

We're on a Mission from God:
A Translation, Commentary, and Essay Concerning
The *Hierosolymita* by Ekkehard of Aura

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A thesis presented to the History Department,
University of Washington
In completion of the History Honors Thesis Requirement

Department of History

University of Washington

7 March 2011

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people for their assistance in the writing of this senior thesis. First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor Dean Robert Stacey for his consistent help and feedback with any problems I might have had, whether relating to crusading historiography or the basics of thesis construction. His expertise in the field of history has proved invaluable, and I could not have been more honored to work with such a gracious adviser. For helping me with the intricacies of the Latin text, I owe an extreme debt to Professor Alain Gowing. I would also like to extend my thanks to Professor Purnima Dhavan, who oversaw this project over the last two quarters and was able to provide me with guidance as the project progressed from its infancy to completion. My fellow colleagues in the UW History Honors Program have also provided me with feedback about the course of my paper, and for that I also am indebted to them. Finally, I would like to thank my family, who has instilled in me a love of learning, through which this thesis was made possible.

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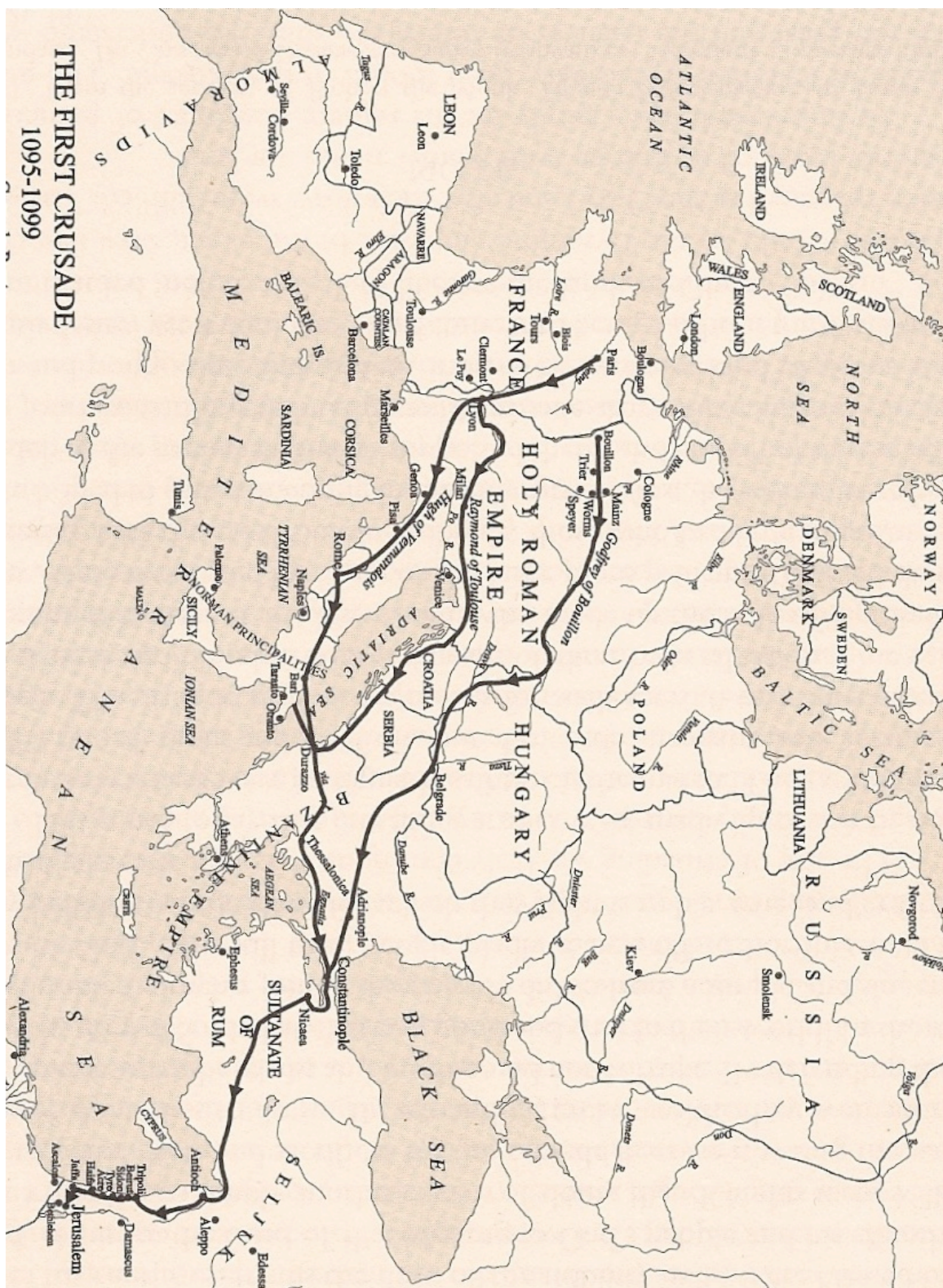
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Course of the First Crusade

From *The New Concise History of the Crusades* by Thomas Madden, page 14

Introduction to the *Hierosolymita*

"Tancred and Godfrey in the vanguard spilled an incredible amount of blood, and their comrades, close at their heels, now brought suffering to the Saracens... With the fall of Jerusalem and its towers one could see marvelous works. Some of the pagans were mercifully beheaded, others pierced by arrows plunged from towers, and yet others, tortured for a long time, were burned to death in searing flames. Piles of heads, hands, and feet lay in the houses and streets, and indeed there was a running to and fro of men and knights over the corpses... So it is sufficient to relate that in the Temple of Solomon and the portico crusaders rode in blood to the knees and bridles of their horses.... This was poetic justice that the Temple of Solomon should receive the blood of pagans who blasphemed God there for many years."¹

In an orgy of bloodlust and religious zeal, the city of Jerusalem fell to crusader forces in 1099, fulfilling the heavenly goal of the First Crusade and establishing a Catholic presence in the Middle East for the next 200 years. This expedition was one of the most well documented episodes in Medieval European history. The accounts of Guibert de Nogent, Raymond d'Aguilers, Peter Tudebode, and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* have provided historians with a wealth of information about this crusade.² Despite the thorough researching of these documents, certain chronicles have slipped through the radar of historians and have been consistently disregarded. Prominent among these texts is the *Hierosolymita* by Ekkehard of Aura. Although sections of this text have been translated into English, the work as a whole has never been translated. Historians have only used the *Hierosolymita* for its description of the massacres of Rhineland Jews in 1096 and its eyewitness account of the Crusade of 1101.

¹ Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita H. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968), 127-128.

² These texts have been translated into English in the following books: Guibert de Nogent, *The Deeds of God Through the Franks: Gesta Dei Per Francos*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997). Raymond D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita H. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968). Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita H. Hill (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1974). Rosalind Hill, editor, *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962).

The *Hierosolymita* is the only surviving crusade chronicle written by a participant in the disastrous Crusade of 1101, and serves as the earliest example of a chronicle written about crusading in the period directly after the successful First Crusade. Through this essay, translation, and commentary, I will highlight the exceptional features of the *Hierosolymita* and analyze the text in its entirety. When studied with respect to names, dates, and original information pertaining to the First Crusade, the *Hierosolymita* is lackluster. Ekkehard errs multiple times when describing well-known historical events, and his descriptions of battles and marches are cursory at best. Furthermore, much of Ekkehard's description of the First Crusade itself is taken from other contemporary sources. However, what Ekkehard lacks in historical accuracy, he makes up for with his striking perspectives about crusading. When the entire *Hierosolymita* is examined, readers can discern that Ekkehard is trying to reconcile his own beliefs about the divine power of God as manifested in the victories of the First Crusade, with the failures of the 1101 expedition in which he himself was a participant. If God has absolute control over all worldly events, why did he allow the First Crusade to capture Jerusalem but the Crusade of 1101 to catastrophically fail? What caused God to condemn the crusade on which Ekkehard travelled: the people, their motives? These were the questions with which Ekkehard wrestled in his chronicle.

Ekkehard grapples with these questions throughout the *Hierosolymita*, but he is unable to come up with a coherent response to them. Through his attempts to answer these questions, however, historians can better discern how crusaders envisioned the practice of crusading in the period immediately following the First Crusade and the Crusade of 1101. When looking back to the failure of the Crusade of 1101, Ekkehard hearkened back to the First Crusade for guidance. He praised the zealous motivations of First Crusade leaders Godfrey and Baldwin, while

condemning the participants of the Crusade of 1101 for material motivations. Ekkehard noted the arduous penitential journey, both physical and mental, upon which the First Crusaders embarked, and held that up as the ideal for participants in any crusade. Ekkehard also recognized the global appeal of crusading, but he was still predisposed to question the zealotry of crusaders from certain regions. The *Hierosolymita* is the work of a monk seeking to explain why the crusade in which he participated was a failure, and to advertise to future crusaders how a true crusade should be carried out.

Chapter 1: Summary of the *Hierosolymita*

The *Hierosolymita* outlines the events leading up to and through the First Crusade, beginning with Muslim advances into Anatolia and the Middle East at the expense of the Byzantine Empire in the 11th century. Ekkehard then enumerates the atrocities that the Turks were reported to have committed against Christian possessions in the Holy Land, culminating in Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenos's request for military aid from Pope Urban II. After a very brief account of the Council of Clermont, where Pope Urban II appealed to Christians to aid their Christian brethren in the Holy Land, Ekkehard describes at greater length the massive popular response. People throughout Europe zealously accepted this message and crusader preachers spread it, providing their own unique perspectives about the nature of crusading.³ People from all levels of society took up the call to arms, and armies began setting off across Europe.⁴

Ekkehard then follows the disastrous course of the Peasants' Crusade through Germany and Hungary. In particular, the armies of Emicho, Fulkmar, and Gottschalk became infamous for their actions against Rhineland Jews. Ekkehard notes how these armies "entirely destroyed the wretched population of the Jews wherever they were found or even compelled them into the bosom of the church," before the crusading armies were destroyed in Eastern Europe.⁵ Following this description, Ekkehard then quotes at length from "a little book" that he found at Jerusalem in 1101, which outlines the events of the First Crusade.⁶ In his description of the successful course of the First Crusade, Ekkehard also copies an "Epistola" from Count Robert.⁷ Using these sources, Ekkehard outlines the events of the First Crusade in some detail: the Crusader armies

³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: The Athlone Press, 1986), 53-55.

⁴ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 16-17.

⁵ *Hierosolymita*, 12.2.

⁶ *Hierosolymita*, 14.1.

⁷ This document was an official summary of the First Crusade set forth by Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of St. Gilles, and Daimbert to Pope Paschal II. An English translation of the text can be found in August. C. Krey, *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), 275-279.

arrived at Constantinople, captured various Muslim cities including Jerusalem, and won a stunning victory at Ascalon. His description of the First Crusade ends with the appointment of Duke Godfrey, one of the leaders of the crusade, as the Defender of the Holy Sepulcher.⁸ Upon the death of Godfrey, Ekkehard then recounts the early accomplishments of his brother Baldwin, who succeeded Godfrey as King of Jerusalem, won several battles against the Turks, and seized several coastal cities.

At this point, Ekkehard launches into a description of the Crusade of 1101. Ekkehard himself joins the armies of Duke Welf and Count William IX of Aquitaine and travels to Constantinople. There, he notes the rising tensions between the crusaders and Alexius, whom many people called “not an emperor but a traitor.”⁹ After departing from Constantinople, the armies of Welf and William are harassed by an army of Turks, who massacre the crusader army in Anatolia like “sheep lined up for the slaughter.”¹⁰ Ekkehard himself escapes this destruction, because he had chosen to travel by boat from Constantinople to Jaffa and then overland from there to Jerusalem. After further accounts of King Baldwin’s victories, Ekkehard devotes the remainder of the text to a description of several miracles and a defense of crusading.

⁸ Godfrey's title was used in place of "King" of Jerusalem, since he did not want to wear a crown in the same land where Jesus had worn the crown of thorns. Steven Runciman: *A History of the Crusades, Volume 1* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 292-293.

⁹ *Hierosolymita*, 24.1.

¹⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 26.1.

Chapter 2: The Life of Ekkehard of Aura

Very little is known about the life of Ekkehard of Aura. The entirety of his youth remains unknown to historians: his parents, birthplace, and preliminary education.¹¹ However, some information about his life can be gleaned from his surviving works, including the *Chronicon Universale* and the *Hierosolymita*. In addition, a 15th century author named Tritheim Trithemius wrote about Ekkehard, but the information he presents is suspect.¹² The annals of the monastery of Hirsauge in Germany are more reliable. They mention that Ekkehard was a canon and schoolmaster in Worms. These annals also confirm his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, from which he returned in 1102.¹³ Although Ekkehard's presence in the Holy Land is undisputed, the many factual inaccuracies in the *Hierosolymita* cast into doubt Ekkehard's proximity to the battles and sieges he describes. In Germany, Ekkehard was likely involved with the monasteries of Hirsauge, Bamberg, Aura, and Corvey, but it is impossible to decisively conclude at what dates he lived in these monasteries.¹⁴ The R.H.C. speculates that he was a monk at Corvey abbey under abbot Marquard from approximately 1091 to 1106, whereupon he became of Aura until his death.¹⁵

Although so much about Ekkehard's life is unclear, it is firmly established that Ekkehard left for the Holy Land during the year 1101. In all likelihood he left in April along with other German Crusaders under Duke Welf, travelling through various countries in Eastern Europe before arriving in Constantinople on June 1st. Out of all the other crusader chroniclers, Ekkehard is the only one to have travelled on this expedition. Instead of following the main corps of the

¹¹ Paul Riant, ed., *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux: Tome Cinquieme* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1967), ii. When discussed in the essay itself, I will refer to this volume simply as the R.H.C.

¹² Riant, *Recueil*, ii.

¹³ Riant, *Recueil*, iii.

¹⁴ Riant, *Recueil*, iii-v.

¹⁵ Riant, *Recueil*, iii.

crusader army by land over Anatolia, Ekkehard took a six-week sea voyage to Jaffa.

This choice probably saved his life, as Duke Welf's army was annihilated by the Turks in Anatolia. The events that transpired in the Holy Land over the course of the next several months are difficult to decipher because Ekkehard does not give consistent dates for when events occurred. As a result, the timeline of certain battles and sieges is uncertain at best, factually inaccurate at worst. Apart from events in the environs of Jaffa, Ekkehard gives little information about his stay in the Middle East. The editor of the R.H.C. presumed that Ekkehard visited various religiously significant locations, and Ekkehard himself reported finding a little book in Jerusalem, from which he drew much of his account of the First Crusade. This proves that Ekkehard did at least spend some time in Jerusalem as well as in Jaffa.¹⁶ After his brief stay in the Holy Land, Ekkehard sailed from Jaffa on 24 September 1101 to Rome, where he was present during the Holy Week of 1102.¹⁷

Ekkehard would not return to the Holy Land. For the rest of his life, he led an active religious life in Europe. Ekkehard attended the synod in which Pope Paschal II excommunicated Emperor Henry IV, and later became an envoy of Emperor Henry V. The last major known episode of Ekkehard's life was his appointment to the monastery of Aura, located in the diocese of Wurzburg, which the editor of the R.H.C. dates somewhere between the years 1108 to 1117.¹⁸ The necrology of Saint Michael in Bamberg records that Ekkehard died on February 20th, although the year is unknown. The historian Trithemius claims that Ekkehard died in the year 1130, although there is no information to support or refute this statement.¹⁹

¹⁶ Riant, *Recueil*, iv.

¹⁷ March 30 – April 6. Riant, *Recueil*, iv.

¹⁸ Riant, *Recueil*, v.

¹⁹ Riant, *Recueil*, vi.

Chapter 3: The Historical Value of the *Hierosolymita*

Historians hoping to glean new information about the events of the First Crusade from the *Hierosolymita* will be disappointed. The vast majority of the *Hierosolymita* contains information already reported in greater detail by other crusader chronicles, several written by eyewitnesses to the events they describe. Nearly all of the background information that Ekkehard gives about the lead up to the First Crusade is vague. For example, Ekkehard's description of Pope Urban II's speech at the Council of Clermont is merely that

“He [Pope Urban II], most eloquently and at great length, exclaimed all the things that I have previously discussed to an innumerable crowd that had convened at this place and to the legates of various kingdoms. Soon the renowned teacher gave the remission of sins to the thousands weeping in this place.”²⁰

Scanty descriptions such as this are present throughout the *Hierosolymita*, and do not give historians much new information pertaining to the course of the crusade. And as noted above, Ekkehard's description of the successful First Crusade expedition is largely taken from other sources, in particular the “little book” that he found at Jerusalem, which outlined the events of the First Crusade from the end of the Peasants' Crusade to the capture of Jerusalem.²¹ Historians have speculated that this book was the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, but there is reason to question this interpretation.²² There are three surviving crusade chronicles that Ekkehard could have drawn upon during the writing of the *Hierosolymita*. They are the *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond d'Aguilers, the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode, and the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*.²³ Historian Steven Runciman dates the composition of the chronicle of d'Aguilers to 1099, the chronicle of Tudebode to around 1106,

²⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 6.1.

