of King Charlemagne, and of his son Louis, and of your other kings, who have destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans, and have extended in these lands the territory of the holy church. Let the holy sepulcher of the Lord our Savior, which is possessed by unclean nations, especially incite you, and the holy places which are now treated with ignominy and irreverently polluted with their filthiness. Oh, most valiant soldiers and descendants of invincible ancestors, be not degenerate, but recall the valor of your progenitors. But if you are hindered by love of children, parents, and wives, remember what the Lord says in the Gospel, "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my name's sake shall receive an hundredfold. and shall inherit everlasting life." Let none of your possessions detain you, nor solicitude for your family affairs, since this land which you inhabit, shut in on all sides by the seas and surrounded by the mountain peaks, is too narrow for your large population; nor does it abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. Hence it is that you murder and devour one another, that you wage war, and that frequently you perish by mutual wounds. Let therefore hatred depart from among you, let your quarrels end, let wars cease, and let all dissensions and controversies slumber.
Enter upon the road to the holy sepulcher; wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. That land which as the Scripture says "floweth with milk and honey," was given by God into the possession of the children of Israel. Jerusalem is the navel of the world; the land is fruitful above others, like another paradise of delights. This the Redeemer of the human race has made illustrious by His advent, has beautified by residence, has consecrated by suffering, has redeemed by death, has glorified by burial. This royal city, therefore, situated at the center of the world, is now held captive by His enemies, and is in subjection to those who do not know God, to the worship of the heathens. She seeks therefore and desires to be liberated, and does not cease to implore you to come to her aid. From you especially she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you above all nations great glory in arms. Accordingly undertake this journey for the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven.

When Pope Urban had said these and very many similar things in his urbane discourse, he so influenced to one purpose the desires of all who were present, that they cried out, "God wills it! God wills it!" When the venerable Roman pontiff heard that, with eyes uplifted to heaven he gave thanks to God and, with his hand commanding silence, said: Most beloved brethren, today is manifest in you what the Lord said in the Gospel, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them." Unless the Lord God had been present in your spirits, all of you would not have uttered the same cry. For, although the cry issued from numerous mouths, yet the origin of the cry was one. Therefore I say to you that God, who implanted this in your breasts, has drawn it forth from you. Let this then be your war-cry in combats, because this word is given to you by God. When an armed attack is made upon the enemy, let this one cry be raised by all the soldiers of God: God wills it! God wills it!

And we do not command or advise that the old or feeble, or those unfit for bearing arms, undertake this journey; nor ought women to set out at all, without their husbands or brothers or legal guardians. For such are more of a hindrance than aid, more of a burden than advantage. Let the rich aid the needy; and according to their wealth, let them take with them experienced soldiers. The priests and clerks of any order are not to go without the consent of their bishop; for this journey would profit them nothing if they went without permission of these. Also, it is not fitting that laymen should enter upon the pilgrimage without the blessing of their priests. Whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage and shall make his vow to God to that effect and shall offer himself to Him as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast. When, truly, having fulfilled his vow he wishes to return, let him place the cross on his back, between his shoulders. Such, indeed, by the twofold action will fulfill the precept of the Lord, as He commands in the Gospel, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."
Questions:
1. What are the similarities and differences between the two accounts?
2. What arguments did Urban use? How did he justify an attack on the Turks?
3. How did Urban seek to motivate people to go on this mission?

Crusader accounts

"HE DELIVERED THE CITY AND HIS ENEMIES TO US."
Letter of Godfrey, Raymond, and Daimbert to Pope Paschal (1099)

After the successes of the First Crusade, several of its main protagonists-Duke Godfrey of Bouillion, Count Raymond of St. Gilles, and Daimbert (or Dagobert) the Archbishop of Pisa and later Latin patriarch of Jerusalem-wrote to Pope Paschal to announce their victories over the Muslims. This letter reveals the ambitions and beliefs of the Latin Crusaders regarding their mission in the Holy Land.

To lord Paschal, pope of the Roman church, to all the bishops, and to the whole Christian people, from the archbishop of Pisa, duke Godfrey, now, by the grace of God, defender of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, Raymond, count of St. Gilles, and the whole army of God, which is in the land of Israel, greeting.

