

THURSDAY [27 SEPTEMBER 1268]

At Banneville-la-Campagne the ornaments, corporals,<sup>1</sup> and vestments are dirty. The Breviary<sup>2</sup> is old and unreadable.

At Guillerville the church is poor. The ornaments are good enough.

At ... Émiéville [the church] lacks a key for the font and chrismatorium; the cemetery is not enclosed. These things ought to be corrected within three years. A Psalter and Manual<sup>3</sup> are also lacking. The person assigned to the church does not want to live here so the bishop holds the church. Robert Hardiz still has Luceta au Tabour,

whom he is unable to have as his wife because of their consanguinity.

At Manneville the chrismatorium lacks a key through the priest's negligence. He also owes the church treasury three *sextaria* [of grain].

At Cagni all that was lacking in the church has been corrected.

At Vimont the person assigned to the church is still defamed of Petronilla, his blood relative whom he had abjured, and she goes about with him. We ordered a person to remove his straw from the church.

## THE FIRST CRUSADE

### 5.11 Calling the crusade: Robert the Monk, *Pope Urban II Preaches the First Crusade* (1095). Original in Latin.

Byzantine emperors often sent letters or deputations to recruit mercenaries to help fight their wars. To counter the Seljuks, Emperor Alexius (r.1081–1118) sent two delegations to Pope Urban II asking for help. Urban chose to interpret the request in his own way; he left Rome to make a very long trip across the Alps. Among his many activities—stopping at various monasteries and churches, consecrating altars, giving sermons—he attended the Council of Clermont. There, after declaring the Truce of God and reminding the audience of laymen and clergy of their duty to keep the peace, Urban made a new sort of appeal; he called for a new—a holy—way to use arms: in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Later historians came to call the result of his call the First Crusade. We do not have Urban's exact words at Clermont. Rather we have a number of accounts of his sermon there, all written a bit later. The one by Robert the Monk (d.1122), who claims to have been an eyewitness, was probably written between 1106–1110 partly to drum up interest in a new crusading expedition.

1. What connection did Urban make between peace in Europe and war against the Seljuks?
2. What are the implications of Urban's appeal to "wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves"?

<sup>1</sup> A corporal is a piece of linen upon which the chalice and paten are placed on the altar.

<sup>2</sup> The Breviary is a liturgical book containing all the texts (psalms, antiphons, hymns, lessons) needed to recite the Divine Office. It appears to date from the eleventh century, and Pope Gregory VII is often credited with this abridged and simplified form of the hours suited to the active lives of secular clerics. Since it could replace several books—the Psalter, Antiphonary, Lectionary—the Breviary was well suited to rural churches.

<sup>3</sup> A Manual is a book containing ceremonial directions for performing various liturgies or services.

[Source: Dana C. Munro, ed., *Urban and the Crusaders*, University of Pennsylvania, Translation and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, vol. 1, no. 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1895), pp. 5–8 (notes added).]

Oh, race of Franks, race from across the mountains,<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 Charles the Great, and of his son Louis,<sup>4</sup> 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 sepulchre of the Lord our Saviour, 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 hundred-fold and shall inherit everlasting life.”<sup>5</sup> Let none of your possessions detain you, no 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 Sepulchre; wrest that land

<sup>1</sup> “Across the mountains”: Urban is thinking of the Franks from his own perspective: he had to cross the Alps to get to France from Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Urban is speaking of the Seljuk Turks, who did not stem from Persia at all, but seemed to Western eyes to come from there.

<sup>3</sup> “The Kingdom of the Greeks” is a reference to Byzantium.

<sup>4</sup> A reference to Charlemagne (d.814) and his son Louis the Pious (d.840).

<sup>5</sup> Quotes from Matt. 10:37 and 19:29.

from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. That land which as the Scripture says “floweth with milk and honey,”<sup>1</sup> 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 centre 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.<sup>2</sup> 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, “It is the will of God! It is the will of God!” 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, to-day is manifest in you what the Lord says in the Gospel, “Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them.”<sup>3</sup> 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: It is the will of God! It is the will of God!

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 two-fold 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.”<sup>4</sup>

## 5.12 Jewish martyrs: Solomon bar Samson, *Chronicle* (c.1140). Original in Hebrew.

In the spring of 1096, irregular crusader armies, inspired by popular preachers such as Peter the Hermit, responded to Pope Urban II's call to regain the Holy Land from the Muslim “infidels” who ruled it by first attacking the “infidels in their midst”—the Jews. Thus, on their way to Jerusalem, they made a “detour” to the cities of the Rhineland, where Jews were flourishing under the protection of local bishops and the emperor. City by city, they

<sup>1</sup> Scripture speaks of the land flowing “with milk and honey” in many passages, e.g., Lev. 20:24.