²¹ Chapters 13 and 14 of the *Hierosolymita* are primarily summaries of this “little book.”

²² Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 329.

²³ For clarity, I will be referring to these chronicles by the names of the authors who wrote them, except in the case of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, which will simply be referred to as the *Gesta*.

and the *Gesta* to 1100 or 1101.

Although the editor of the R.H.C. dated the composition of Ekkehard's text to circa 1112, I believe there is reason to think it was written earlier than this. In the first chapter of the *Hierosolymita*, Ekkehard dedicated the book to the "whole flock of the Saints Stephan and Vitus."²⁴ Given that Ekkehard was a monk at Corvey Abbey, which had strong connections to Saints Stephan and Vitus,²⁵ it would be reasonable to conclude that Ekkehard wrote the *Hierosolymita* either during his time at Corvey Abbey or immediately following his departure. If an earlier date for the composition of the *Hierosolymita* were accepted, perhaps between 1102 and 1108, then Ekkehard's text would be the earliest chronicle about crusading written by a non-participant in the First Crusade. Although Ekkehard might have had access to partially completed editions of the *Gesta*, the chronicle of Tudebode, and the chronicle of d'Aguilers, based upon a detailed textual comparison of the *Hierosolymita* to the three above-mentioned crusade chronicles, I have concluded that the "little book" Ekkehard encountered in Jerusalem and from which he drew his account of the First Crusade, was most likely a now lost crusader chronicle that served as a common source for all three of these other First Crusade chronicles. I believe this to be the case because the information presented in the *Hierosolymita* cannot be solely found in any one of the three texts.

Ekkehard clearly was not summarizing the events of the First Crusade from the chronicle of Raymond d'Aguilers. In his description of the actions of crusader leaders around Constantinople, Ekkehard exclusively recounts the cunning deeds of Duke Godfrey, while the

²⁴ *Hierosolymita*, 1.1.

²⁵ When Louis the Pious gave a grant to Corvey Abbey in 833, he mentioned that the monastery was dedicated "to the honor of St. Stephen." "Louis the Pious: Grant of Minting Coins to Abbey of Corvey, 833," *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/833louis-corveymint.html> (accessed Feb. 28, 2011). Furthermore, the relics of St. Vitus were translated to Corvey Abbey in 1836. "Saint Vitus the Saint," *Saint Vitus*, <http://saintvitus.com/SaintVitus/> (accessed Feb. 28, 2011).

chronicle of d'Aguilers fails to mention these exploits.²⁶ When describing the siege of Nicaea, Ekkehard erroneously mentions that the crusaders caused the flight of Muslim leader Suliman.²⁷ However, the account of Raymond d'Aguilers specifically mentions the flight of local lord Kilij Arslan.²⁸

The relevant portions of the *Hierosolymita* bear a more striking resemblance to the chronicle of Peter Tudebode, but there are several anomalies that make it unlikely that Ekkehard solely used this chronicle as a source of information for the First Crusade. Both accounts emphasize the deeds of Duke Godfrey in the environs of Constantinople.²⁹ However, Tudebode's description of the Siege of Nicea mentions both Suliman and Kilij Arslan, whereas Ekkehard only mentions Suliman. The same inconsistencies exist when comparing the *Hierosolymita* to the *Gesta*. The focus of the *Gesta* during the crusaders' stay at Constantinople is almost solely upon the works of Bohemond, Tancred, and Raymond of Toulouse, while the *Hierosolymita* discussed Godfrey at length. However, both of these chronicles similarly recounted the events that transpired at the siege of Nicaea.

In addition to these inconsistencies, the *Hierosolymita* contains information that is not present in any of the three above chronicles. For example, at one point, Ekkehard claims that "300,000 fighting men" arrived at Constantinople over a period of time,³⁰ a number not found in any of the other chronicles. Furthermore, Ekkehard says that the book he found in Jerusalem covered the time period from the defeat of the Peasants' Crusade to the "happiest victory at Jerusalem."³¹ None of the crusade chronicles in question span this time frame. Raymond

²⁶ D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 22-25.

²⁷ *Hierosolymita*, 14.1.

²⁸ D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 28.

²⁹ Tudebode, *Historia*, 22.

³⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 13.2.

³¹ *Hierosolymita*, 13.1.

d'Aguilers begins with a description of Count Raymond's march through Sclavonia and ends with the Battle of Ascalon, which took place after the capture of Jerusalem. Tudebode's chronicle starts with a description of the Council of Clermont in 1095, a year before the Peasants' Crusade, and ends with a description of the Battle of Ascalon. The time frame of the *Gesta* most closely resembles that which Ekkehard described, but still does not match up entirely. The *Gesta* begins with the Council of Clermont and ends with the capture of Jerusalem.³² Clearly, Ekkehard could not have relied solely upon these chronicles when formulating his summary of the First Crusade. He could have relied upon eyewitness testimony given by soldiers on the expedition itself, but the more likely possibility is that Ekkehard drew upon a now lost crusader chronicle that served as a common source of information for all three of these other chroniclers. Historians John and Laurita Hill claim that "the case that Ekkehard had read a little book which is the present *Gesta* is incredible."³³ Instead, they speculate too that Ekkehard was using a small, now-lost crusading book that served as a common pool of information for crusade chroniclers.³⁴

Ekkehard's other primary source for describing the First Crusade is a letter attributed to Count Robert of Flanders, but which is in fact an official summary of the First Crusade sent by Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of St. Gilles, and Daimbert to Pope Paschal II. It was drafted in the late 11th century, when Daimbert was working at the Church of Jerusalem.³⁵ In chapters, 14, 15, 17, and 18 of the *Hierosolymita*, Ekkehard copies the contents of this letter nearly word for word, and the small changes he makes in the text do not provide any further analysis of the

³² I recognize that these texts might have been at different stages of completion when Ekkehard saw them in Jerusalem. However, a thorough analysis of manuscripts is beyond the scope of this project, so I am assuming that the little book he viewed in Jerusalem was in its finished state.

³³ Tudebode, *Historia*, 11.

³⁴ Tudebode, *Historia*, 11.

³⁵ An English translation of the text can be found in Krey, *Eyewitnesses and Participants*, 275-279.

progress of the First Crusade.

Apart from Ekkehard's own personal experiences on the crusading trail, the disputed "little book" at Jerusalem and Daimbert's letter are the only contemporary sources from which Ekkehard draws at length in the *Hierosolymita*. The information that Ekkehard borrowed from these two texts fills the period from the defeat of the Peasants' Crusade to the Battle of Ascalon. As a result, none of the information that Ekkehard presents about the First Crusade is original information.

Despite being a secondary source of information about the First Crusade itself, the *Hierosolymita* does contain original information about the events that took place before and after the crusade, primarily the Peasants' Crusade and the Crusade of 1101. Historians have consistently relied upon Ekkehard's testimony about the Peasants' Crusade because of his proximity to the events he describes. Ekkehard was a monk in Germany during the time of the Peasants' Crusade, so he probably was well informed about the progress of this pilgrimage.³⁶ As such, Ekkehard spends considerable time detailing the actions of crusader leaders Folkmar, Gottschalk, and Emicho in the Rhineland. Ekkehard documents the massacres of Jews along the Rhine, Main, and Danube rivers before noting the political troubles that the crusading armies encountered in Hungary. Ekkehard's account of these events can be considered historically accurate because it matches up nicely with the accounts given by German chronicler Albert of Aachen and with Jewish sources such as the *Mainz Anonymous* and the so-called *Chronicle of Solomon bar Simson*.³⁷

³⁶ Riant, *Recueil*, iii.

³⁷ Albert of Aachen was a German historian who wrote the *Historia Hierosolymita* in the 1120s. The portion of this text concerning the massacres of Jews along the Rhineland can be found at "Albert of Aix: Historia Hierosolymita," *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/albert-cde.html#folcmar> (accessed Feb. 28, 2011). Translations of German Jewish sources can be found in Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades* (Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 15-73, 95-117. The dating of these sources is incredibly difficult, and scholars have

While Ekkehard's description of the Peasants' Crusade is generally thought to be historically accurate, the same cannot be said about the remainder of the *Hierosolymita*; the text is littered with inconsistencies and blatant errors concerning names and dates. For example, Ekkehard claims that the Council of Clermont took place in 1096, while other chronicles across the board say that the Council took place in November 1095.³⁸ Ekkehard's description of the events in the Holy Land in the early 12th century is also riddled with errors. He claims that "King Baldwin compelled Ascalon to become a tributary to him after a long siege," when in fact the city that Baldwin subdued was Acre.³⁹ He also asserts that crusader forces captured Fatimid leader Sena al-Mulk at the Third Battle of Ramleh, even though all other chronicles report his escape.⁴⁰ Ekkehard also writes about a siege at Jaffa in September 1101, even though his description bears a closer resemblance to the siege at Jaffa that took place in 1102.⁴¹ In one of his many polemics against the Byzantine Empire, Ekkehard claims that Emperor Alexius handed over the city of Nicaea to Turkish forces, even though Nicaea in fact remained in Byzantine hands until 1331, two centuries after Ekkehard's death.⁴²

Even though Ekkehard was the only chronicler to physically travel on the Crusade of 1101, his erroneous information concerning these events throws into doubt his proximity to them. Since so little is known about Ekkehard's life, historians can only speculate about the causes of these historical inaccuracies. Ekkehard certainly travelled to the Holy Land with the armies of Duke Welf and Count William, but little else is known about his stay in the Middle East. Ekkehard might not have been present at King Baldwin's capture of Acre or his victory in

estimated their composition at dates ranging from the 1150s to the late 1200s.

³⁸ *Hierosolymita*, 6.1.

³⁹ *Hierosolymita*, 33.1; Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 88.

⁴⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 33.1.

⁴¹ *Hierosolymita*, 31.1.

⁴² *Hierosolymita*, 31.1.

the Third Battle of Ramleh, but instead heard about them through eyewitnesses. On the other hand, Ekkehard might have been present at these events, but their details could have become muddled in Ekkehard's mind during the time between the events and when Ekkehard wrote the *Hierosolymita*. However, given my argument that Ekkehard wrote the *Hierosolymita* during the very early 12th century, I believe the former of these arguments to be more convincing.

Chapter 4: Ekkehard on Crusading

Although Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymita* is not a primary source of information about the course of the First Crusade itself, it is an excellent tool for deciphering mentalities about crusading in the early 12th century. Throughout the *Hierosolymita*, Ekkehard attempts to come to terms with the reasons behind the success of the First Crusade and the failure of the expedition in which he took part, the Crusade of 1101. In this analysis, he begins to mythologize the First Crusade through an emphasis on the global nature of the crusade and the pure motivations of the people who took part in the crusade. Despite the global Christian endeavor that Ekkehard envisions the First Crusade to be, he nonetheless still struggles to overcome his regional biases and his own prejudices about certain ethnic groups. Ekkehard also presents the righteous deeds of First Crusader leaders Godfrey and Baldwin in a mythic light. Conversely, Ekkehard cites material motivations as a reason for the failure of the Crusade of 1101 and the Peasants' Crusade. Unlike the heroic leaders of the First Crusade, Ekkehard condemns the leaders of the Peasants' Crusade and does not mention the outstanding deeds of any zealous leaders on the Crusade of 1101. Through lengthy descriptions of the success of the First Crusade, the failure of the Crusade of 1101 and the Peasants' Crusade, Ekkehard intends for his book to be a handbook for proper crusading as well as an explanation for the contrasting outcomes of these different crusading enterprises.

In his lofty description of the First Crusade, Ekkehard idealizes how crusading is a global enterprise carried out according to the will of God. He considers God himself to be the leader of the crusade, independent of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Pope Urban II was certainly a catalyst for calling the crusade at the Council of Clermont, but greater forces were also at work. Despite his central role in spreading religious zeal throughout Europe, Pope Urban II played only

a minor role in the unfolding of the crusade in the eyes of Ekkehard. A possible reason for Pope Urban's conspicuous absence from Ekkehard's account of the crusade was Ekkehard's loyalty to Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, who was embroiled in a series of wars in Italy with Pope Urban. This conflict, which included an extended debate over the process of investiture, caused deep divisions between the clergy of Germany, the Papacy, and the Holy Roman Emperor.

With Pope Urban II embroiled in temporal affairs, Ekkehard places God at the forefront of the *Hierosolymita* and the crusading movement through lengthy descriptions of the heavenly portents that indicated God's approval of crusading. More than any other contemporary crusade chronicler, Ekkehard emphasizes the significance of divine omens to crusading. As was mentioned above, Ekkehard reported that a number of omens incited the German people to crusade and that at a temple on Mt. Moria, several lamps lit themselves without any reason.⁴³ Ekkehard also reported "a comet standing fixed in the southern sky, its brilliance stretching out like the broad side of a sword" before the advent of the First Crusade.⁴⁴ Later on, a group of people saw a brilliant city in the sky, complete with people, with "the sign of the cross imprinted" upon themselves.⁴⁵ Ekkehard believed that these heavenly signs were a justification for the crusades, and further confirmation that all events that happened during the crusades were because of God's will. Other medieval chroniclers confirm the existence of these heavenly portents, and historian Jonathan Riley-Smith argues that the crusaders thought, "they were operating in a supernatural context."⁴⁶ Omens served as a constant reminder of the divine gaze under which the crusade was being carried out.

Ekkehard's belief that all happenings on the crusade were due to the will of God extended

⁴³ *Hierosolymita*, 10.1-2, 32.1-2.

⁴⁴ *Hierosolymita*, 10.1.

⁴⁵ *Hierosolymita*, 10.2.

⁴⁶ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 92.

to all events, both good and bad. After King Baldwin of Jerusalem executed a successful raid in Arabia, Ekkehard declared that the raid had triumphed only because of the "grace of God."⁴⁷ Ekkehard also believed that the morale of Christian soldiers in the Holy Land was raised after an inspiring speech because of the "magnificent will of Omnipotent God."⁴⁸ Ekkehard's faith in God's divine plan extended to crusader defeats as well as victories. He interpreted the disastrous events of the Peasants' Crusade as merely the Lord sweeping "the chaff from his threshing-floor... [leaving behind] the natural solidity and weight of the enduring grains of wheat."⁴⁹ After reporting the heavy losses during the Crusade of 1101, Ekkehard reiterated that it makes no difference to God "whether he saves many or few" crusaders.⁵⁰ Through his belief in God's divine plan, Ekkehard was able to place crusader defeats, specifically those in the disastrous Crusade of 1101, in a larger context.

The history of crusading is complex because scholars from the 12th century onwards have failed to pinpoint specifically what constitutes a crusade. This difficulty is due in part to a linguistic problem: there was no medieval word that specifically meant "crusade," although the Latin term *crucesignati*⁵¹ became synonymous with those people who embarked upon a crusade.⁵² Despite this commonality, different authors held different beliefs about who constituted a *crucesignatus* versus a simple soldier. Although there was likely no cohesive, transcendent definition of what constituted a crusade in the early 12th century, nonetheless, through a careful analysis of his linguistic tendencies, we can still seek to determine what Ekkehard thought was a crusade, and equally as important, what he did not view as a crusade.

⁴⁷ *Hierosolymita*, 27.1.

⁴⁸ *Hierosolymita*, 27.1.

⁴⁹ *Hierosolymita*, 13.1.

⁵⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 31.1.

⁵¹ Literally translates to "one marked by the cross."

⁵² Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 114.

Because of God's infinite authority, Ekkehard regarded crusading as a collective Christian enterprise, not limited by any sort of national ties or languages. He uses the word *crucesignati* when he refers to the vast array of people who sought to crusade after the Council of Clermont. The news about the crusade, which "flew beyond the very limits of the Ocean," was met with great enthusiasm among nearly all people, including the "obscure peoples" from the far north.⁵³ Even though these foreign peoples did not even speak a recognizable language, Ekkehard still considers them to be crusaders. Regional affiliations were not important when determining who was a crusader; other forces were clearly at work. In the case of the foreigners, Ekkehard mentions that they bore "the sign of the cross" and that they "burned with zeal towards this expedition."⁵⁴ These two statements indicate both a physical and mental aspect towards being a crusader: one was recognized as a crusader by wearing the sign of the cross, while one also had to have the appropriate zealous mindset.

Despite this clearly universal appeal of crusade, Ekkehard was still predisposed to question the authenticity of crusaders from certain regions; he shows a number of regional biases throughout the *Hierosolymita*. For example, Ekkehard notes how the Germans were incited to Holy War from both passing crusaders and a series of heavenly omens. Initially, the Germans "stood agape" at the idea of leaving behind their possessions and loved ones, but through the preaching of pilgrims, they eventually became inclined to help the Holy Land.⁵⁵ In addition, various omens incited the Germans to crusade: Ekkehard himself witnessed a comet that resembled a sword, while another priest witnessed two celestial horseman engaged in combat. Visions such as these encouraged Germans "to sew the sign of the mortification onto their

⁵³ *Hierosolymita*, 7.1.