Multiply your supplications and prayers in the sight of God with joy and thanksgiving, since God has manifested His mercy in fulfilling by our hands what He had promised in ancient times. . . . Although the princes and kings of the Saracens rose up against us, yet, by God's will, they were easily conquered and overcome. Because, indeed, some were puffed up by these successes, God opposed to us Antioch, impregnable to human strength. And there He detained us for nine months and so humbled us in the siege that there were scarcely a hundred good horses in our whole army. God opened to us the abundance of His blessing and mercy and led us into the city, and delivered the Turks and all of their possessions into our power. . . . We were beset by so great a multitude of Turks that no one dared to venture forth at any point from the city. Moreover, hunger so weakened us that some could scarcely refrain from eating human flesh. It would be tedious to narrate all the miseries which we suffered in that city. But God looked down upon His people whom He had so long chastised and mercifully consoled them. Therefore, He at first revealed to us, as a recompense for our tribulation and as a pledge of victory, His lance which had laid hidden since the days of the apostles. Next, He so fortified the hearts of the men, that they who from sickness or hunger had been unable to walk, now were imbued with strength to seize their weapons and manfully to fight against the enemy. After we had triumphed over the enemy, as our army was wasting away at Antioch from sickness and weariness and was especially hindered by the dissensions among the leaders, we proceeded into Syria, stormed Barra and Marra, cities of the Saracens, and captured the fortresses in that country. And
while we were delaying there, there was so great a famine in the army that the Christian people now ate the putrid bodies of the Saracens. Finally, by the divine admonition, we [reached Jerusalem].... And after the army had suffered greatly in the siege, especially on account of the lack of water, a council was held and the bishops and princes ordered that all with bare feet should march around the walls of the city, in order that He who entered it humbly in our behalf might be moved by our humility to open it to us and to exercise judgment upon His enemies. God was appeased by this humility and on the eighth day after the humiliation He delivered the city and His enemies to us. It was the day indeed on which the primitive church was driven thence, and on which the festival of the dispersion of the apostles is celebrated. And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses...

[The Crusaders then fought and defeated the Muslim relieving force, winning great amounts of weapons and livestock.]

Therefore, we call upon you of the catholic church of Christ and of the whole Latin church to exult in the so admirable bravery and devotion of your brethren, in the so glorious and very desirable retribution of the omnipotent God, and in the so devoutedly hoped- for remission of all our sin through the grace of God. . . . And we ask and beseech you in the name of our Lord Jesus who has ever been with us and aided us and freed us from all our tribulations to be mindful of your brethren who return to you, by doing them kindneses and by paying their debts, in order that God may recompense you and absolve you from all your sins and grant you a share in all the blessings which either we or they have deserved in the sight of the Lord. Amen.

QUESTIONS

1. What role did God play in the First Crusade, according to the authors of this letter?
2. How did the deeds of the Crusaders correspond to the original ideas of Urban II?

Muslim accounts

The Crusades fostered the idea that Christians and Muslims existed in opposition to each other and that wars constituted the only effective mode of contact between them. Struck by the Crusaders' war atrocities, the Muslim inhabitants of the Near East regarded the Crusaders' invasions as a calamity. To defend the integrity of the Islamic world, some Muslims began to preach a holy struggle against the infidels. While in Islam the term jihad often refers to the spiritual struggle that takes place within the soul of every Muslim, it can also refer to a holy war fought by Muslims against non-Muslims, as in this context. All the Crusader states did eventually fall, and Constantinople succumbed to the Islamic armies of the Ottoman Turks in 1453. During their existence, however, the Crusader states were an environment in which Latin Christians lived side by side
with Muslims. Over time and in certain places, the two sides found reasons to cooperate with their "infidel" adversaries; some Latin Christians and Muslims found a modus vivendi, a mode of peaceful coexistence, in the Near East. At the same time, the crusading movement in western Europe and its antiMuslim propaganda continued to recruit Crusaders who developed a deep antipathy toward Muslims. In the resulting complex interactions, one cannot find a single, uniform Christian attitude toward Muslims or vice versa.