<sup>2</sup> Jerusalem had been under Islamic rule since 637.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. 18:20.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 16:24.

rounded up the Jews and gave them the alternatives of conversion or death. At Speyer, many Jews were saved by the local bishop, but at Worms most were massacred. When an army led by Emico, a German nobleman, attacked Mainz, many of the city's Jews not only refused to convert but also actively sought martyrdom, some by their own hands. These suicide-martyrdoms became a rallying image for northern European Jews over the next century, inspiring accounts like that of Solomon bar Samson.

1. Why did the Jews of Mainz kill themselves?
2. Comparing this reading with the account of the martyrdom of Bishop Adalbert in Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicle* (above, p. 218), discuss the diverse attitudes toward martyrdom in medieval Christian and Jewish cultures.

[Source: Jacob Rader Marcus and Marc Saperstein, eds., *The Jews in Medieval Europe: A Source Book, 315–1791* (Pittsburgh: Hebrew Union College and University of Pittsburgh Presses, 2015), pp. 75–78 (notes and trans. by Jacob Marcus).]

It was on the third day of Sivan ... at noon [Tuesday, May 27], that Emico the wicked, the enemy of the Jews, came with his whole army against the city gate, and the burghers opened it up for him. Then the enemies of the Lord said to each other: "Look! They have opened up the gate for us. Now let us avenge the blood of 'the hanged one.'"<sup>1</sup>

The children of the holy covenant were there, martyrs who feared the Most High, although they saw the great multitude, an army numerous as the sand on the shore of the sea, still clung to their Creator. Then young and old donned their armor and girded on their weapons, and at their head was Rabbi Kalonymus ben Meshullam, the chief of the community. Yet because of the many troubles and the fasts which they had observed they had no strength to stand up against the enemy.<sup>2</sup> Then came gangs and bands, sweeping through like a flood, until Mainz was filled from end to end.

The foe Emico proclaimed in the hearing of the community that the enemy be driven from the city and be put to flight. Panic was great in the town. Each Jew in the inner court of the bishop girded on his weapons, and all moved towards the palace gate to fight the crusaders and

the burghers. They fought each other up to the very gate, but the sins of the Jews brought it about that the enemy overcame them and took the gate.

The hand of the Lord was heavy against His people. All the gentiles were gathered together against the Jews in the courtyard to blot out their name, and the strength of our people weakened when they saw the wicked Edomites overpowering them.<sup>3</sup> The bishops' men, who had promised to help them, were the very first to flee, thus delivering the Jews into the hands of the enemy. They were indeed a poor support; even the bishop himself fled from his church for it was thought to kill him also because he had spoken good things of the Jews....<sup>4</sup>

When the children of the holy covenant saw that the heavenly decree of death had been issued and that the enemy had conquered them and had entered the courtyard, then all of them—old men and young, virgins and children, servants and maids—cried out together to their Father in heaven and, weeping for themselves and for their lives, accepted as just the sentence of God. One to another they said, "Let us be strong and let us bear the yoke of the holy religion, for only in this world can the

<sup>1</sup> "The hanged one" (*ha-talui*), echoing the use of the word in Deut. 21:23, is a demeaning way of referring to Jesus in medieval Jewish texts. Obviously, this could not have been a direct quotation from the crusaders.

<sup>2</sup> Fasting was a traditional manner of Jewish repentance in the hope of appeasing divine anger and receiving protection. Ironically, in this case the narrator claims that the fasts interfered with the Jews' more practical armed resistance.

<sup>3</sup> The Edomites were the traditional foes of the Jews; here, Christians are meant.

<sup>4</sup> Archbishop Ruthard had been paid to remain and defend the Jews. He was later accused of having received some of the plunder taken from them. It is clear that local bishops were not instigators of the violence, and in many cases they made a good-faith effort to protect the Jews of their cities.

enemy kill us—and the easiest of the four deaths is by the sword. But we, our souls in paradise, shall continue to live eternally, in the great shining reflection [of the divine glory].”<sup>1</sup>