⁵⁴ *Hierosolymita*, 7.1.

⁵⁵ *Hierosolymita*, 9.1.

clothing" and take part in the crusade.⁵⁶ Ekkehard considered the viewing and interpretation of omens as a perfectly valid reason for crusading.

The Germans were not the only group of people inclined to crusade for the right reasons; Ekkehard is also quick to assert the moral superiority of his own lands in Germany. He claims that his "country is much more unrestrained than other countries in consideration to this divine mercy."⁵⁷ Ekkehard does not specify which region or government comprises his country, although based upon his participation in the Crusade of 1101, it would be reasonable to position his political affiliations to the Holy Roman Empire. The lack of involvement of Pope Urban II in the crusading movement also favors the assertion that Ekkehard believed in the regional zealotry of Germany, since Urban and Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV were in a state of perpetual conflict during the 11th century.

On the other hand, Ekkehard considered the motives of the Gauls for crusading to be more suspect. He asserted that it was "easy to persuade the Western Franks to abandon their lands" because of a combination of disease, famine, and war.⁵⁸ It is important to point out that Ekkehard never calls these people crusaders.⁵⁹ Through an unnamed source, Ekkehard asserted that these people confessed that they were "forced into [their] vows" because of these hardships, and that some even went to the Promised Land under the instruction of a false prophet.⁶⁰ Despite the worldwide enthusiasm for crusading, Ekkehard was still predisposed to consider certain regional groups more likely to be true crusaders than others. This is an interesting ambiguity for Ekkehard because he is unable to reconcile his desire for a global Christian endeavor with his own regional predispositions. Ekkehard's contempt for the motivations of crusaders from Gaul

⁵⁶ *Hierosolymita*, 9.1.

⁵⁷ *Hierosolymita*, 9.1.

⁵⁸ *Hierosolymita*, 8.1.

⁵⁹ *Hierosolymita*, 8.1.

⁶⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 8.1.

also reveals an interesting ambivalence. He questions the motivations of Gauls, but fails to address the fact that Gaulish forces played an integral role in the successful First Crusade. Ekkehard's advertisement of crusading as a global enterprise is therefore simultaneously undermined by his negative assessment of Gaulish motivations for crusading and reinforced by his lengthy description of the zealous deeds of Gaulish crusader leaders.

Ekkehard's regional bias is most obvious when he writes about the Byzantines, particularly their emperor Alexius Comnenos. At the outset of the *Hierosolymita*, Ekkehard does not show direct distaste for the Byzantines while discussing their losses at the hands of Muslims. He was sympathetic towards their call because he considered Byzantines to be part of a larger Christian family, despite the Catholic/Orthodox schism of 1054.⁶¹ For the most part, Ekkehard was more concerned with how invading Muslim armies spared "no Christian souls, no churches or monasteries, no images of the saints themselves" in the Holy Land.⁶² In his lamenting, Ekkehard does slip in one invective towards Emperor Alexius, when he wrote that "neither the cunning tricks of your many-faced king nor the countless number of your people has saved you from this [expansive Muslim] power."⁶³ For the rest of the *Hierosolymita*, Ekkehard focuses on the deceptive nature and double-dealing of Emperor Alexius. At the outset of the First Crusade, Ekkehard accused Alexius of extorting oaths from the crusader leaders, destroying crusader armies that were staying near Constantinople, and forcibly transporting crusader armies into Anatolia where they met their inevitable doom. This theme of Byzantine betrayal would hold true throughout Ekkehard's narrative, particularly with regards to the Crusade of 1101; Ekkehard wrote an entire chapter outlining how Alexius sought to ally himself with the Turks against the

⁶¹ *Hierosolymita*, 3.1.

⁶² *Hierosolymita*, 3.1.

⁶³ *Hierosolymita*, 3.1.

crusaders.⁶⁴

Ekkehard's maligning of Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenos is part of a larger tradition of First Crusade chroniclers showing unrestrained hatred towards the Byzantines. The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* accused Alexius of ordering his soldiers to attack crusaders under Count Godfrey.⁶⁵ Raymond d'Aguiler shows the utmost hatred to Emperor Alexius when, after Byzantine forces took control of Nicea, he says "as long as [Alexius] might live people would ever revile him and call him a traitor."⁶⁶ These are but two examples of First Crusade chroniclers expressing negative opinions towards Emperor Alexius, but other statements can also be found in the accounts of Peter Tudebode and Guibert of Nogent.⁶⁷ Ekkehard shared the same opinion about Emperor Alexius as other contemporary chroniclers.

The regional biases of Ekkehard do not mask his opinion about the transcendent characteristics of a true crusader. Ekkehard thought that crusaders needed to possess certain mental and physical characteristics. In the *Hierosolymita*, crusader leader Duke Godfrey of Bouillon is celebrated more than any other because he carried out "great deeds in the name of the Lord" and was "scarcely comparable with respect to piety."⁶⁸ Ekkehard reiterates throughout the *Hierosolymita* the necessity for crusaders to be carrying out their deeds not for temporal gain, but for the glorification of God. The magnanimous Duke Godfrey, certainly a true crusader, lived his life "in the servitude to Christ."⁶⁹ Ekkehard also refers to the crusaders as "confessors of Christ," showing the necessity for crusaders to be humble before God.⁷⁰ Bearing in mind that Ekkehard

⁶⁴ *Hierosolymita*, 34.1.

⁶⁵ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 7.

⁶⁶ D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 27.

⁶⁷ Tudebode accused Alexius of "deceptive and unjust thinking" after his capture of Nicea. In his chronicle, Nogent refers to Alexius unabashedly as "the tyrannical prince." Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano*, 33. Nogent, *Deeds of God*, 65.

⁶⁸ *Hierosolymita*, 19.1.

⁶⁹ *Hierosolymita*, 20.2.

⁷⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 35.1.

likely wrote the *Hierosolymita* in the early 12th century, this epic construction of Duke Godfrey can be seen as the first attempt of a crusade chronicler to mythologize the events of the First Crusade. Ekkehard mythologized the First Crusade and presented it as the epitome of crusading in order to show future crusaders the appropriate mentality and actions on the crusading trail.

A reading of the *Hierosolymita* as a manual for crusading is supported by Ekkehard's numerous attempts to warn crusaders about the evil forces that conspire against them. He believes that inherent in the act of crusading are all the forces of evil attempting to lead people in God's army from their righteous path. Ekkehard warns of certain people who follow Epicurean customs and "embrace the road of pleasure" instead of the "narrow path of service to God."⁷¹ Ekkehard is vague about who these enemies are, but at various times he denounces them as false prophets, Epicureans, and dishonest people.⁷² Ekkehard's emphasis on this aspect of crusading is indicative that it was not uncommon for people to renege on their crusading vow and then lie about it in order to reap temporal rewards such as tax exemption. Ekkehard's vagueness about these Epicureans also indicates that he sought to keep crusaders wary of all people they might meet, since the enemy they confronted was ever watchful and eager to pounce on naïve prey.

Ekkehard believed that the corrupting influence of Epicureans penetrated all levels of crusading society, from simple soldiers to elected officials. In no expedition is the pervasive influence of evil more evident than during the Peasants' Crusade, specifically during their pogroms against Rhineland Jews in 1096. Ekkehard noted that the abominable acts committed against Jews and Christians were the result of the crusader leaders Folkmar, Gottschalk, and Emicho, who were "not true servant[s] of God, but false one[s]."⁷³ Specifically, Ekkehard accuses Gottschalk of being a mercenary, not a shepherd or crusader, because of his actions

⁷¹ *Hierosolymita*, 1.2.

⁷² *Hierosolymita*, 1.2; 11.1.

⁷³ *Hierosolymita*, 12.1.

against Christians in Hungary. The impious actions of the leaders of the Peasants' Crusade quickly infected the armies that they commanded, which indulged in an "astonishing showing of false religion."⁷⁴ Following their pogroms against the Jews, the participants in the Peasants' Crusade attacked fellow Christians in Hungary, which prompted Ekkehard to say that the crusader armies "undoubtedly [had] zeal for God," but "no refined knowledge of God."⁷⁵ In this statement, Ekkehard implies the need for a deeper understanding of God's plan and how the crusades fit into this divine plan. Unfortunately, Ekkehard does not expand upon this statement, and leaves historians questioning what this refined knowledge might entail. Regardless of this ambiguity, Ekkehard emphasizes through both positive and negative examples the importance of a zealous mindset for crusaders.

Although there was certainly a very significant mental component to crusading, the physical act of taking up the cross was also an important element for crusaders. When crusaders took their crusading vows, it was commonplace for them to pin onto their clothing two strips of cloth that formed a cross, signifying their intent to crusade.⁷⁶ According to historian Jonathan Riley-Smith, the act of taking up the cross almost instantly "became synonymous with crusading."⁷⁷ Ekkehard never explicitly says that this was a pre-requisite for crusading, although he identified it explicitly with crusaders. Men who came from foreign territories were described as "bearing the sign of the cross."⁷⁸ Also, some Germans witnessed men in the sky with the "sign of the cross imprinted on their foreheads, garments, or another location on the body."⁷⁹ Furthermore, the Latin word *crucesignati* indicates the importance of taking up the cross for

⁷⁴ *Hierosolymita*, 12.1.

⁷⁵ *Hierosolymita*, 12.2.

⁷⁶ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 114.

⁷⁷ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 114.

⁷⁸ *Hierosolymita*, 7.1.

⁷⁹ *Hierosolymita*, 10.2.

crusaders. The word is a combination of *crux*, meaning "sign of the cross," and *signo*, meaning "to mark or subscribe."⁸⁰ When combined, this word literally means, "One marked by the cross." This suggests that crusaders had to have some sort of physical indication of their purpose. Ekkehard considered the act of taking up the cross as synonymous with crusading, but he never stated that one has to take up the cross in order to become a crusader.

While the wearing of the cross was an important symbol through which crusaders could recognize each other and express their collective goal of crusading, Ekkehard believed that a perilous physical expedition to the Holy Land was a necessary part of any crusader's journey. He recounts a prophecy of the Lord, passed down throughout the world, which advocated even the infirm "to literally embark upon this actual journey despite the dangers, instead of mentally participating in such a great joy."⁸¹ Ekkehard considered the physical journey to Jerusalem to be a way of atoning for the sins that a crusader had accrued throughout his life. He wrote how "the church subjected each of its valued members... not only to death, but also to the mockeries of the pagans, as if sheep to be slaughtered."⁸² He also emphasized several times in the *Hierosolymita* that the crusading journey itself "did not lack the dangers of bandits, rivers, the open sea, desertion, hunger and thirst, heat and sickness."⁸³ This belief was consistent with the theology espoused by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont. Urban believed that the crusade was going to be so awful, strenuous, and full of suffering that it was bound to make up for any sins committed thus far in a person's life.⁸⁴ Unlike later Popes such as Innocent III, who allowed crusading privileges to be extended to non-participants in return for financial contributions, Urban and Ekkehard advocated a view of crusading entrenched in the physical journey of

⁸⁰ J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: E.K. Brill Press, 1976), 284, 970.

⁸¹ *Hierosolymita*, 34.1.

⁸² *Hierosolymita*, 35.1.

⁸³ *Hierosolymita*, 35.2.

⁸⁴ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 11.

crusaders to a predetermined location.

Furthermore, Ekkehard believed that a crusading expedition had to be to the Holy Land. Although he never explicitly states this belief, Ekkehard's narrative of the crusades is so deeply entrenched in the mystique and theological importance of the Holy Land, particularly Jerusalem, that it would be hard to imagine him advocating a crusade to any other region. Although a physical city, Jerusalem held a special place in the medieval mind. Theologians of the 11th and 12th centuries believed that the crusade for terrestrial Jerusalem was also a way of progressing towards the heavenly Jerusalem.⁸⁵ To Ekkehard, the liberation of the city of Jerusalem was a way to gain entrance to Heaven. He refers to Jerusalem as "the mother of our redemption and faith"⁸⁶ and crusaders as the "true daughters of Jerusalem."⁸⁷ Furthermore, he considered crusading to be both a physical and mental journey for the Catholic Church "to the source of its own birth and to the cradle of its earliest establishment."⁸⁸ Only in the Holy Land is such an introspective journey possible.

⁸⁵ Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 147.

⁸⁶ *Hierosolymita*, 4.1.

⁸⁷ *Hierosolymita*, 34.1.

⁸⁸ *Hierosolymita*, 35.1.

Conclusion

Ekkehard of Aura was operating under two assumptions that clashed in his mind. First, he knew that God governed all actions in the universe, and second, he knew that God supported the crusades, a fact evident from the immensely successful First Crusade. However, the ultimate failure of the Crusade of 1101 caused a disconnect between these two perspectives, and the *Hierosolymita* is largely Ekkehard trying to figure out how to reconcile them. Through his analysis of different ethnic groups and their motivations for crusading, Ekkehard works through a series of theological puzzles and arrives at a complex conclusion. It would be futile for historians to try to place his attitude towards crusading in one cohesive category, because Ekkehard himself was unable to do so. He advocated the global nature of crusading, but at the same time was unable to overcome his own regional biases. Ekkehard also idealized the pure motivations of people on the First Crusade and held it up as the ideal crusade, while noting the material motivations of people on the Peasants' Crusade and the Crusade of 1101.

Ekkehard begins to mythologize the First Crusade by emphasizing the global nature and zealous motivations of this collective Christian endeavor, highlighting particularly the deeds of leaders Godfrey and Baldwin. Seeing the divinely willed success of the First Crusade, Ekkehard sought to explain why the ensuing expeditions into the Holy Land failed so miserably. To someone who believed that God willed the success of the First Crusade, the disastrous Crusade of 1101 had to be both a shocking and humbling experience. If God had allowed crusaders to capture Jerusalem, then there had to be some reason that the expedition of 1101 was different and inferior. Ekkehard concluded that the difference between the First Crusade and the Crusade of 1101 was the motivation of the crusaders who took part in the journey. Throughout the *Hierosolymita*, Ekkehard places great importance on the mentality of crusaders to serve as a

guide for future crusaders about how to crusade properly. He claims that the armies of the Crusade of 1101 comprised primarily people “whose fear, despair, poverty, or feebleness had impeded them from fulfilling their vows.”⁸⁹ In this statement, Ekkehard tries to justify the failure of the Crusade of 1101 by questioning the motives of its participants, who clearly indulged in the Epicurean tendencies of which Ekkehard had warned. He similarly noted the “tyrannical” motivations of Emicho and the temporal motivations of people who participated in the Peasants’ Crusade.⁹⁰

Ekkehard does not merely seek to try and explain the disaster of 1101; he also tries to warn future crusaders about the pitfalls into which the crusaders on the Crusade of 1101 fell. Ekkehard spends much of the *Hierosolymita* warning against material motivations and the seductive influence of Epicurean thought. He is vague about who specifically preaches false doctrines about crusading, but warns his readers that the enemy “was always watchful even when others slept and how own weeds were sown amongst good seed.”⁹¹ This statement indicates that Ekkehard intended for his narrative of the crusade to serve more than a simple recollection of names and dates, but instead to function as a guide for future crusaders about the perils of their journey. He provides future crusaders with a standard of crusading to which they can aspire through his lofty, even mythic description of the First Crusade, while also reminding them of the importance of mental purity through his critique of the failed Crusade of 1101 and the Peasants’ Crusade.

⁸⁹ *Hierosolymita*, 22.1.

⁹⁰ *Hierosolymita*, 12.2.

⁹¹ *Hierosolymita*, 11.1

Translation and Commentary of the *Hierosolymita*

In the Name of Christ this Little Book Begins, which is Called

THE HIEROSOLYMITA:

Concerning the Oppression, Liberation, and Restoration of the Diocese of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER I: PROLOGUE

I am exceedingly eager to expand upon previous writings about the reason for this warfare or military service to Jerusalem from every region of the world, though the greatest numbers of men came from the Western Kingdoms. This campaign was ordained not in accordance with the will of mortals, but the will of God. Venerable shepherd, I am also anxious to obey your authority and the whole flock of the Saints Stephan and Vitus,⁹² which trembles beneath your staff. For I think that it is not right to deny to these saints even those things which are minor to your grace, since I have already obeyed them in even greater circumstances, that is, when I digested the memorable traditions of various chronicles from the beginning of time up to the dregs of our time so that it would be possible to know them.⁹³ This would be like, in a sacrifice to God, not offering the tail with the head.

Indeed, the absolute necessity of rebuking some imprudent and even impudent men drove me to this task. I now must rebuke these people, who, smug in their old beliefs, always presume to rebuke this new way of thinking, which is necessary for an already old and nearly dying

⁹² Charlemagne's cousins Wala and Adelard dedicated Corvey Abbey to St. Stephen in 815. The bones of St. Vitus were moved to the Abbey in 836. "Louis the Pious: Grant of Minting Coins to Abbey of Corvey, 833," *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/833louis-corveymint.html> (accessed Feb. 28, 2011). "Saint Vitus the Saint," *Saint Vitus*, <http://saintvitus.com/SaintVitus/> (accessed Feb. 28, 2011).