"HIS SOLDIERS ARE OF MIGHTY COURAGE. . . ."
Al-Qazwini Atkar al-bilad (c. 1275)

Introduction

Muslims resented the Crusaders but often admired their prowess in battle. After the invaders had become neighbors, Muslim writers began to note the character and origins of the Franks. The following passage reflects an influential Muslim author’s ideas about the country, customs, and character of these Latin Christians. Al-Qazwini was a famous thirteenth-century Muslim scholar who composed a number of encyclopedic works about the geography, peoples, and customs of various regions of the world. His Arabic writings, translated later into Persian and Turkic (other languages commonly used by Muslims), were widely read throughout the Islamic world.

Frank-land, a mighty land and a broad kingdom in the realms of the Christians. Its cold is very great, and its air is thick because of the extreme cold. It is full of good things and fruits and crops, rich in rivers, plentiful of produce, possessing tillage and cattle, trees and honey. There is a wide variety of game there and also silver mines. They forge very sharp swords there, and the swords of Frank-land are keener than the swords of India. Its people are Christians, and they have a king possessing courage, great numbers, and power to rule. He has two or three cities on the shore of the sea on this side, in the midst of the lands of Islam, and he protects them from his side. Whenever the Muslims send forces to them to capture them, he sends forces from his side to defend them. His soldiers are of mighty courage and in the hour of combat do not even think of flight, rather preferring death. But you shall see none more filthy than they. They are a people of perfidy and mean character. They do not cleanse or bathe themselves more than once or twice a year, and then in cold water, and they do not wash their garments from the time they put them on until they fall to pieces. They shave their beards, and after shaving they sprout only a revolting stubble. One of them was asked as to the shaving of the beard, and he said, "Hair is a superfluity. You remove it from your private parts, so why should we leave it on our faces?"

QUESTIONS

1. What information regarding the people of the medieval western lands is the author interested in conveying?
2. What positive qualities does the author admire in the people he calls the Franks? Why?
3. What negative qualities does the author identify?
"FIGHT FOR GOD AS HE DESERVES IT!"

The Second Crusade (1147-1187) tried and failed to capture Damascus in Syria, the important Islamic city that was just inland from the Crusader states that had been established along the coast. However, the prospect of a renewed Christian assault on Damascus provoked not only political and military responses but also ideological ones among Muslims in the Near East. The following treatise, written in the twelfth century by an anonymous Muslim author in Damascus, called on Muslims to unite and resist another potential attack by the Franks. In this work, Muslims are exhorted to fulfill their religious obligations by waging a defensive war against the invaders.

**A Muslim Call for Resistance to the Crusaders (12th century)**

By universal consent, the first four Caliphs as well as the Companions (of Muhammad) agreed that jihad is the duty of all Muslims following the death of the Prophet. Verily, none of the four Caliphs neglected jihad during his reign; this example was followed by the later Caliphs in their turn. Each year, the ruler would personally make an incursion into the territory of the unbelievers, or he would entrust the task to another. This state of affairs continued until a certain Caliph neglected his duty due to his weakness. His successors continued to neglect jihad for the same or similar reasons. This interruption [of the practice of jihad], together with the Muslims’ lack of obedience to the precepts imposed (by the law) and their transgression of the law, inevitably caused God to set the Muslims against each other. . . and urge their foes to seize their territories. . . .

Some [of the unbelievers] unexpectedly attacked the island of Sicily, taking advantage of their internal controversies and quarrels; in this way they (the unbelievers) also seized town after town in Spain. When they were told about the turmoil in this country [Syria], whose rulers hated and fought against one another, they decided to attack it. And Jerusalem was their chief goal. As they examined the country of Assam, they noticed that the principalities were at war with each other, that their views differed, and that their relations were marked by feuds. Their greed thus increased, urging them to commit [to war]. Actually, even today they are still engaged in jihad against Muslims. The latter, on the other hand, display a lack of energy and unity in the conflict, as each try to leave this duty to the others. Thus they [the Franks] succeeded in conquering territories much larger than they had originally intended, killing and degrading their inhabitants. . . .