With a whole heart and with a willing soul they then spoke: “After all it is not right to criticize the acts of God—blessed be He and blessed be His name—who has given to us His Torah and a command to put ourselves to death, to kill ourselves for the unity of His holy name.<sup>2</sup> Happy are we if we do His will. Happy is anyone who is killed or slaughtered, who dies for the unity of His name, so that he is ready to enter the World to Come, to dwell in the heavenly camp with the righteous—with Rabbi Akiba and his companions, the pillars of the universe, who were killed for His name’s sake.<sup>3</sup> Not only *this*; but he exchanges the world of darkness for the world of light, the world of trouble for the world of joy, and the world that passes away for the world that lasts for all eternity.” Then all of them, to a man, cried out with a loud voice: “Now we must delay no longer, for the enemy are already upon us. Let us hasten and offer ourselves as a sacrifice to the Lord. Let him who has a knife examine it that it not be nicked, and let him come and slaughter us for the sanctification of the Only One, the Everlasting, and then let him cut his own throat or plunge the knife into his own body.”<sup>4</sup>

As soon as the enemy came into the courtyard they found some of the very pious there with our brilliant master, Isaac ben Moses. He stretched out his neck, and his head they cut off first. The others, wrapped in their fringed praying-shawls, sat by themselves in the

courtyard, eager to do the will of their Creator. They did not care to flee into the chamber to save themselves for this temporal life, but out of love they received upon themselves the sentence of God.<sup>5</sup> The enemy showered stones and arrows upon them, but they did not care to flee; and “with the stroke of the sword, and with slaughter, and destruction”<sup>6</sup> the foe killed all of those whom they found there. When those in the chambers saw the deed of these righteous ones, how the enemy had already come upon them, they then cried out, all of them: “There is nothing better than for us to offer our lives as a sacrifice.”<sup>7</sup>

The women there girded their loins with strength and slew their sons and their daughters and then themselves. Many men, too, plucked up courage and killed their wives, their sons, their infants. The tender and delicate mother slaughtered the babe she had played with; all of them, men and women arose and slaughtered one another.<sup>8</sup> The maidens and the young brides and grooms looked out of the windows and in a loud voice cried: “Look and see, O our God, what we do for the sanctification of Thy great name in order not to exchange you for a hanged and crucified one....”

Thus were the precious children of Zion, the Jews of Mainz, tried with ten trials like Abraham, our father, and like Hananiah, Mishaël, and Azariah.<sup>9</sup> They bound their sons as Abraham bound Isaac his son, and they received upon themselves with a willing soul the yoke of the fear of God, the King of the Kings of Kings, the Holy One, blessed be He, rather than deny and exchange the religion of our King for “an abhorred offshoot,”<sup>10</sup> a bastard born of menstruation and lust.<sup>11</sup> They stretched out their necks

<sup>1</sup> In Jewish law the four death penalties were stoning, burning, beheading, and strangulation.

<sup>2</sup> While traditional martyrdom to avoid the sin of idolatry is understood to be a mandate from the Torah, there is no commandment that could be understood to justify suicide in this context, and certainly not the killing of other Jews, as the narrative will describe.

<sup>3</sup> The Romans martyred Akiba during the Bar Kokba revolt, about 135 CE.

<sup>4</sup> The taking of their own lives by Jews is presented as a reenactment of the ancient Temple sacrifices, for which a knife without blemishes was required.

<sup>5</sup> This is a description of traditional, passive martyrdom, in which the martyr makes no attempt to resist.

<sup>6</sup> Esther 9:13.

<sup>7</sup> The outnumbered Jews had no chance to prevail: Emico is reported to have had about twelve thousand men.

<sup>8</sup> The narrator does not appear to recognize that such behavior is far more problematic in Jewish law. It is said here to be initiated not by the rabbis but by ordinary Jews.

<sup>9</sup> Who were thrown into a fiery furnace (Dan. 3:21).

<sup>10</sup> Isa. 14:19.

<sup>11</sup> This contemptuous reference to Jesus is based on the assertions in the birth narrative of Matthew’s Gospel: Mary and Joseph were betrothed, Mary was pregnant, Joseph was not the father. Jewish readers concluded that the pregnancy was therefore the result of an adulterous relationship.

to the slaughter and they delivered their pure souls to their Father in heaven. Righteous and pious women bared their throats to each other, offering to be sacrificed for the unity of the Name. A father turning to his son or brother, a brother to his sister, a woman to her son or daughter, a neighbor to a neighbor or a friend, a groom to a bride, a fiancé to a fiancée, would kill and would be killed, and blood touched blood. The blood of the men mingled with their wives', the blood of the fathers with their children's, the blood of the brothers with their sisters', the blood of the teachers with their disciples', the blood of the grooms with their brides', the blood of the leaders with their cantors', the blood of the judges with their scribes', and the blood of infants and sucklings with their mothers'. For the unity of the honored and awe-inspiring Name were they killed and slaughtered.

The ears of one who hears these things will tingle, for who has ever heard anything like this? Inquire now and look about, was there ever such an abundant sacrifice as

this since the days of the primeval Adam? Were there ever eleven hundred offerings on one day, each one of them like the sacrifice of Isaac, the son of Abraham?