⁹³ This is a reference to Ekkehard's *Chronicon Universale*, which he completed in 1101 before departing for the crusade.

world, with their rash tongue. Those people, in accordance with Epicurean custom, embrace the road of pleasure, which is broader than the narrow path of service to God. With a blind heart they foolishly consider seeking after worldly possessions to be wisdom, scorn for the world to be foolishness; that is to say they consider this prison to be their fatherland, shadows to be light, bad to be good, death to be life, oh shame! This dizzying confusion of things helps them in this matter and supports a boldness of what I have just described, which has been cast about slanderously everywhere, but especially in the these areas, where wisdom is hated before all, where envy is promoted before all things, where every virtue is an offense, where religion is abhorred, where humility is trampled, where deception is advantageous to the nobility, where vice unites with love, where cruelty breeds fear, where arrogance dictates fealty.

Although we are sluggish spectators, we are nevertheless well-wishing supporters, and so let us praise those certain glorious men of our time who have surpassed the kingdom of the world, who have abandoned their wives and children, their estates and riches, for the pious Seeker of the 100th sheep.⁹⁴ They have placed their souls in God's hands. They were exceedingly eager for the armies to fight on behalf of the Heavenly Father. With the strength of two, they entered into the service of their heavenly King. They certainly were brought to arms in zeal because of frequent reports concerning the oppression of the Holy Sepulcher and the devastation of all the eastern churches, which, having been subservient to their rule for some years, the most ferocious race of the Turks had destroyed with unspeakable atrocities. As I have said, many decided to relieve the eastern churches in diverse armies under a leadership just as diverse and uncertain.⁹⁵ And now following a certain monk Peter,⁹⁶ the first of them, numbered at about

⁹⁴ This reference to Jesus is from Matthew 18.12-14.

⁹⁵ For a detailed description of the makeup of the armies of the peasants crusade, see Frederic Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," *The American Historical Review* vol. 26, no. 3 (1921): 440-453.

⁹⁶ Peter the Hermit led an unsuccessful crusade before the "Second Wave" of crusader armies triumphed in the

15,000, passed peacefully through Germany and next Bavaria and Pannonia.⁹⁷ A large number instead travelled by water down the Danube or by foot through the lands of the Alemanni.⁹⁸ 12,000 others were led across Saxony and Bohemia by a certain priest named Folkmar, and likewise some were led by the priest Gotteschalk through Eastern France.⁹⁹ But now let us review these events more carefully.

Middle East. He may or may not have been present at the Council of Clermont. Peter's army was slaughtered by the Seljuk Turks upon their arrival in Anatolia, but Peter escaped the massacre. The remaining contingent of his army was incorporated into the forces of Dogfrey of Bouillon. Peter then accompanied the second wave of the crusader army to Jerusalem, where he played a small role.

⁹⁷ Pannonia is located in present-day western Hungary and eastern Austria.

⁹⁸ Although the Alemanni lost their political independence in the 5th century to Clovis, they still must have had some sort of residual identity in southeast France and and southwest Germany.

⁹⁹ The priests Folkmar and Gottschalk would become infamous for their pogroms against Jews living on the Rhineland on their way to Constantinople. Ekkehard covers this topic briefly in Chapter 12 of the *Hierosolymita*, but contemporary chronicler Albert of Aachen offers a much more detailed account of these pogroms. see Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, trans. Susan Edgington (New York: Clarendon Press, 2007).

CHAPTER II: HOW THE TURKS OBTAINED THE EASTERN PROVINCES

During the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV¹⁰⁰ and the Byzantine Emperor Alexius.¹⁰¹ In accordance with a prophecy in the gospels, wars of nation against nation and people against people arose from all sides. There were great earthquakes, pestilences, droughts, terrors, and great signs from heaven. The gospel trumpet proclaimed the approach of the just judge to all peoples. Behold how the entire church considered the whole world, marked by these prophetic signs! First Jerusalem, at that time occupied by the Saracens, was enslaved by Babylonia,¹⁰² which is now the seat of Egyptian power. The thin piety of Christian faith has ransomed itself with a daily tax for each person.¹⁰³ Bethlehem, home of the bread of angels, was made a stable for cattle, and all the churches everywhere were subservient to the numerous number of pagans as playthings for many years.

Meanwhile, a chasm arose because of a miserable fate among the eastern churches, between the Greeks and Armenians.¹⁰⁴ The Armenians, since they were weaker in numbers and lands, admitted neighboring Turkish warriors of fame from Persia to their lands. With the aid of the Turks, the war was settled to the liking of the Armenians.¹⁰⁵ They then sent the Turks down from their lands, who were greatly attracted because of the fertility and reserves of the Armenian lands. After some years in an alliance, the Turks swooped down from the Northern land

¹⁰⁰ Emperor Henry IV reigned from 1056-1106.

¹⁰¹ Emperor Alexius I Komnenos reigned from 1081-1118.

¹⁰² Babylonia is a reference to the city of Cairo, which the Fatimids made their capitol upon the conquest of the city in 969. The Fatimids expanded their empire in the 11th century to include Jerusalem, which they held until it was captured by the Seljuq Turks in 1073.

¹⁰³ Christians living under Muslim rule in the Middle East were considered dhimmis (protected people). They were allowed to worship without persecution, but in return they had to pay the jizya tax.

¹⁰⁴ Byzantine Emperors in the mid 11th century, fearing Turkish invasions and not trusting the Armenian princes, annexed the entirety of Armenia by 1064. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 34.

¹⁰⁵ As Seljuq power spread in the east, Turkish incursions into Armenia increased. This was welcome news to the pagan Armenians, who received greater religious freedom under the Turkish regime than the Byzantine one. In the 1060s, major Turkish invasions resulted in the Byzantines losing all Armenian territory.

Khorasan,¹⁰⁶ where the fertility rate is said to be greater than the capacity of the land.¹⁰⁷ The great resources of these pagans, who were divided beneath four sultans (for thus it is accustomed to call their own rulers), were traditionally ruled by one nearly divine Persian sovereign.¹⁰⁸ They then poured across Armenia, then Cappodocia,¹⁰⁹ and all of Romania and Syria.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ During the Middle Ages, Khorasan loosely referred to the lands of Persia that were northeast of the Dasht-e Kavir and southeast of the Caspian Sea, in present day Iran.

¹⁰⁷ Ekkehard believed that overpopulation was the primary reason for the expansion of the Turks into Anatolia.

¹⁰⁸ Although unable to find any direct information on who these four sultans are, I would speculate that there was a territory in Khorasan where rule was split between four lords, potentially called sultans. Ekkehard's ethnic and geographic vagueness make me question whether the rulers were actually known as sultans and where specifically they ruled, since Khorasa refers to a fairly large area of land.

¹⁰⁹ Cappodocia is a region in central Turkey, roughly corresponding to the modern day Nevsehir Province.

¹¹⁰ Ekkehard's reference to Romania corresponds to modern day Anatolia or Asia Minor. Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 18.

CHAPTER III: FIRST THE TURKS ATTACK NICAEA

First the Turks certainly captured Nicaea,¹¹¹ once the strongest fortress of the Catholic faith. They massacred the Christians who were seized in the city, and then they installed a certain tyrant Suleiman¹¹² to the throne, accompanied by a garrison. They completely devastated all the surrounding regions up to the gulf or lake of the sea, which is called the Straits of St. George.¹¹³ No Christian souls, no churches or monasteries, no images of the saints themselves were spared. For I saw - a miserable spectacle to see - the very visage of our Savior, his most glorious Mother, and many saints with mutilated noses, ears, feet or hands in the partially demolished chapels of those regions. In a certain way these abominations visibly present the plight of the desolate churches, and they show the scepter of divine justice striking them from above as if by a constant plague. Oh most noble Constantinople, neither the cunning tricks of your many-faced king¹¹⁴ nor the countless number of your people has saved you from this power! Neither the profits of your markets nor your infinite stores of gold have redeemed you. The multitudes of your Varangians,¹¹⁵ of your Turcoples,¹¹⁶ of your Pechenegs,¹¹⁷ or of your fleets have not protected you. The distance of the previously-mentioned bay was your sole defense.¹¹⁸ Indeed, the service of the creator alone has protected you. The once powerful Antioch was subject to that despicable Turkish rage - and so that I do not delay much more - in the end all of Syria and Palestine

¹¹¹ The Turks secured Nicaea in 1078.

¹¹² Suleiman was the cousin of Seljuq leader Malik Shah. He ruled as Sultan of Rum from 1077 until his death in 1086.

¹¹³ The Bosphorus.

¹¹⁴ Ekkehard, like most western crusade chroniclers, is highly critical towards Emperor Alexius. He accuses him specifically of acting as a double agent by turning the crusaders over to the Turks.

¹¹⁵ The Byzantine army was composed largely of foreign mercenary groups. Varangians were Vikings who travelled east to areas like Constantinople. They were so numerous in Byzantium that a special Norse regiment was formed called the Varangian Guard. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 47.

¹¹⁶ Turcoples were locally recruited horse arches that joined the Byzantine armies.

¹¹⁷ Pechenegs were semi-nomadic peoples from central Asia steppes. Emperor Alexius recruited these soldiers as frontier guards and military policemen. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 104.

¹¹⁸ A reference to the Bosphorus.

suffered this fate.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Antioch was captured in 1085 by Suleiman. By the time of the Council of Clermont in 1095, Muslim forces ruled over all the lands in Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 75-78.

CHAPTER IV: JERUSALEM IS REPROVED WITH A DOUBLE YOKE

Therefore, after the Promised Land was subjugated, Jerusalem, the mother of our redemption and faith was reprov'd with a double yoke.¹²⁰ Nevertheless there was little comfort from this defeat; a people much more foul than the Saracen Turks¹²¹ was being equally punished. With the sultan and his large military forces seated in Jerusalem, those monasteries that were outside the city were destroyed in order to restore the outer rampart,¹²² which now can be seen anywhere from any building in the city. Thankfully, the Sepulcher of the Lord was left undefiled, nothing more than a pleasant source of profit. The most famous Temple of the Lord, not as I judge comparable to the work of any human structure, was reserved for the sacrilegious religion of the pagans. The Temple was always held in great reverence among them, so that they never entered unless with naked and washed feet. Across the course of many years when the Saracens and Turks ruled, truly no Christians were permitted to enter the court.

¹²⁰ Rule over the Holy Lands alternated during the course of the 11th century between the Seljuq Turks and the Fatimids.

¹²¹ Like most medieval chroniclers, Ekkehard shows little knowledge of the distribution of peoples in the Middle East. He uses the term Saracen to describe any Muslim enemy for the Christians. He sometimes makes the distinction between Seljuq Turks and Fatimid Egyptians, although these distinctions are by no means consistent.

¹²² A severe earthquake in 1016 caused structural damage to the city walls. Repairs on these walls were carried out by Fatimid caliph al-Zahir in 1033. The walls were also re-fortified by Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir between 1059 and 1063. G.J. Wightman, *The Walls of Jerusalem: From the Canaanites to the Mamluks* (Sydney: Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement 4, 1993), 245-246.

CHAPTER V: EMPEROR ALEXIUS IMPLORES POPE URBAN FOR AID

As this situation demanded, when the same Turkish victors, seeing that they came from a sterile land and into a most fruitful one, had exhausted their armies, they indulged in games and pleasures. There is scarcely any credible person who could explain what tortures, what slaughters, or what miseries the surviving Christians endured in the slavery of the Turks. Nevertheless, many frequent legations and notes, even those that I have seen, mournfully called the entire church to aid the church of Jerusalem. Alas, it is not easy for me to relate these things! Even the previously mentioned Alexius, the Emperor of Constantinople, directed many letters to Pope Urban¹²³ about those barbarous raiders, now scattered across the majority of his lands.¹²⁴ In these letters Alexius lamented that he himself was not able to aid in the defense of the Eastern Church. He implored that the entire West, which now should fulfill its entire Christian duty if at all possible, be summoned to him in aid. He promised that he himself would supply all the necessary provisions to the soldiers on land and sea.

¹²³ Pope Urban II, originally named Otho de Lagery, reigned from 1088-1099.

¹²⁴ It was the letters of Emperor Alexius that would drive Pope Urban II to call for a crusade.

CHAPTER VI: A GENERAL COUNCIL IS ASSEMBLED, IN WHICH THE EXPEDITION IS DECLARED

Then the emotionally moved Pope and the entire church, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1096, called for a general council to be gathered on the border of Spain, where even he himself came following a very laborious journey.¹²⁵ He, most eloquently and at great length, exclaimed all the things that I have previously discussed to an innumerable crowd that had convened at this place and to the legates of various kingdoms. Soon the renowned teacher gave the remission of sins¹²⁶ to the thousands weeping in this place. These people raised their cries of many languages to heaven, that they, renouncing all the possessions that they held and together wearing a Cross in the honor of Christ,¹²⁷ would bear aid to their endangered Christian brethren. After this solemn promise was made, the spirits of all were raised.

Around 100,000 of the men were then signed into the army of the Lord.¹²⁸ There were certainly men from Aquitaine and Normandy, England, Scotland and Ireland, Brittany, Galicia, Gascony, Gaul, Flanders, Lotharingia, and other Christian kingdoms, whose names do not occur to me now. The mark of the cross was born on their clothing. This cross-bearing army, believing in that vision once related to the great Constantine,¹²⁹ did indeed bear the cross in memory of the

¹²⁵ Ekkehard certainly was not present at the Council of Clermont, since he incorrectly dates it to 1096 instead of 1095 and thinks that it is on the border of Spain instead of Central France. Ekkehard does not give any precise information about Pope Urban's speech at the council, which plays a more significant role in the *Gesta* and the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres. The actual council took place from November 19 -28, 1095.

¹²⁶ The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres also mentions the complete remission of sins for all crusaders. Although Pope Urban may well have preached this doctrine, it is also important to keep in mind that Pope Urban did not preach directly to the majority of crusaders. Lesser clergymen and wandering preachers (including Peter the Hermit) scattered throughout Europe preaching the crusade. Their speeches are lost to us now, although it would be astounding if their philosophies about crusading did not differ than the one expressed by Pope Urban. Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 11-57.

¹²⁷ The act of taking up the cross was an essential part of becoming a crusader; strips of fabric were literally sewn onto the garments of crusaders after taking their crusading vow. Latin chroniclers of the time did not have a word meaning crusade, but referred to crusaders instead as *crucesignati*: people marked by the cross.

¹²⁸ Since Ekkehard was not present at the Council of Clermont and medieval chroniclers were prone to exaggerate numbers, it would be wise to take any numbers given by Ekkehard with a grain of salt.

¹²⁹ Christian sources from the 4th century tell of Constantine's conversion of Christianity in 312 at the Battle of the

mortification of Christ and they believed that they would be triumphant over the enemies of the cross of Christ. However, because of the extraordinary and infinite providence of the Lord, so many members of Christ, although they spoke many languages and hailed from different tribes and nations, suddenly gathered into one body through the binding brotherhood of Christ.¹³⁰ All men were united under Christ the King, but individual nations were led by individual leaders: Godfrey of Lotharingia¹³¹ and his brothers Baldwin¹³² and Eustace,¹³³ Robert of Flanders,¹³⁴ also Robert of Normandy,¹³⁵ Raymond count of Saint Gilles,¹³⁶ Hugh, brother of King Philip of France,¹³⁷ and other similar warriors of merit with nobility and warlike bravery. Presiding before

Milvian Bridge. Constantine saw a cross in the sky before the battle, ordered his soldiers to put the Chi-Rho onto their shields, and the Romans won the battle. Constantine thus converted to Christianity.

¹³⁰ The chronicle of Robert the Monk similarly claimed that the audience at Clermont rose up in one voice saying "It is the will of God! It is the will of God!" See Dana Munro, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, vol. 1, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1895), 5-8.

¹³¹ Godfrey of Bouillon (1060-1100) was the Lord of Bouillon and the Duke of Lower Lorraine. He survived the crusade and was made Protector of the Holy Sepulcher (*Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*) after the position was turned down by Raymond of Toulouse. Godfrey refused to be called King of Jerusalem.

¹³² Baldwin (1058-1118) was Godfrey's brother. He became an important figure in the establishment of the crusader kingdoms following the first crusade. Baldwin became the first Count of Edessa in 1098, and succeeded his brother Godfrey as the ruler of Jerusalem in 1100. Unlike Godfrey, Baldwin called himself the King of Jerusalem.

¹³³ Eustace III (d. 1125) was another of Godfrey's brothers. He became Count of Boulogne in 1087 after the death of his father Eustace II. After the crusade, Eustace III ruled his domains. Upon the death of his brother Baldwin I, he accepted the throne of Jerusalem. However, he was informed during his journey to the Holy Land that his relative Baldwin II of Bethel had been crowned. Eustace III returned to Boulogne where he died in 1125.