May it please God in His Kindness to thwart them in their hopes by restoring the unity of the [Islamic] Community. He is near and grants wishes. . . . Abu Hamid Al Ghazali said: "... all Muslims who were free, responsible for their acts and capable of bearing arms must march against [the unbelievers] until they form a force large enough to smite them. This war is to glorify the Word of God and to make His religion victorious over its enemies. . . . If the enemy attacks a town [in Syria] that is incapable of self-defense, all the towns in Syria must raise an army that could drive him back. . . . If, however, the soldiers in Syria are insufficient for the task, the inhabitants of the nearer surrounding countries have the duty to
assist them, while those of more remote lands are free from this obligation.

Apply yourself to carry out the precept of jihad! Help one another in order to protect your religion and your brothers! Seize this opportunity and march forth against the unbelievers, for it does not require too great an effort and God has prepared you for it! . . . Commit jihad to make combat in your soul before committing jihad against your [external] enemies because your souls are worse enemies for you than your foes. Turn your soul away from disobedience to its creator so that you would achieve the much desired victory [over the Franks]. . . . Forsake the sins that you insist on committing and then begin to do good deeds. . . . Fight for God as He deserves it! Be certain to remember that the invasion of this enemy against your land and his victories over your brothers in religion are a warning sent by God to those who have not yet been conquered [by the Franks]. He will give you power over them and will make you feel secure again. However, if you persist in your waywardness, He will aid the Franks in their attempt to subdue whosoever has not yet been overcome. . . . First, defend the coast and help its besieged inhabitants because, with their jihad, they prevented the enemy from reaching this city [Damascus] and its province as well as Egypt and its lands. One can then hope for a swift victory [over the Franks] since their weakness is well known: their small forces of cavalry and limited equipment, and the great distance over which their reinforcements have to travel. So by destroying them with the help of God. . . we will have [the possibility of] curtailing the greed of their fellow countrymen who will no longer dare to accomplish what these Franks had hoped to accomplish due to their ignorance. Moreover, the land that has fallen under their control will revert to its former condition under the rule of Islam. . . . May God Almighty help you in your endeavor. God is above all and He protects you.

QUESTIONS
1. According to the author, what constitutes a jihad, and what significance does it have? Why does the author stress certain aspects of jihad?
2. How did the author explain the successes of the Latin Christians and the defeats of the Muslims? What in his view were the Christians’ motives?
3. How could the proposed jihad turn the Muslims’ situation around?
4. Compare the nature of jihad with that of crusade.

"... ANIMALS POSSESSING THE VIRTUES OF COURAGE AND FIGHTING. . . ."

The establishment of the Crusader states created fertile ground for cross-cultural interactions. Despite the anti-Muslim ideology of the Crusades, many of the resident Crusaders adopted certain local eastern ways. To be successful in the long term, the Crusaders needed to show a measure of tolerance for the diverse populations they now ruled, including eastern Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Latin Christian and Muslim warriors also began to appreciate the qualities of their adversaries, and a common code of warrior conduct fostered a measure of mutual admiration. The following account is drawn from an Arabic memoir written
by Usamah Ibn-Munqidh (1095-1188), an Islamic warrior in the camp of Saladin who lived in Palestine. His work expresses a Muslim assessment of the Crusader presence in Palestine. The three selected stories illustrate the different ways in which "Franks" and Muslims related to each other.

Usamah Ibn-Munqidh Memoirs (c. 1175)

Their Lack of Sense

Mysterious are the works of the Creator, the author of all things! When one comes to recount cases regarding the Franks, he cannot but glorify Allah (exalted is he!) and sanctify him, for he sees them as animals possessing the virtues of courage and fighting, but nothing else; just as animals have only the virtues of strength and carrying loads. I shall now give some instances of their doings and their curious mentality. In the army of King Fulk, son of Fulk, was a Frankish reverend knight who had just arrived from their land in order to make the holy pilgrimage and then return home. He was of my intimate fellowship and kept such constant company with me that he began to call me "my brother." Between us were mutual bonds of amity and friendship. When he resolved to return by sea to his homeland, he said to me: "My brother, I am leaving for my country and I want thee to send with me thy son (my son, who was then fourteen years old, was at that time in my company) to our country, where he can see the knights and learn wisdom and chivalry. When he returns, he will be like a wise man."