For the sake of Isaac who was ready to be sacrificed on Mount Moriah, the world shook, as it is said, "Behold their valiant ones cry without; [the angels of peace weep bitterly],"<sup>1</sup> and "the heavens grow dark."<sup>2</sup> Yet see what these martyrs did! Why did the heavens not grow dark and the stars not withdraw their brightness? Why did not the moon and the sun grow dark in their heavens when on one day, on the third of Sivan, on a Tuesday, eleven hundred souls were killed and slaughtered, among them so many infants and sucklings who had never transgressed nor sinned, so many poor, innocent souls?

Wilt Thou, despite this, still restrain Thyself, O Lord? For Thy sake it was that these numberless souls were killed.

Avenge quickly the blood of Thy servants which was spilt in our days and in our sight. Amen.

### 5.13 A Westerner in the Holy Land: Stephen of Blois, *Letter to His Wife* (March 1098). Original in Latin.

The crusaders had moderate success in their war against the Muslims. During the long siege of Antioch, which began in October 1097 and was not over until July 1098, one of the crusade leaders, Count Stephen of Blois (d.1102), dictated a letter to his wife, Adela. Full of love, bravado, false claims (e.g., that he was the leader of the "whole expedition"), and pious sentiments, the letter betrays little sign that Stephen was about to desert the army and return home. The letter is a good illustration of what a crusader was supposed to think about the enterprise, whether he did or not.

1. What does the letter suggest about the relations between husbands and wives (at least those of the French nobility)?
2. What is Stephen's opinion of the Crusade in this letter?

[Source: *The Crusades: A Reader*, ed. S.J. Allen and Emilie Amt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 63–66, revised from *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, ed. Dana C. Munro, Ser. 1, Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Department of History, 1895), no. 4, pp. 5–8.]

<sup>1</sup> Isa. 33:7.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. 4:28.

Count Stephen to Adela, his sweetest and most amiable wife, to his dear children, and to all his vassals of all ranks—his greeting and blessing.

You may be very sure, dearest, that the messenger whom I sent to give you pleasure, left me before Antioch safe and unharmed, and through God's grace in the greatest prosperity. And already at that time, together with all the chosen army of Christ, endowed with great valor by him, we had been continuously advancing for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus. You may know for certain, my beloved, that of gold, silver and many other kind of riches I now have twice as much as your love had assigned to me when I left you. For all our princes, with the common consent of the whole army, against my own wishes, have made me up to the present time the leader, chief and director of their whole expedition.

You have certainly heard that after the capture of the city of Nicaea we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks and by God's aid conquered them. Next we conquered for the Lord all Romania<sup>1</sup> and afterwards Cappadocia. And we learned that there was a certain Turkish prince Assam, dwelling in Cappadocia; thither we directed our course. All his castles we conquered by force and compelled him to flee to a certain very strong castle situated on a high rock. We also gave the land of that Assam to one of our chiefs and in order that he might conquer the above-mentioned Assam, we left there with him many soldiers of Christ. Thence, continually following the wicked Turks, we drove them through the midst of Armenia, as far as the great river Euphrates. Having left all their baggage and beasts of burden on the bank, they fled across the river into Arabia.

The bolder of the Turkish soldiers, indeed, entering Syria, hastened by forced marches night and day, in order to be able to enter the royal city of Antioch before our approach. The whole army of God, learning this, gave due praise and thanks to the omnipotent Lord. Hastening with great joy to the aforesaid chief city of Antioch, we besieged it and very often had many conflicts there with

the Turks; and seven times with the citizens of Antioch and with the innumerable troops coming to its aid, whom we rushed to meet, we fought with the fiercest courage, under the leadership of Christ. And in all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered and most assuredly killed an innumerable host of them. In those battles, indeed, and in very many attacks made upon the city, many of our brethren and followers were killed and their souls were borne to the joys of paradise.

We found the city of Antioch very extensive, fortified with incredible strength and almost impregnable. In addition, more than 5,000 bold Turkish soldiers had entered the city, not counting the Saracens, Publicans, Arabs, Turcopolitans, Syrians, Armenians and other different races of whom an infinite multitude had gathered together there. In fighting against these enemies of God and of our own we have, by God's grace, endured many sufferings and innumerable evils up to the present time. Many also have already exhausted all their resources in this very holy passion. Very many of our Franks, indeed, would have met a temporal death from starvation, if the clemency of God and our money had not succored them. Before the above-mentioned city of Antioch indeed, throughout the whole winter we suffered for our Lord Christ from excessive cold and enormous torrents of rain. What some say about the impossibility of bearing the heat of the sun throughout Syria is untrue, for the winter there is very similar to our winter in the west.