¹³⁴ Robert II, Count of Flanders survived the First Crusade but returned home to Europe instead of dabbling in crusader politics. During his time on crusade, Emperor Henry IV tried to seize Flanders. Robert managed to retain his county, and lived the rest of his life fighting against the Holy Roman Emperors and the French, against whom he was fatally wounded and drowned at Meaux.

¹³⁵ Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy (1051/1054 - 1134) was the oldest son of William of Conqueror. To afford the crusade, Robert mortgaged Normandy to his brother William Rufus. Upon his return to England after the successful crusade, Robert became entangled in the politics of succession in England with his brothers Henry and William.

¹³⁶ Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse (1041/1042 - 1105) was among the most pious and important leaders of the First Crusade. He challenged the oath of fealty insisted upon by Byzantine Emperor Alexius but compromised on a lesser oath, the only crusader leader to do so besides Tancred. Raymond was asked to be the King of Jerusalem, but he refused and Godfrey was crowned instead. After the crusade, Raymond sought to further his land holdings in the Holy Land and participated in the disastrous Crusade of 1101. He died at the siege of Tripoli before the city was captured.

¹³⁷ Hugh, Count of Vermandois (1053-1101) travelled with the crusading army up until the capture of Antioch. He was sent back to Alexius after the city's capture to appeal for reinforcements, but Alexius declined and Hugh returned to France. However, he sought to fulfill his crusader vow in the Crusade of 1101 after Pope Paschal II threatened him with excommunication. Hugh died on the expedition in Tarsus.

all these men, the Pope placed Bishop Adhemar,¹³⁸ a man of venerable holiness and wisdom, to whom he gave the power of attacking and surrendering, an inheritance from blessed Peter to the Roman see, always to be exercised in his stead. Having giving a blessing to the army that was made strong by the divine blessing of heaven, the Pope himself returned to Italy with a great portion of the expedition after the time of departure was agreed upon by all.

¹³⁸ Adhemar de Monteil, Bishop of Le Puy (d. 1098) was appointed by Urban II to lead the First Crusade as Papal legate. Despite the regional differences of the secular leaders of the crusade, Adhemar was generally considered the spiritual leader. He accompanied the army of Raymond of Toulouse until his death in 1098 in Antioch. Some crusaders believed that Adhemar's ghost appeared to them in visions later during the siege of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VII: THE NUMBER OF CRUSADERS GROWS

After individual legates eventually returned home to their respective countries, news of the famous gathering soon spread far and wide and deeply moved the entire world. Additionally, it is marvelous to say how the news flew beyond the very limits of the Ocean with an astounding speed. It even made seas themselves surge forth with fleets of islanders into the army of the Heavenly King. Thus, and I most certainly know this, the Ocean poured forth such obscure peoples, about whose customs and appearance I shall not speak, that no one could recognize their language, not even seafarers themselves or inhabitants of the coast.¹³⁹ These men had nothing of use except bread and water, and some of them used silver instead of iron in all their equipment. From here and everywhere the number of men bearing the sign of the cross increased daily, and as I have mentioned before, the whole world burned with zeal towards this expedition. All the world was shaken to its core and seemed to be transformed for the better.

¹³⁹ Ekkehard is likely referencing northern tribes such as the Welsh, Scottish, and Norwegians, who were all documented participants in the First Crusade.

CHAPTER VIII: GAUL IS AFFLICTED WITH FAMINE AND DISEASE

It was easy to persuade the Western Franks to abandon their own lands. For several years, first civil uprising, then famines, then diseases harshly afflicted the lands of Gaul.¹⁴⁰ Afterwards there was a wretched plague, which had started around the Church of Saint Gertrude in Nivelles,¹⁴¹ and had terrified the desperate people to the edge of their life. This was the course of this disease: anyone touched by this invisible fire on any sensible part of the body for any amount of time would burn with an indescribable and even incurable torment, until either he would lose his life with great suffering or he would lose the pain along with the amputated offending limb.¹⁴² Some with amputated hands or feet serve as a reminder of this plague to this day. The people of other nations or other people beyond the apostolic ordinance confessed that they were called to the Promised Land themselves by another prophet, who had recently risen among themselves by heavenly signs and revelations. Others confessed that they were forced into vows because of such hardships. Indeed a great part of them departed, loaded with their wives, children, and all the possessions belonging to their family.

¹⁴⁰ Ekkehard dismisses the potential for spiritual motivations for crusading Gauls. This statement is partially in line with the speeches of Pope Urban II, which often mention both temporal and spiritual rewards for crusading. However, Ekkehard's insistence on the purely temporal motives of the Gaul is indicative that Ekkehard had some sort of anti-Gaul sentiment when he was writing the *Hierosolymita*. It is worth noting that the 1190s was a particularly harsh time for people in France, who were suffering an outbreak of Saint Anthony's Fire (*ignis sacer*), which was caused "by eating bread made from moldy rye." During times of rampant disease, many in France went on "mass pilgrimages." Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 35.

¹⁴¹ The Church of Saint Gertrude was dedicated in 1046 in honor of its first abbess, Saint Gertrude.

¹⁴² The disease in question is most likely Saint Anthony's Fire, which can refer to the diseases Ergotism and Erysipelas. It was characterized by the development of red, swollen, painful skin rashes. In some cases, necrotizing fasciitis can occur, resulting in the loss of limbs. This sort of catastrophe was most often found in texts that emphasized omens or the End of Days. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 336.

CHAPTER IX: THE CROSS IS NOT PREACHED AMONG THE ALEMANNI BECAUSE OF A SCHISM

However, this call to the cross most quietly sounded to the Eastern Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians, and the Alemanni, because of the great schism that has existed from the time of Pope Alexander¹⁴³ up to the present day.¹⁴⁴ It has sadly bred hatred and disquiet between the Romans and ourselves. Alas, woe to us! Thus, it was almost entirely because of this that the Teutonic people, initially ignorant of the cause of this expedition, ridiculed the many legions of cavalry, the many successive bands of foot soldiers, the many waves of country folk, filled with women and children, wandering deliriously as if seized by an unknown foolishness, who travelled across their land.¹⁴⁵ Those who would seize the uncertain instead of the certain, relinquish the land of their birth, grasp with certain hazard the uncertain Holy Land, and renounce their own wealth, stood agape with the vast scope of their endeavor. Although our country is much more unrestrained than other countries in consideration to this divine mercy,¹⁴⁶ Teutonic fury was inclined at last by the same word to aid the Holy Land. They were undoubtedly taught about this entire business from the waves of pilgrims.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Pope Alexander II reigned from 1061-1073.

¹⁴⁴ Ekkehard is speaking of the lead up to the Investiture Controversy that began with the election of Pope Alexander II. This conflict between the Papacy and Holy Roman Empire would reach a climax during the reigns of Emperors Henry IV and Henry V.

¹⁴⁵ In this description of the army of the Peasants' Crusade, Ekkehard reveals some important details about its composition. He said that there were many legions of cavalry, indicating the participation of many nobles from France and Germany. However, there were even more poor country-folk who brought their families along, ill-prepared for the realities of the expedition ahead of them.

¹⁴⁶ This is a reference to the remission of sins promised by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont. See Chapter 6 of this text.

¹⁴⁷ Since the Teutons were taught about the nature of the crusade by throngs of pilgrims and not ecclesiastical officials, it is not surprising that there were many ideas being thrown around about what constituted a crusade and a crusader. This variety of opinions could be partially responsible for the massacres of the Jews along the Rhineland in 1096. Urban's message about vengeance against the Muslims could easily be applied to the Jews, whose people were held responsible for the crucifixion of Christ.

CHAPTER X: VARIOUS OMENS INCITE THE TEUTONS TO HOLY WAR

In addition to the sign in the sun that has previously been discussed¹⁴⁸ and the many other signs that appeared in the sky and on land, exciting many previously sluggish bodies to this army, I have set forth here a most useful compilation of these omens, since truly explaining all the omens would take a very long time.¹⁴⁹ I saw around October 7th a comet standing fixed in the southern sky, its brilliance stretching out like the broad side of a sword.¹⁵⁰ Truly after 3 years I saw another star on February 24th, changing its location a great distance with a long leap to the East. I also confirmed red clouds, surging from the West and East, and running together mutually towards the center of the sky. Furthermore, in the middle of the night dazzling fires surged from the North,¹⁵¹ and I saw a little star falling across the sky, along with many other witnesses. Not long before these years a certain priest of a venerable life, by the name of Siggerius, at nearly the 3rd hour of the day, saw two horsemen charging in the sky, who were striving eagerly to fight for a long time. The one who bore the cross was not ordinary. He seemed to cut down the other and emerged victorious over the other horseman. During this same time, the priest Gaius, who now is under the monastic profession with us and has paid in full to Christ a debt of a sheep in exchange for the first born of an ass, while strolling in the forest during a certain midday hour with two companions, saw that a sword of miraculous length was being brought down from on high by an approaching whirlwind. It was lifted from there up to an unknown place, and was hidden from sight because of its altitude. Then, he discerned a crashing sound with his ears as if he saw the

¹⁴⁸ Ekkehard mentioned this sign in his *Chronicon Universale* during the year 1096. Geoergius Heinricus Pertz, eds. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: SS* (Hanover: University of Neudruck Press, 1925), 208.

¹⁴⁹ More than any other crusade writer of the early 12th century, Ekkehard is entrenched in eschatological omens. Since he is writing after the success of the First Crusade, he likely sees the capture of Jerusalem as a prerequisite for the commencement of the End of Days. These omens also confirm to Ekkehard that the crusade is indeed a divine endeavor supported by God.

¹⁵⁰ The presence of this comet was also confirmed by the anonymous author of the *Annalista Saxo*, who saw it on October 7th, 1096. MGH, SS, VI, 367.

¹⁵¹ This could be a description of the Aurora Borealis.

metal with his eyes.

Others, who were keeping watch over a pasture of horses, reported that they saw a spectacle in the sky of a city, where they saw diverse mobs of horsemen and foot soldiers hastening in different directions. Some of them even showed the sign of the cross imprinted on their foreheads, garments, or another location on the body. Because of this brand itself, they believed that they were ordained to the same army of the Lord. Likewise, it pleased others, who were either stimulated by a sudden change of mind or instructed by a nocturnal vision, to dissolve their lands and familial property, and to sew the sign of mortification onto their clothing. And in all of these places, beyond what could be believed, when the people were running to the churches in crowds, the priestly blessing, given in accordance with the new rite, dispersed the sword with sticks and reliquaries. Why should I tell you about a certain woman at that time who was pregnant for two full years and finally when her uterus was ripped open, gave birth to a son who could speak, a little infant who was two-limbed throughout, and another one with two heads, and also some lambs who were born with two heads, and even the young of female horses, who brought forth in the midst of birth, larger teeth that they commonly call equine teeth, which nature gives only to three year old pack horses.

CHAPTER XI: FALSE PROPHETS AND SEDUCERS WEARING SHEEP HIDE

With all creation exerting itself for the army of the Creator because of these aforementioned omens, the enemy did not linger. He was always watchful even when others slept and his own weeds were sown amongst good seed. The enemy aroused false prophets, deceitful brothers, and dishonest women to mix with lordly hosts under the veil of religion. Thus, through the hypocrisy and the lies of some and through the nefarious maligning of others, the flocks of Christ were befouled to such an extent that even chosen officials were led into error, in a way similar to the prophecy of the Good Shepherd.¹⁵²

From these circumstances a certain fabulous story was made about Charlemagne being revived from death, and another story was made about another unheard of person being restored just the same. There were a great number of these stories, such as ones where a female mistress was being led about by her own goose!¹⁵³ Nevertheless let the same deceivers, just as individuals are known by their own fruits, be declared wolves in sheep clothing, principally those men who remain deceivers to this day. Let them be interrogated about their own vow, certainly where their port was and on what ship they travelled across the sea, in which battles and locations they crushed many pagans with a small army, which of the enemy fortifications they captured abroad, by which part of the walls they were camped at Jerusalem, etc. Since they have no answer - for either the offerings of the faithful, which were solicited through hypocrisy, or for the slaughter of

¹⁵² The vagueness of this paragraph makes it meaning difficult to decipher. I think Ekkehard is referencing the wandering hermits and monks who preached the crusade for temporal means. Ekkehard was certainly condescending towards the people from Gaul for undertaking the crusade simply to escape their troubles at home, and he is even more angry about those who sought to use the crusade for their personal benefit. I believe there is a connection here between these "deceitful brothers" and the armies of crusaders responsible for the massacres of the Jews along the Rhineland. These dishonest preachings may well have provided motivation for the crusaders to persecute the Jews.

¹⁵³ This omen is particularly curious since it is not mentioned in any of the Latin First Crusade chronicles, although a similar tale is mentioned in the Hebrew *Mainz Anonymous*: "One day a Gentile woman came, bringing a goose which she had raised since it was a newborn. The goose would accompany the Gentile woman wherever she went..." Eidelberg, *The Hebrew Chronicles*, 106. However, this tale could also have been little more than a peasant superstition, as was discussed in Harold Lamb, *The Crusades, Iron Men and Saints* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co, 1931), 70-71.

crowds, which they seduced for the sake of plunder - and since apostasy is quite definite, they must be compelled to do penance.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ This does not mean apostasy in the traditional sense. Instead, Ekkehard is referring to the act of vowing to go on a crusade, and then failing to fulfill that vow.

CHAPTER XII: THE PRIESTS FOLKMAR AND GOTTSCHALK

As I have previously mentioned, the people following Folkmar across Bohemia excited a riot, when they passed before Nitra, a city of Pannonia.¹⁵⁵ The people there dispersed them either with the sword or placed them into captivity. The very few people who remained still are accustomed to testify how the sign of the cross appeared in the sky above them and saved them from inevitable carnage. Gottschalk was certainly not a true servant of God, but a false one.¹⁵⁶ He entered Hungary with his own people, causing some destruction to eastern Noricum.¹⁵⁷ In an astonishing showing of false religion they fortified a certain pre-existing fortress, and placed a garrison in the same place. They then began to plunder all around Pannonia through the remaining crowds. The fortress was inevitably captured by the natives without delay, and many wretched people in Gottschalk's mob were slaughtered or captured. The remaining part of the band dispersed, and that mercenary himself, certainly not a shepherd, was shamefully put to flight.

There also approached a certain man of war in these days, a count ruling over the area that circles the Rhine, with the name Emicho, who was very infamous for a long time because of his tyrannical dealings.¹⁵⁸ Then, as he believed, he was summoned by divine revelations as if

¹⁵⁵ Folkmar was a priest and a leading member of the "Peasants' Crusade" or "People's Crusade." This crusade comprised of several armies, the composition of which has been debated heatedly for centuries. The most well accepted argument for the composition of the crusader armies was first postulated by Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," 440-453 and later by Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 50-57. Both argued convincingly that the make-up of these armies was similar to the composition of the crusader armies that captured Jerusalem: nobles, non-combatants, and clergy were participants. Riley-Smith admits that it is particularly difficult to assess the composition of the army of Folkmar and Gottschalk, however, because so little information survives about them.

¹⁵⁶ Little is known about the priest Gottschalk. Steven Runciman speculates that he was an eyewitness to the preaching of Peter the Hermit. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 114. If the actions of Gottschalk's army are indicative of the ideals preached by Peter the Hermit, it would not be far-fetched to speculate that Peter preached a message of vengeance, which was either intentionally or unintentionally directed against the Jews.

¹⁵⁷ Noricum was an area of land that comprised parts of modern day Austria and Slovenia. It bordered Pannonia on the east and southeast.

¹⁵⁸ The feudal standing of Emicho of Flenheim allowed him to attract a larger following than Folkmar and Gottschalk. He was a count in the Rhineland, and, according to Runciman, was motivated by greed and the need to finance his army for his massacres against the Jews. Runciman argued that he had received a special order

another Saul to this style of piety and usurped the leadership of 12,000 crusaders for himself.¹⁵⁹ These people were certainly led across the cities of the Rhine, the Main, and the Danube. In their zeal for Christianity, these eager soldiers entirely destroyed the wretched population of the Jews wherever they were found or even compelled them into the bosom of the church.¹⁶⁰ Multiplied by countless throngs of both sexes, when their forces had reached the boundaries of Pannonia, they were inevitably prohibited from entering that well-defended kingdom, which is partly enclosed by swamps and partly by forests. This kingdom was fortified because the rumor had reached and alerted the ears of King Koloman¹⁶¹ that among Teutonic minds, nothing was different between the killing of pagans and Hungarians. Therefore, for 6 weeks Wieselburg was besieged and the army of Emicho endured many troubles.¹⁶² During this time, the leaders of the expedition argued over who would become the King of Pannonia and preside over those lands - a most foolish disagreement. Finally they exerted themselves in a final assault after the walls of the city were breached, the enemy was fleeing, and the native population was ravaged by the army, causing the defenders to set fire to nearly their entire town. However, by the divine approval of omnipotent God, the victorious army of pilgrims nevertheless turned their backs in flight.¹⁶³

from Emperor Henry not to attack Jewish populations on the Rhineland, but Emicho was persuaded by the anti-Jewish sentiments of Peter the Hermit. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 137.