Thus there fell upon my ears words which would never come out of the head of a sensible man; for even if my son were to be taken captive, his captivity could not bring him a worse misfortune than carrying him into the lands of the Franks. However, I said to the man: "By thy life, this has exactly been my idea. But the only thing that prevents me from carrying it out is the fact that his grandmother, my mother, is so fond of him and did not this time let him come out with me until she exacted an oath from me to the effect that I would return him to her."

Thereupon he asked, "Is thy mother still alive?" "Yes;" I replied. "Well," said he, "disobey her not!" . . .

Franks Lack Jealousy in Sex Affairs

The Franks are void of all zeal and jealousy. One of them may be walking along with his wife. He meets another man who takes the wife by the hand and steps aside to converse with her while the husband is standing on one side waiting for his wife to conclude the conversation. If she lingers too long for him, he leaves her alone with the conversant and goes away. Here is an illustration which I myself witnessed:

When I used to visit Nablus, I always took lodging with a man named Mu'izz, whose home was a lodging house for the Moslems. The house had windows which opened to the road, and there stood opposite to it on the other side of the road a house belonging to a Frank who sold wine for the merchants. . . . One day this Frank went home and found a man with his wife in the same bed. He asked him, "What could have made thee enter into my wife's room?" The man replied, "I was tired, so I went in to rest." "But how" asked he, "didst thou get into my bed?"

The other replied, "I found a bed that was spread, so I slept in it." "But" said he,
"my wife was sleeping together with thee!" The other replied, "Well, the bed is hers. How could I therefore have prevented her from using her own bed?" "By the truth of my religion;' said the husband, "if thou shouldst do it again, thou and I would have a quarrel." Such was for the Frank the entire expression of his disapproval and the limit of his jealousy. . . .

A Frank Domesticated in Syria Abstains from Eating Pork
Among the Franks are those who have become acclimatized and have associated long with the Moslems. These are much better than the recent comers from the Frankish lands. But they constitute the exception and cannot be treated as a rule. Here is an illustration. I dispatched one of my men to Antioch on business. There was in Antioch at that time al-Ra'is Theodoros Sophianos, to whom I was bound by mutual ties of amity. His influence in Antioch was supreme. One day he said to my man, "I am invited by a friend of mine who is a Frank. Thou shouldst come with me so that thou mayest see their fashions." My man related the story in the following words:
I went along with him and we came to the home of a knight who belonged to the old category of knights who came with the early expeditions of the Franks. He had been by that time stricken off the register and exempted from service, and possessed in Antioch an estate on the income of which he lived. The knight presented an excellent table, with food extraordinarily clean and delicious. Seeing me abstaining from food, he said, "Eat, be of good cheer! I never eat Frankish dishes, but I have Egyptian women cooks and never eat except their cooking. Besides, pork never enters my home." I ate, but guardedly, and after that we departed. As I was passing in the market place, a Frankish woman all of a sudden hung to my clothes and began to mutter words in their language, and I could not understand what she was saying. This made me immediately the center of a big crowd of Franks. I was convinced that death was at hand. But all of a sudden that same knight approached. On seeing me, he came and said to that woman, "What is the matter between thee and this Moslem?" She replied, "This is he who has killed my brother Hurso." This Hurso was a knight in Afamiyah who was killed by someone of the army of Hamah. The Christian knight shouted at her, saying, "This is a bourgeois (i.e., a merchant) who neither fights nor attends a fight." He also yelled at the people who had assembled, and they all dispersed. Then he took me by the hand and went away. Thus the effect of that meal was my deliverance from certain death.

QUESTIONS
1. How did he view the Franks?
2. What roles do women play in these cross-cultural interactions?
3. What distinguished Latin Christians who had lived in Palestine a long time from those who had just arrived? Why might the author point to these differences?