When truly Caspian,<sup>2</sup> the emir of Antioch—that is, prince and lord—perceived that he was hard pressed by us, he sent his son Sensodolo<sup>3</sup> by name, to the prince who holds Jerusalem, and to the prince of Calep, Rodoam<sup>4</sup> and to Docap prince of Damascus.<sup>5</sup> He also sent into Arabia for Bolianuth<sup>6</sup> and to Carathania for Hamelnuth.<sup>7</sup> These five emirs with 12,000 picked Turkish horsemen suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. We, indeed, ignorant of all this, had sent many of our soldiers away to the cities and fortresses. For there are 165 cities and fortresses throughout Syria which are in our power. But a little before they reached the city, we attacked them

<sup>1</sup> "Romania" here refers to the Byzantine Empire; at the time Stephen was writing, much of Anatolia had been taken by the Seljuk Turks.

<sup>2</sup> This was Yaghi Siyan, appointed emir in 1087.

<sup>3</sup> Shams ad-Daulah.

<sup>4</sup> This was Ridwan of Aleppo.

<sup>5</sup> Docap was Duqaq, Seljuk ruler of Damascus (r.1095–1104).

<sup>6</sup> This was Kerbogha, the Turkish governor of Mosul (d.1102).

<sup>7</sup> Carathania refers to Khorasan, today in Iran.

at three leagues' distance with 700 soldiers, on a certain plain near the "Iron Bridge."<sup>1</sup> God, however, fought for us, his faithful, against them. For on that day, fighting in the strength that God gives, we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude—God continually fighting for us—and we also carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account. The emperor of Babylon also sent Saracen messengers to our army with letters, and through these he established peace and concord with us.<sup>2</sup>

I love to tell you, dearest, what happened to us during Lent. Our princes had caused a fortress to be built before a certain gate which was between our camp and the sea. For the Turks, daily issuing from this gate, killed some of our men on their way to the sea. The city of Antioch is about five leagues' distance from the sea. For this reason they sent the excellent Bohemond<sup>3</sup> and Raymond, count of St. Gilles,<sup>4</sup> to the sea with only sixty horsemen, in order that they might bring mariners to aid in this work. When, however, they were returning to us with those mariners, the Turks collected an army, fell suddenly upon our two leaders and forced them to a perilous flight. In that unexpected flight we lost more than 500 of our footsoldiers—to the glory of God. Of our horsemen, however, we lost only two, for certain.

On that same day truly, in order to receive our brethren with joy, and ignorant of their misfortunes, we went out to meet them. When, however, we approached the above-mentioned gate of the city, a mob of horsemen and footsoldiers from Antioch, elated by the victory which they had won, rushed upon us in the same manner. Seeing these, our leaders sent to the camp of the Christians to order all to be ready

to follow us into battle. In the meantime our men gathered together and the scattered leaders, namely, Bohemond and Raymond, with the remainder of their army came up and narrated the great misfortune which they had suffered.

Our men, full of fury at these most evil tidings, prepared to die for Christ and, deeply grieved for their brethren, rushed upon the sacrilegious Turks. They, the enemies of God and of us, hastily fled before us and attempted to enter their city. But by God's grace the affair turned out very differently; for, when they wanted to cross a bridge built over the great river Moscholum,<sup>5</sup> we followed them as closely as possible, killed many before they reached the bridge, forced many into the river, all of whom were killed, and we also slew many upon the bridge and very many at the narrow entrance to the gate. I am telling you the truth, my beloved, and you may be very certain that in this battle we killed thirty emirs, that is princes, and, three hundred other Turkish nobles, not counting the remaining Turks and pagans. Indeed, the number of Turks and Saracens killed is reckoned at 1,230, but of ours we did not lose a single man.

While on the following day (Easter) my chaplain Alexander was writing this letter in great haste, a party of our men, lying in wait for the Turks, fought a successful battle with them and killed sixty horsemen, whose heads they brought to the army.

These which I write to you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done, and because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to carefully watch over your land, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. You will certainly see me just as soon as I can possibly return to you. Farewell.

<sup>1</sup> The "Iron Bridge" crossed the Orontes River, about seven miles north of Antioch.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to an offer of neutrality by the Fatimid caliph of Egypt, who was Shi'ite, and thus hostile to the Sunni Turks.

<sup>3</sup> Bohemond of Taranto (d.1111), leader of the Norman contingent.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond of St. Gilles (d.1105) was the count of Toulouse and an important crusade leader.

<sup>5</sup> The Orontes River; this was another battle at the Iron Bridge.