¹⁵⁹ Contrary to Runciman, Jonathan Riley-Smith argued that an eschatological delusion may have compelled Emicho to the crusade and the massacres of Jews. One Jewish chronicler reported that Emicho burned a sign of the cross into himself so that he could become the last emperor before the End of Days. The reference to Saul in this text is indicative that Ekkehard "thought him very unstable." Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 34-35.

¹⁶⁰ The motivations for the crusaders who persecuted Rhineland Jews has long been a point of contention among historians. Currently, the most satisfying explanation for these events comes from Jonathan Riley-Smith, who concluded that there were three primary motives for persecution of Jews: financial incentive, forced conversion, and vengeance. Of these three motives, the most important was vengeance for the crucifixion of Christ. Riley-Smith claimed that "there was a manifest desire for revenge upon the Jews for the crucifixion."³⁸ He also stated that forced conversion and eschatology may have been a factor in the minds of some crusaders, but that it was not a dominant driving force. Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 52-57.

¹⁶¹ King Koloman of Hungary reigned from 1095-1116.

¹⁶² Wieselberg was a town located on the Danube river.

¹⁶³ Despite Ekkehard's distaste at the actions of the Peasants' Crusade, he nevertheless still refers to them in this sentence as *peregrinorum*, a word meaning pilgrim. He does not refer to them as *crucisginati*, which is indicative that Ekkehard thought there was some distinction between being a pilgrim and being a crusader.

With their supplies abandoned during the retreat, no one brought back any reward except his own miserable body. Thus the men of our race, undoubtedly having zeal for God but no refined knowledge of God, began to persecute other Christians in turn, even though they were in the army that Christ had provided for the freeing of Christians. When fraternal bloodshed was suppressed by divine mercy, the Hungarians were also freed. This is indeed the reason why some less intelligent brothers, who were ignorant about this matter, were scandalized, and in their exceedingly quick judgment concluded that the entire journey was worthless and trifling.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ Ekkehard's stereotyping of the armies of the Peasants' Crusade as merely a bunch of common rabble misguided by false preachers about religious matters has been reflected throughout the study of the Peasants' Crusade. Contemporary historian Albert of Aachen similarly concluded that the army was comprised mainly of peasants. This view was echoed in the works of future historians such as Voltaire, Thomas Fuller, and Edward Gibbon. Even Steven Runciman concluded that the majority of the followers of Emicho were "simple enthusiastic pilgrims." Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 137.

CHAPTER XIII: THE TRUE ARMY OF CHRIST UNDER THE LEADER GODFREY IS
POORLY RECEIVED BY ALEXIUS, EMPEROR OF CONSTANTINOPLE

After the Lord had swept the chaff from his threshing-floor with His fan, I saw the natural solidity and weight of the enduring grains of wheat.¹⁶⁵ Indeed I refer to Godfrey and the other leaders of the true army of the Lord,¹⁶⁶ each single leader with his own band greater in numbers than all the stars. They, showing humility and charity as true disciples of Christ, were located in splendid camps that extended peace and support to all the leaders of the nations until, having experienced the diverse hardships of the roads, they passed through Bulgaria, and finally arrived at the walls of Constantinople. I read a little book at Jerusalem, following the entire chain of history from this point to the present and concluding with the happiest victory at Jerusalem after the people of God had undergone many labors in virtual captivity for 3 years.¹⁶⁷

From here on, I will outline several events from the many events in that book, which clearly documented that Emperor Alexius befriended such renowned heroes for himself through kindness entirely wrought with lies. Afterwards, he extorted oaths of allegiance from the leaders so that their armies would not bring forth violence upon his own kingdom. However, through deception Alexius would have destroyed all the first armies that were delaying in Constantinople with the expectation of the other approaching forces, except that the cunning of Duke Godfrey had very carefully protected the flock of the Lord. The suburban districts and the bridge that

¹⁶⁵ Ekkehard is condescending towards the armies of the Peasants' Crusade, particularly when compared to the ensuing successful crusade. This can be compared to his earlier statements in Chapter XII, when he claimed that God was not on the side of the armies during their actions in Hungary.

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter VI for a list of the crusader leaders that Ekkehard acknowledged.

¹⁶⁷ Most historians have speculated that this book was the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolymita*. However, I do not believe this to be the case. I think that this book was a now lost text that served as a common reservoir of knowledge for three of the earliest First Crusade Latin texts: the *Gesta*, the account of Raymond d'Aguilers, and the account of Peter Tudebode. For a more detailed discussion of this matter, see the introduction. For the relevant parts of the text, I will engage in a textual comparison of Ekkehard's text with the above three texts, seeking to document all similarities and differences, with the hope of concluding what text Ekkehard read in Jerusalem.

Godfrey destroyed bear witness to this very insurrection.¹⁶⁸ What more is there to say? Through the space of almost two months there were brought to Byzantium new armies, numbering at last 300,000¹⁶⁹ fighting men, not counting the mobs, an incredible multitude of children and women. Further, the throngs following Peter were transported a little while ago on the command of Alexius and were made into a mockery by the pagans.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ The other three accounts mention the oaths that Emperor Alexius extracted from the crusader leaders. However, Raymond does not mention Duke Godfrey. Peter Tudebode most thoroughly examines the deeds of Duke Godfrey, and notes that he made forays into Byzantine lands in order to supply his army. The *Gesta* focuses almost exclusively upon the deeds of Bohemond, Raymond of Toulouse, and Tancred. Also of significance is that the *Gesta* is the only one of these four sources to mention that Tancred, nephew of Bohemond, did not take the oath. Tudebode, *Historia*, 22. Anonymous, *Gesta*, 13.

¹⁶⁹ This number does not appear in any of the other three accounts. For a detailed account about the potential size of the crusader armies at Constantinople, see Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 336-341.

¹⁷⁰ The armies of the Peoples' Crusade were ferried across the Bosphorus in August 1096, and were massacred several months later on 21 October 1096.

CHAPTER XIV: NICAEA AND ANTIOCH ARE CAPTURED BY THE FRANKS

After moving their camps, the crusaders situated themselves at Nicaea,¹⁷¹ which they captured after the previously mentioned leader Suliman¹⁷² was put to flight. They then surrendered the captured city to the garrisons of the Emperor Alexius.¹⁷³ Therefore, the crusaders had secured their oath that all the cities taken away during Alexius's rule should be given back to him if they captured it. In turn, the crusaders themselves were certain that they would be supported in their collective goal through military and economic aid from Alexius.¹⁷⁴ From Nicaea the crusaders set out across the wealthiest Kingdom of Constantinople and arrived at Marsh.¹⁷⁵ Next, as the Epistola written by Count Robert¹⁷⁶ reports, *"Christ led forth his army with so great an abundance of supplies that a ram was sold for a denarius and an ox was sold for less than twelve."* Further, it says that *"However often the kings or leaders of the Saracens arose against us, by the will of God, they were easily conquered and trampled upon. Thus, on account of these victories, indeed some swelled with pride. God inflicted troubles upon them at Antioch, a city unconquerable by only human strength, where through nine months they were surrounded in the blockaded city. They were so humbled that every swelling of pride subsided. Then after these hardships, so great that in the entire army scarcely 100 good horses were found,*

¹⁷¹ May 1096.

¹⁷² The actual commander of Nicaea during this time was Kilij Arslan, who was a Turkish prince in Anatolia. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 35. D'Aguilers mentions Kilij Arslan explicitly during his description of the battle. Tudebode mentions Arslan as the son of Sulaiman in a description of Arslan fleeing the city. Only the *Gesta* does not mention the name Kilij Arslan.

¹⁷³ October 1096.

¹⁷⁴ Ekkehard's description of the actual siege of Nicaea is so vague that it could easily have been derived from any of the other three accounts.

¹⁷⁵ Here ends the textual analysis of Ekkehard compared to the three other First Crusade chronicles. The remainder of Ekkehard's synopsis of the First Crusade is spent quoting the letter of Daimbert. After that, he discusses events after the Battle of Ascalon, which was beyond the scope of the book he read at Jerusalem.

¹⁷⁶ This letter was written by crusader leader Daimbert to Pope Paschal II and is a general overview of the success of the First Crusade. It is likely that Ekkehard saw this letter or a draft of it while in the Holy Land, as Daimbert was the Patriarch of Jerusalem during the time in which Ekkehard was in the Holy Land. Ekkehard erroneously attributes this letter to either Robert Count of Normandy or Robert Count of Flanders. The original Latin text of this letter can be found in MGH, SS, 17-18. An English translation of the text can be found in August Krey, *Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, 275-279.

God granted an abundance of his blessing and mercy to these men.

"God led the crusaders into the city and he handed over both the Turks and all of its residents to their power."¹⁷⁷ Once they thought that these possessions were acquired by their own strength, and they did not praise God highly enough, who had brought these victories, they were besieged by such a great army of Saracens that no man from this great throng dared to step outside the city. Furthermore, hunger had so gripped the city that scarcely anyone could restrain themselves from inhuman meals. It would take a long time to explain the miseries that were in this city. However, God, looking back at his people, whom he had beaten down for a long time, generously consoled them. First off, as if exchanging tribute for an apology, God handed down a token of victory to the crusading armies. He gave them His own Lance, with which He was wounded on the Cross, a gift not seen since the time of the Apostles."¹⁷⁸ Then, God uplifted the hearts of these men so much that he inspired even those who were denied the strength to walk because of sickness to take up arms and courageously fight against the enemy."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ After a lengthy siege at Antioch, the forces of Bohemond penetrated the city with the aid of a traitorous citizen named Firouz, who let the crusader forces into the city through a window at night on 2 June 1098. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 233-235.

¹⁷⁸ Conditions at Antioch after the capture of the city were dreadful. Crusader spirits were only lifted by the discovery of the Holy Lance by Peter Bartholomew. Many were skeptical about the discovery, but nonetheless its presence inspired the crusader armies to defeat an approaching relief army led by Kerbogha, the Atabeg of Mosul. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 242-250.

¹⁷⁹ This section is paraphrased slightly from the Latin text of the letter, but still conveys the same events.

CHAPTER XV: THE FRANKS CAPTURE THE SARACEN CITIES BARRA AND MARRA

"After the enemies at Antioch were overcome, armies began to desert because of starvation, boredom, and most significantly arguments among their leaders.¹⁸⁰ Setting out across Syria, the armies struck out at the Saracen cities Barra and Marra and also besieged other fortresses in the region. Since there was another delay here, hunger was so great in the army that the bodies of Saracens, now decaying, were consumed by the Christian people.¹⁸¹ Thence, the crusaders set out into the interior of Hyspania because of Divine Will; they indeed had the most ample, merciful, and victorious hand of the Almighty Father with them. The citizens and castellans of the regions through which the Franks proceeded, sent down representatives to them with many gifts, were prepared to perform service as a vassal, and ready to surrender their towns to the crusaders.¹⁸² However, because the army was not numerous and unanimously wished to hasten towards Jersualem, they accepted them as tributaries after safe conduct was secured. They proceeded as such since any one city of the territories that was on the coast had more men than were in the entire army of Christ. When it was heard in Antioch, Laodicea, and Edessa that the hand of God was with the Franks, many people from the army who had remained behind, followed them to Tyre.

Thus, through the companionship and collaboration of God, they travelled all the way to Jerusalem. While they labored outside the besieged city, there was very severe trouble because of a water shortage. Having convened a council, the bishops and leaders proclaimed that the

¹⁸⁰ Crusader leaders argued about who was to take possession of Antioch. Raymond of St. Gilles and Bohemond were the two main claimants to the city. In the midst of a grueling plague that saw the death of Papal Legate Adhemar of Le Puy, a compromise was finally reached. Bohemond took charge of Antioch, while Raymond would lead the remaining crusaders to Jerusalem. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 262.

¹⁸¹ Reports of cannibalism at M'arrat-an-Nu'man are confirmed in the chronicles of Peter Tudebode, the *Gesta*, and Raymond d'Aguilers. Tudebode notes that "there were others who were so famished that they cut the flesh of the dead into bits, cooked, and ate it." Tudebode, *Historia*, 102.

¹⁸² Many local Arab rulers were "delighted by the collapse of the Turkish power" and were more than willing to bribe the crusaders for their own safety. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 267.

crusaders should be marched around the city with bare feet.¹⁸³ This would be done so that He who had set foot humbly in the city on behalf of us might open Jerusalem so that the crusaders armies could bring judgment upon God's enemies on behalf of God. Thereupon God, pleased by this humbleness, gave the city to these men on the 8th day after their humiliation.¹⁸⁴ It was indeed on this very day that the early church was thrown out of Jerusalem, when the feast of the Dispersion of the Apostles is celebrated by many faithful people."

¹⁸³ Priest Peter Desiderius claimed that the recently deceased Papal Legate Adhemar had appeared to him in a vision and asked the crusader armies to fast and walk bare-footed around the walls of Jerusalem. According to this vision, if these prerequisites were fulfilled, Jerusalem would be captured within nine days. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 284.

¹⁸⁴ Jerusalem was captured on 15 July 1099.

CHAPTER XVI: THE BABYLONIANS HAD PREVIOUSLY CAPTURED AND FORTIFIED JERUSALEM IN THE SAME YEAR

It seems that I have omitted in this chronicle the small detail that while the crusader army lingered in the siege of Antioch, while all the nations across the East were shaken with fear, while envoys, some negotiating peace, others plotting wars, were sent forth from every part of the world, the assembled legates of the Babylonian King at first showed themselves favorable to an alliance with the Franks, if, with Antioch conquered, the crusaders also expelled the Turks from Jerusalem.¹⁸⁵ Then, the crusaders together with all the Saracens could have the same masters, brothers, and friends. As I previously mentioned, the Turks had previously seized Judea along with Jerusalem and all of Palestine from the Saracens. Because of these conquests, many of the most worthy Frankish soldiers, whose fortitude, stature, appearance, stride, and elegance struck the barbarians, were directed to Babylonia after safe-conduct was assured. They spoke of the Franks (for thus it was usual for them to name all Western peoples) not merely as men, but as gods. They declared that it is no wonder that the Franks assert themselves everywhere, since these warlike peoples aspired to subjugate the entire world.

Then, having taken council, the King of Babylon laid siege to Jerusalem. He exposed the Frankish legates to the enemies in Jerusalem and he asserted himself as an ally to the Franks, to whose swords he threatened the people unless they handed the city over to him. Thus, with this guile, the barbarian king took back the city not because of fear of his army but because of their fear of the Franks. After expelling all the Turks, the Babylonian King fortified the city against

¹⁸⁵ Fatimid ambassadors first met with crusader leaders outside of Antioch during the prolonged crusader siege. The Fatimids were enemies to the Turks and wanted to divide their territory with the Byzantines and crusader armies. However, the crusader leaders did not agree to any specific treaty. As a result of their negotiations, the Fatimids attacked and captured Jerusalem, presumably hoping that the crusaders would simply want to split the Turkish territories with them. They were mistaken and the crusader armies attacked Jerusalem in late 1099. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 229-230. Ekkehard's knowledge of the differences between Babylonians and Turks is evidence that he had some understanding of the various Muslim ethnic groups in the Middle East.

the approaching Christians with war machines and soldiers. So thus it happened that Jerusalem was captured twice in one year: first by the Saracens, then by the Franks.

CHAPTER XVII: THE FRANKS REPORT A MOST BRILLIANT VICTORY AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS NEAR ASCALON

"If anybody seeks to know what truly happened to the enemies who were discovered in Jerusalem, let them know that in the gallery of Solomon and in his temple the victors on horseback ride in the blood of Saracens all the way up to the knees of the horses.¹⁸⁶ When it was arranged who should retain the city,¹⁸⁷ and when others wished to return home because of love of their fatherland and compassion for their own kin, it was reported to these men that the King of Babylon had approached Ascalon with a countless throng of pagans, seeking to lead the Franks who were at Jerusalem into captivity, and then to attack Antioch, just as the King himself had said. However, God decided their fate differently. Thus, when those at Jerusalem discovered that there was an army of Babylonians close to Ascalon, they strove against them, leaving behind their baggage and the weak in Jerusalem with a garrison.¹⁸⁸ When they saw the countless throng of enemies, they called to God on bended knees, so that He, who always was near them in times of need, would extend the kingdom of Christ and the church all the way from sea to sea, and shatter the might of the pagans and the Devil. There was no delay, for God rushed to those crying aloud for him. He provided the men with such great courage that those who saw them wade into the enemy would pronounce that the stag was sluggish when thirsting after a spring of fresh water.

It is clear from this miraculous occurrence that, although the Christian army numbered

¹⁸⁶ Ekkehard returns to quoting the Epistola from Count Raymond at length.

¹⁸⁷ Raymond of Toulouse was initially offered the crown of Jerusalem, but he refused it. This decision was a surprise to historians of the time, but his decision was likely due to his unpopularity amongst the other crusader leaders. In turn, the crown was offered to Godfrey of Bouillon, who accepted it. However, he chose not to be called a King in the same city in which Jesus was King, instead taking the title of *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*: the Defender of the Holy Sepulcher. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 292.

¹⁸⁸ Fatimid forces were clearly upset by what they perceived to be a breach of their agreement to divide Turkish possessions between the crusaders and themselves. In retaliation, they sent a sizable army to retake Jerusalem under the command of Vizier al-Afdal. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 295.

no more than 5,000 cavalry and 15,000 foot soldiers and in the army of enemies there appeared to be 100,000 cavalry and 400,000 foot soldiers, God miraculously appeared on behalf of his servants.¹⁸⁹ Before the pagans were drawn up in battle lines, God turned this enemy to flight with one lone charge and He seized all of the pagan arms so that, if they wished to fight again, they would not have the arms in which they trusted.¹⁹⁰ It is truly impossible to inquire about the immense quantity of the spoils that the crusaders captured when the treasures of the King of Babylon were seized. At this battle, more than 100,000 Moors fell to the sword: therefore the fear was so great among them that 2,000 others were suffocated at the gate of the city. There is no accurate count for those who perished at sea. The nearby thickets of thorn also held many enemies. The whole world certainly fought for the Christians, and if the spoils of the Babylonian camp had not occupied so many men, there would be fewer surviving from the enemy multitude who are able to recount this battle."

¹⁸⁹ Once again, any medieval estimation about the number of combatants in a battle must be taken with a grain of salt.

¹⁹⁰ The Battle of Ascalon took place on 12 August 1099.

CHAPTER XVIII: CAMELS, SHEEP, AND OXEN FOLLOW THE ARMY RETURNING TO JERUSALEM

"On the day before this battle, the army captured many thousands of camels and oxen and sheep. When the people released them and proceeded towards battle at the command of the leaders, - marvelous to say! - the same animals assembled into multiple squadrons and accompanied the army, so that when the Franks hastened forth they would hasten forth and when the Franks halted they would halt.¹⁹¹ Even the clouds shielded the Christians from the heat of the sun and cooled them off. When the victory had been celebrated, the army returned to Jerusalem. Leaving Duke Godfrey there, Raymond count of Saint Gilles, Robert count of Flanders, and Robert count of Normandy turned back to Laodicea.¹⁹² There they met a fleet of Pisan ships and Bohemond with his followers."¹⁹³ A large number from that multitude held an assembly in Laodicea, except for those who had gathered with the same Bohemond at Antioch, those who had departed with Baldwin towards Edessa, those who had remained in Tyre, and those who had scattered all about the surrounding regions. When the Archbishop of Pisa¹⁹⁴ had made an agreement for those in disagreement, he returned to his fatherland with a very large multitude. Godfrey, as I have stated, took command of those who remained in Jerusalem.

¹⁹¹ This miracle was reported in the works of both Raymond d'Aguilers and Peter Tudebode. The cause of this phenomena may have been natural herd migration routes coinciding with the path of the crusader armies' march. Since it was common for both herds and armies to travel along major waterways, it would not be farfetched for the two to appear to follow each other. D'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 135; Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano*, 127.

¹⁹² Both Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy would leave the Holy Land from Laodicea.

¹⁹³ Presumably, all of the following text is either taken from personal knowledge or other firsthand accounts of the Crusade of 1101. Ekkehard states that the little book he found in Jerusalem only covered the events through the Capture of Jerusalem, and he does not quote any more information from the Epistola of Count Robert.

¹⁹⁴ Daimbert was the Archbishop of Pisa during this time. He was appointed as Papal legate to go to the Holy Land by Pope Urban, who died soon after. Daimbert was one of the authors of the Epistola that Ekkehard quoted at length in chapters 14, 15, 17, and 18.

CHAPTER XIX: THE EXCELLENT DEEDS OF THE LEADER GODFREY

The same magnanimous Duke Godfrey, who is scarcely comparable with respect to piety, although only supported by a small army, began to attempt great deeds in the name of the Lord.¹⁹⁵ He chased off the remaining enemies in whatever way was necessary. He built up defenses in opportune locations. He restored Joppa, which for a long time had been destroyed, and its harbor, which now had been deserted for a long time. He was able to restore much of the churches and the clergy. He relocated the monks. He most devotedly gave as many offerings to the monasteries as to the hospital, which had never deserted Jerusalem. He kept a most stable peace with Ascalon and Damascus, which proved a benefit to trade. He honored the soldiers of our country before all other warriors, and he compared their savageness to the most delightful refinement of the Gallic knights. Through his native skills in both languages, he soothed the hatred that naturally crops up between those nations.

¹⁹⁵ Although Ekkehard is intent upon spreading the greatness of Duke Godfrey, it should be emphasized that his position in the Middle East after the departure of many crusaders was tenuous at best. He was desperately in need of Christian knights, he was reliant upon the sea power of Pisan ships, and he still faced difficulties in dealing with some native populations. Runciman claims that Godfrey was “a weak man and felt himself insecure.” Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 305.

CHAPTER XX: THERE IS AN ASSEMBLY OF CRUSADERS AT JERUSALEM; GODFREY PERISHES FROM DISEASE

In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1100, under the leader Godfrey, vigorously defending the church at Jerusalem, a huge assembly convened in Jerusalem with all Christians who were in the East, especially those crusaders who had settled either in Antioch, Syria, Edessa, or Palestine. The size of this assembly was so great that on the feasts themselves of the Nativity of the Lord a very great number of bishops from neighboring regions were consecrated.¹⁹⁶ Thus, in visible history these mystical prophecies were fulfilled: "Rise, be enlightened, Jerusalem!" and "Rejoice, Jerusalem!" and "Prepare a feast day, you who delight in her! etc." After these times, the summer heat began to rise and the air across Palestine was spoiled by the stench of corpses. There are certain people who say that the waters were poisoned by the barbarians and that the cisterns were tainted by the corrupted blood of the dead. From here a pestilence spread, killing many of our men, who were serving in these conditions beneath a foreign sky.

Among those who died was Godfrey himself, who tended to the people of God with paternal care, nurtured them with maternal piety. He was stolen away too soon, striking the hearts of the entire Catholic Church. For merely one year he presided over the people of God, until he was overcome by a lengthy disease on July 18th.¹⁹⁷ Godfrey's life was full of faith and good works; his life was finished in servitude to Christ. Even without mentioning anything about all the virtues with which he was endowed, he had joined himself to the natives and the foreign armies with such gentleness that the lamenting of the Franks was scarcely more than that of the Syrians or Greeks. Before Mount Calvary, in the entrance of the Church of Golgatha, one can

¹⁹⁶ This ceremony included the consecration of Daimbert, Bishop of Pisa, as Patriarch of Jerusalem. However, despite the pomp and ceremony of this occasion, there still remained internal tension amongst the highest ranks of Christian leaders, specifically between Godfrey, Bohemond, Daimbert, and Emperor Alexius. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 305-306.

¹⁹⁷ Ekkehard correctly dates the death of Godfrey to 18 July 1100.

gaze upon his mausoleum, constructed with Parisian stone.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

CHAPTER XXI: THE BROTHER OF GODFREY, BALDWIN, SUCCEEDS HIM. THE RULER OF EDESSA IS CROWNED KING BY A LEGATE

During this time, Count Baldwin had settled in Edessa, which is also thought of as Roges, a famous city of the Medes that is actually a region and part of Armenia. Now, Baldwin obtained power over those nations because of the death of Thoros, an aged, most Christian man.¹⁹⁹ Thoros had diverted Baldwin from Antioch for his own protection, and had even adopted him as a son and heir due to his energetic participation in many battles.²⁰⁰ Certainly from ancient days there was always fighting in Edessa, but the city had never surrendered to any number of pagans. This is because Edessa is protected by every natural boundary and by an ample supply of people and food, with walls impregnable to the instruments of men and with a natural spring rising up within it. It is not the purpose of this book and there is not sufficient time to hand down in writing how often at Edessa Count Baldwin fought against a large hoard of barbarians with few men, how he was nearly overcome, how after losing an army he would lead another from among the besiegers of Antioch, and finally how he freed himself from the deceptions of his ally, who was a Turk named Balduc.²⁰¹ Baldwin arrested that man and put him to death. All wishing to write about these glorious deeds would sooner run out of time than material.

Upon hearing of the death of his brother Godfrey, Baldwin gave the state and people to his own kin, the younger Baldwin,²⁰² and he himself made for Jerusalem with approximately 300 men. Baldwin cheated thousands of pagans waiting for him in an ambush, but nonetheless he

¹⁹⁹ Thoros was an Armenian leader who took control of Edessa from the Turks in 1094.

²⁰⁰ Thoros died in suspicious circumstances on 9 March 1100, making Baldwin the undisputed ruler of Edessa. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 205-206.

²⁰¹ After Baldwin was appointed Count of Edessa, Emir Balduk of Samosata sought to placate him through the selling of his emirate. Baldwin accepted, and Balduk was allowed to stay at Edessa with his entourage. However, Balduk then defected to Saruj and was forced to pay tribute for his desertion. After refusing to give up his wife and children as hostages, Balduk was arrested and executed. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 208-210.

²⁰² Baldwin II reigned as Count of Edessa from 1100 to 1118 and as King of Jerusalem from 1118 to his death in 1131.

later met them in battle, conquered them, filled himself with the spoils of war, and entered Jerusalem in triumph.²⁰³ After being asked and praised by all, Baldwin agreed to become their King, and with little ceremony he bowed his head before the tomb of the Sepulcher of the Lord, subjugating himself to be forever in the service of the Lord.²⁰⁴ After this ceremony, he was crowned by a legate of the Apostolic See upon receiving the royal blessing, which inspired a greater fear of Christians amongst the pagans. Baldwin then conquered the coastal cities Arsuf and Caeserea, cut down the Saracens who were inside the cities, and extended his kingdom at the expense of the king of Babylon.

²⁰³ Damascene soldiers ambushed Baldwin and his forces at the passage of the Nahr el-Kelb, but were defeated. A victorious Baldwin entered Jerusalem triumphant on 11 November 1100. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 323-325.

²⁰⁴ Baldwin was crowned King of Jerusalem, taking the title that Godfrey had refused, on 25 December 1100.

CHAPTER XXII: A NEW ARMY OF TEUTONS, LOMBARD, AND AQUITANI

During the following year, the year of our Lord 1101, a certain monastic friend of mine, while traveling from West to East, saw an illumination resembling a large city.²⁰⁵ For three days as he was crossing from Saxony to Bavaria, he also saw an incredible swarm of vermin, which are called butterflies because of their resemblance to a tent.²⁰⁶ Soon after, a numerous expedition followed, which was comparable in number to the first expedition. The band, comprising people from all the remaining countries in the West, mostly consisted of those individuals whose fear, despair, poverty, or feebleness had impeded them from fulfilling their vows. Thus, they prepared anew after hearing of the fruitful deeds carried out after the glorious victory at Jerusalem.²⁰⁷ The first to prepare were from the bishoprics of Milan, Pavia, and the other peoples of Lombardy.²⁰⁸ Those who took the cross from these lands numbered 50,000. People then followed from various Teutonic provinces. Following them were people from Aquitaine, who were ruled by William of Poitiers, numbering 30,000 armed soldiers not including the unarmed mobs.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Ekkehard's description of the Crusade of 1101 begins in this chapter, and is marked by considerably more detail than his description of the First Crusade. This is evidence of both his participation on the Crusade and his proximity to other crusaders.

²⁰⁶ From the moment Ekkehard plunges into his description of the Crusade of 1101, once again various omens and portents begin to appear, an emphasis that is consistent throughout the original material in this chronicle.

²⁰⁷ The motivations for those who participated in the Crusade of 1101 varied. Some were coerced by the newly invested Pope Paschal II, who then threatened with excommunication if they did not fulfill their vows to crusade. Others were merely inspired to crusade by the thrilling stories of temporal and spiritual uplift espoused by the victorious returning crusaders. A newer motive for this crusade was the relatives of crusaders travelling east in order to fulfill the vow of a family member who died en route. Regardless of these variations, Riley-Smith argues that "there is every reason for supposing that the motivation of the crusaders of 1100-1101 was just as devout as had been that of their predecessors." Ekkehard's emphasis on their unzealous reasons for crusading is indicative that Ekkehard viewed this crusade as doomed from the start. As was discussed in the introduction to this text, Ekkehard considered mental righteousness a necessary prerequisite for successful crusading. Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 123-125.

²⁰⁸ A Lombard army left Milan on 13 September 1100. Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 129. It was headed by the Archbishop of Milan, Anselm of Buis, along with several other local counts. Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades Volume II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 18-19.

²⁰⁹ The renowned troubadour William IX, Duke of Aquitaine led a French army on the Crusade of 1101.

CHAPTER XXIII: THE ARMY IS POORLY RECEIVED BY EMPEROR ALEXIUS

The Lombards, after traversing Carinthia²¹⁰ with the permission of Duke Henry and spending the winter in the cities of Bulgaria after passing through Hungary, began to thin in numbers.²¹¹ After finally reaching Constantinople, they were moved to the other bank (for that wretched Alexius was accustomed to hasten crusaders across as a favor) or rather they were cast out to the arrows of the pagans.²¹² Then the Turks, upon finding out the sluggishness of the Lombards, ground them in the manner of wheat in such a great massacre that the Teutonic army, which was following behind on the same road, reached the same metropolis on June 1st but it was not able to discover anything about the preceding massacre in any way.²¹³ No one had survived the retreat through Romania. From the beginning, or in fact from the first city of Bulgaria to Constantinople, the Byzantines always sent messengers of peace to us, who whether preceding or accompanying us would soon vanish like dying embers. Also, a force of their own soldiers called Pechenegs harassed us first from the rear, then it attacked from the side, then it collided with us from the front in drawn up battle lines, and then during the night it burst into our camps.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Carinthia is located in present-day southern Austria.

²¹¹ Frequent raids and desertions marked the Lombards' march through Eastern Europe to Constantinople. Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 129.

²¹² Having experienced the potential problems of having a crusader army encamped at length outside of his city, Emperor Alexius sought to remove the Lombard army from Constantinople as quickly as possible. However, the Lombards initially refused to cross in the hope that reinforcements would arrive, leading to skirmishes with Byzantine forces. On the advice of Raymond of Toulouse, who was staying as a guest of Alexius in Constantinople, the Lombards agreed to be ferried across to Asia Minor. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 19-20. During his description of the Crusade of 1101, Ekkehard makes plainly obvious his contempt for Emperor Alexius. He hints at the Emperor's cruel tendencies earlier, but it is in these descriptions that Alexius is completely demonized. Ekkehard blames Alexius specifically for rushing crusader forces across the Bosphorus and conspiring with the Turks.

²¹³ Turkish armies under the command of Danishmen and Kilij Arslan harassed Lombard forces throughout their brief march in Anatolia. After the final conflict against the Turks, Runciman estimates that the Turks massacred approximately four-fifths of the Lombard army. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 24.

²¹⁴ Alexius Comnenos was wary of the dangers of another large crusading army parked directly outside of his capital. In light of these circumstances, he might have considered a show of strength as the best way of deterring any potential large-scale conflicts.

For 20 days there was always an enemy nearby and hostile to us, until we happily reached our destination with the forces of Duke Welf²¹⁵ and the army of William IX.²¹⁶ Other various forces streamed together daily, and after fifteen days, 100,000 people were gathered there.²¹⁷ Out of all these people, as is customary, Alexius received the leaders of our throng as sons, and after accepting their hands and taking solemn oaths, he distributed gifts just as he had to the previous armies. Alexius instructed that alms be given to the poor and a market be erected outside the city. Because of a constant suspicion, entrance into Constantinople or castles or forts throughout the entire empire was granted to a very small number of people, both those who paid and those who used stealth. It was because of these precautions that as William was leading his army down the royal roads across the middle of Adrianople, he was prohibited from crossing into the city. Then the Aquitani, swelling in their native arrogance, raised their banners, set fire to the suburbs, and attacked the city. While they harshly stood their ground in their attack, they were attacked from the rear by an army of Pechenegs, who always follow this same route because of the order of Caesar, as I have previously mentioned. Having met this force, the Pechenegs slew many and also lost many, but at last they hastened upon the road that they had abandoned a little while ago.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Duke Welf I of Bavaria spent most of his life fighting in Germany before embarking upon the crusade. He brought with him a well-equipped army of German nobility and infantry. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 27.

²¹⁶ The destination in question is Constantinople.

²¹⁷ Ekkehard himself arrived at Constantinople by sea. Paul Riant, ed., *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux: Tome Cinquieme* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1967), ii.

²¹⁸ Despite the conflicts between crusader leaders William and Welf against Emperor Alexius, nonetheless Alexius admitted the crusader armies to Constantinople, albeit with a “strong escort.” Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 27.

CHAPTER XXIV: ALEXIUS FAVORS THE TURKS MORE THAN THE CHRISTIANS

Next, that huge mass of people directed themselves on a course through Romania, each man buying the necessary equipment for him to cross the desert. As much forced as voluntarily, we crossed beyond the arm of the sea, which is called the Straits of Saint George. However, we were overwhelmingly in suspense wondering what will be the conclusion of the daily meetings of our leaders and their daily audiences with the emperor.²¹⁹ Behold! Suddenly a rumor arose that the hated emperor supported the side of the Turks more than the side of Christians, and frequent announcements circled around us that he sought to incite the Turks against us: "Treacherous is that Alexius," they said "who, pushed away his own lord, Michael, and through the aid of certain hired Alemmani, usurped his power, and his punishment for those conspiring agents was exile or death. He even said that he considered Franks fighting against Turks to be worth so much as dogs biting each other in turn." Moreover, when any man tried to bring together ships, he was informed that Caesar had planted traps for the crusaders even in the sea, and had sunk many ships not long ago with this same villainy. All cursed and maligned him; all languages called him not an emperor but a traitor.

It is incredible to relate, and horrible for those who experienced it to recall how much chaos there was in our, that is to say the German, army, which saw a father separated from his son with his life, a brother from his brother, a comrade from his friend, much more bitterly than when death separates them, with one having set out on foot, the other having set out to the sea. It is horrible to recall that certain people, after they had paid their fare, after spending one or two nights at sea, took up their supplies and leapt towards the shore with great damage to themselves. Also, they bought back at a greater price the supplies that they had dispersed on horses. They

²¹⁹ Negotiations between Emperor Alexius and the crusader leaders William and Welf dragged on for five weeks. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 28.

hastened to the slaughter by fleeing death. For a long time we were also greatly shaken by the same wavering of spirit among the men, who had trusted their lives to the open sea, but with divine mercy steering our wretched selves, we reached the port of Joppa after six weeks. Blessed be Jesus Christ for all things.

CHAPTER XXV: THE ARMY IS HARASSED BY THE TURKS NEAR KHURASAN

Next, upon receiving 300 Turcoples from the Emperor, who led our legions on an appropriate route, the army turned towards Nicomedia.²²⁰ While being led through Romania, they turned to the northern region towards Khurasan, which is the fatherland of the Turks. These regions of Romania on the public road had been devastated by the lying Alexius, while at the same time he did not bring aid to our men, who were besieged in Antioch, as he had sworn to do. Indeed, he was more suspicious of the Franks than the Turks during that time. In addition, this army intended to make a name for itself among the Turkish clans, as the previous army had done, but the fate of this expedition prohibited this and it was not part of the predetermined divine plan.²²¹ A few days before, as I have related,²²² the same pagans had hardened their swords, previously made dull by the nearly warm blood of the Lombards.²²³ Thus, they anticipated resisting the spirited multitudes of the countless warriors. There were not more than 4,000 Turks, who nevertheless were hand-picked, armed with the fastest horses, best weapons, and were well trained in archery.²²⁴

Nevertheless, the pagan armies came to test their fortune or valor, but they were more suitable for exploring than openly fighting. Thus, first off they snatched away the outermost flank in the manner of robbers, after this they captured or killed these men, then they hastened towards the cross-roads and devastated this area with fire or any other means. At times they plagued the army advancing through jungle and foliage throughout the entire day with flames

²²⁰ Nicomedia is located east of Constantinople and north of Nicaea. The constant passage of crusader, Byzantine, and Turkish forces from 1097-1101 had devastated the region agriculturally. However, Ekkehard was quick to blame Alexius for the lack of food in the region. Riley-Smith, *Idea of Crusading*, 131.

²²¹ Once again, Ekkehard reaffirms his belief in the divine will of God being the driving force behind the success or failure of any given crusade. Nonetheless, Ekkehard does try very hard to convince his readers that Alexius was at least partially responsible for the failure of the Crusade of 1101.

²²² Ekkehard discusses the failed Lombard expedition in chapters 22 and 23.

²²³ Despite being present on the crusading trail, Ekkehard remains ignorant of the names of any local Turkish rulers.

²²⁴ Turkish forces rarely voluntarily engaged the crusader armies in large battles. Instead, they would constantly harass the marching armies from afar with cavalry archers.

and smoke. At times during the night they attacked part of the camp first at one point, then at another point. They caused disquiet amongst all in the crusader army. Nevertheless, amidst all this chaos they never met us in an arranged battle line or with their front exposed, as is the custom of battles. Instead, when there was resistance they ceded their ground, when they were followed they fled, then they would come back and follow us. If I tried to relate these miserable events in all their horribleness fully with a pen, the details would exceed both the potential and style of this little book. I could write about such shame among noble men, about such want among the rich, about the brave men who died without a sword. While a present servant was scarcely able to aid his master, those who were sufficiently rich were not aided by their money, and the brave men were not allowed to fight. Indeed, these same regions were confined, impenetrable, and uninhabitable, known to the enemies but unknown to us, where the guile of the traitor Alexius captured so great a people of God.²²⁵

²²⁵ Even though Ekkehard describes in detail the successful tactics of the Turkish forces, he nonetheless still attributes the defeat of the crusader armies to the guile of Emperor Alexius. The army was most thoroughly harassed in this “unknown region,” which was the area around Heraclea in modern day Southern Turkey.

CHAPTER XXVI: ALMOST THE ENTIRE CHRISTIAN ARMY PERISHES

But why do I delay? Thus for nearly 21 days²²⁶ they were exposed to the arrows of the enemy as if they were practice targets. Daily, they were valued as sheep lined up for slaughter. At last they, positioned in an outermost location, surrendered themselves in the night to a mountain pass, satisfied to speed up their certain but morose death.²²⁷ However, their flight brought little advantage to very few men except to delay the final fate that had consumed all. Alas! Alas! From such an innumerable people of God, I do not believe that 1000 men remained. Thereafter, I saw some of these survivors, scarcely more than bones, at Rhodes, Paphos, other ports, and even a few at Jaffa. Out of these men, Count Bernard and Count Henry of Ratisbon perished at Jerusalem. Duke Welf died on the return journey and was buried at Papho.²²⁸ Within this extended history of their tortures, which is not in the style of this short book to allow, includes stories about our own men, such as the capture of Archbishop Thiemo of Salzburg,²²⁹ the slaughter of the Margravine Ida,²³⁰ the starvation and thirst of two noble canons named Bruno.²³¹ Out of the Latin leaders, William,²³² Raymond,²³³ Stephen,²³⁴ and a few others are said to have survived.

²²⁶ This time period comprises from July-August 1101.

²²⁷ The armies of William and Welf were ambushed and massacred at a watering hole by Turkish forces outside of Heraclea. William IX of Aquitaine managed to escape through a mountain pass to Tarsus. Duke Welf managed to also escape and flee to Antioch. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 29.

²²⁸ Papho is located in Cyprus, the island on which Duke Welf died.

²²⁹ Thiemo was captured and martyred by Turkish forces. One particularly grotesque painting by 17th century painter Christopher Paudiss shows St. Thiemo having his intestines pulled out on a string with a spindle. Despite this graphic depiction, there is no historical evidence to verify this gruesome fate. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 29.

²³⁰ Ida, known for her good looks, was the wife of Leopold II of Austria. Although she was likely trampled to death in the chaos of battle, rumors persisted that she had been taken to a harem, where she later gave birth to the Muslim hero Zengi. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 27-29.

²³¹ The vague nature of this story makes it nigh impossible to tell to what two men Ekkehard is referring. Although this phrase does not give any specific details, it reinforces the fact that Ekkehard was on this expedition. His knowledge of these lesser known clerics indicates the presence of Ekkehard on the crusade.

²³² William IX escaped to Tarsus. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 29.

²³³ Raymond of St. Gilles escaped from the massacre of his Lombard army and managed to sail from the port of Bafra to Constantinople. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 24.

²³⁴ Stephen of Blois was also able to escape to Constantinople. Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (New York: Penguin Books Ltd), 174.

CHAPTER XXVII: BALDWIN URGES HIS MEN TO FIGHT AGAINST THE BABYLONIANS, WHOM HE FORCED TO FLEE

Thus, while these tragedies happened, there was no reprieve for those Christians who were in Judea, for there were daily raids carried out by the people of Ascalon²³⁵ and Damascus,²³⁶ and the Babylonians prepared for war.²³⁷ Indeed, after May 1st, not a long way from Ramleh, the Babylonian army pitched camp. Baldwin formed his battle line opposite this camp.²³⁸ He urged his men that just as a few days before by the grace of God they had borne much booty from Arabia with a small force,²³⁹ so now they should not surrender to the hordes of the enemy: *"Let us live for the annihilation of these Turks, or let us die from this danger. Behold this battle, oh brave warriors! We once desired this fate, for which we abandoned our fatherland, our parents, and peace! Furthermore, it is dignified to fight for the inheritance of Christ, against those foreign plunderers invading our Holy Land. To conquer such enemies is by no means uncertain; to die is glory. The fatherland provides only a refuge for those pagans; their victory guarantees our exile. Now let us follow through on what they themselves reproach us for, that the Franks do not fear death. Indeed the pilgrims of Christ wish to die for Christ, or else to be victorious in the name of Christ."* After King Baldwin concluded his speech with such great words, the spirits of his men were uplifted because of the magnificent will of Omnipotent God.²⁴⁰ Then, the huge horde of Saracens withdrew so far from scarcely more than one of our

²³⁵ The Fatimid governor of Ascalon at this time was Shams al-Khalifa. Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades through Arab Eyes* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), 88.

²³⁶ The Seljuq Duqaq ruled Damascus from 1095-1104. Maalouf, *Arab Eyes*, 22-23.

²³⁷ Under their Vizier al-Afdal, the Fatimids sought revenge for their defeat at the Battle of Ascalon in 1099. He outfitted an expedition under the command of Mameluk al-Qawasi. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 74.

²³⁸ Baldwin marched his army to the city of Ramleh. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 74.

²³⁹ Baldwin successfully siezed Caesarea on 17 May 1101, but his army "had only time to divide the booty... before the news came to him that an Egyptian army had entered Palestine." Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 74.

²⁴⁰ Ekkehard continues to emphasize the importance of God's will to the crusade. Despite his tendency to attribute negative events to the work of the Byzantine Emperor Alexius, God nonetheless remains the most consistent force behind crusading, whether good or bad.

legions that they did not suppose to skirmish against us. Instead, after spending several days in the same place, they withdrew shamefully in defeat.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ The army of al-Qawasi fell back to Ascalon to await reinforcements. In response to this movement, Baldwin fortified Ramleh and set up headquarters in Jaffa. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 74.

CHAPTER XXVIII: A NEW ARMY OF BABYLONIANS

On the other hand, around 1 September 1101, word of the approaching Christians, which I previously related, had terrified the kingdoms of Babylon into calling a council.²⁴² They planned to seize and slaughter all of us who then were in Judea or were discovered within any of their boundaries. With letters sent to Damascus, Tripoli, Gibellum, and other barbarian cities, they mutually reinforced themselves without exception in a pact against the name of Christendom.²⁴³ Thus, they sent an army of 40,000 men from Babylon, seeking first to seize Jaffa. Not far from Ascalon, the army gathered after first forming up with their allies.²⁴⁴ Baldwin, well informed of the situation, gathered his men from all territories; there were men from Jerusalem, Nicopolis, Mount Thabor, Hebion, Caesarea, Arsuf, and Joppa, where a sizable group of pilgrims remained.

²⁴² These armies are likely both the crusading forces of 1101 and the remaining forces from the successful First Crusade under Baldwin.

²⁴³ Motives of “political and commercial self-interest” caused local Muslim rulers of Syria and Palestine to ally themselves against the crusader states. Ekkehard’s lack of specificity about the nature of these pacts and the names of people involved in them further confirms his relative ignorance of the political structure of the Muslim world. Tyerman, *God’s War*, 181.

²⁴⁴ Runciman estimates the size of this Egyptian army to be approximately 33,000 men, most of whom were “lightly armed and untrained.” Runciman further estimates the force of Baldwin’s army to be a mere 1,160 experienced soldiers. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 74.

CHAPTER XXIX: A COUNTLESS NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS PERISH FROM A
WANDERING PESTILENCE; THE SPEECH OF ARNULF TO HIS SOLDIERS ABOUT TO
ENTER INTO BATTLE

I saw during these days such rampant death, which even I scarcely escaped, spreading throughout the people to such an extent that in a single day, 300 corpses were carried out of Jerusalem. Indeed, in Jaffa, a huge field was filled with graves in several days. In response to this pestilence, on one day at 9 o'clock, the wood of the Cross of the Lord, which in the previous year Syrian leaders had shown to Godfrey after being buried in the earth for a very long time, was paraded before the King.²⁴⁵ An assembly of all the people convened outside the city of Jaffa, and with the authority of a king, Arnulf, a venerable and well-read cleric,²⁴⁶ thus spoke in the middle of the council: *"Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, the people whom he has chosen for his inheritance. You, most beloved brothers, are that blessed nation, that sacred nation. You are the people worthy of the inheritance of Christ, a purchased people, who bear the cross after Christ daily after abandoning everything: your fatherland, your parents and possessions. You have handed over your bodies as a suppliant for Christ. You appear to have fought in many battles and you have voluntarily sacrificed your blood for Christ. With the costly death of your brothers and fellow soldiers, Christ has deemed you worthy to cleanse the location of his sanctification. He wished you to free his state of Jerusalem after so many years of bondage by a most tainted people through your faithful service.*

God says that 'This is where I rest for generation after generation. I will reside here

²⁴⁵ A supposed piece of the true cross was recovered at Jerusalem upon its capture by crusader forces. Crusader armies sometimes carried it into battle until the piece was captured at the Battle of Hattin in 1187. These festivities took place on 6-7 September 1101. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 74.

²⁴⁶ Arnulf of Rhodes was a cleric who participated in the First Crusade and later became the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1112-1118. He is credited with both denouncing the authenticity of the Holy Lance discovered in Antioch, while also claiming to have found a piece of the True Cross in Jerusalem. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 71, 74.

because it is the place I have chosen.' Behold a letter of the pagans that challenges the hope placed upon us by a solemn divine promise, which by the will of God was seized on the day before yesterday upon the capture of their legates. This letter brought forth the demonic prophecy that in this year we would be destroyed in a battle against them, that Jerusalem would be completely destroyed, and that even - oh it is horrible to say all these abominable things - the very rock of the Lord and of the glorious Sepulcher would be defiled and broken into pieces. Then, the remnants would be carried by camels to the most remote sea and would be submerged in the open sea, never able to be recovered by Christians. Oh Christians! See what work there is to be done and consider the consequences of this sacrilegious pagan pronouncement!"²⁴⁷

Soon a rising clamor turned many to challenge one naysayer, who then fled. Then, as if from one mouth, the collective voice of every individual sounded: *"This situation has been presented in a moment of crisis; in a short and peculiar way our course has been laid. For Christ, the laws of Christ, and our sacred practices we must bravely fight or shamefully die. It currently stands that we die gloriously and live eternally, or most shamefully we run, and our short and shameful life does not compare to our eternal death. But let it not please him who lives either in this time or eternally, whom it does not please to fight against such foul and blasphemous arrogance of the pagans!"* Then immediately before the Cross of our atonement, all confessed their sins with the utmost humility. After an indulgence was given by a papal legate, who by chance was then present,²⁴⁸ and his blessing was received, they quickly returned to the camp, calling upon the aid of the Lord. Then, very early in the morning, 7000 soldiers on foot

²⁴⁷ Arnulf's speech echoes other themes that are present throughout the *Hierosolymita*: the emphasis upon sacrifice for Christ, the general categorization of all Muslims into one group of "others," and the understanding that all actions carried out in the Holy Land were due to the will of God. However, Ekkehard's account of Arnulf's speech puts more of an emphasis upon the idea of an inherited Holy Land than Ekkehard does elsewhere in the *Hierosolymita*.

²⁴⁸ The Papal Legate in question is Mauritius, the Bishop of Porto (1097-1101), who was appointed by Pope Paschall II and arrived in the Holy Land in September 1100. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 64.

and 1000 knights arrived, greeting this colossal danger with great joy.

CHAPTER XXX: THE ENEMY IS TURNED IN FLIGHT

It is marvelous to relate how the crusaders began to boil with such great zeal after seeing the camp of the barbarians that no one doubted that he alone was able to strike so many enemy legions to the ground. Thus it happened, that while the crusaders poured themselves onto the enemies with little caution in a disorganized rush for nearly one mile, the entire first company was assaulted on their flank and fell down on the spot. After this attack, Baldwin was aroused with great spirit and attacked those enemies with a swift charge of knights, so that although their idols had declared that they would be victorious and although they resisted more fiercely than before, the enemies melted before Baldwin himself just as wax before a fire. The venerable abbot Gearhard,²⁴⁹ who then always bore the Cross of the Lord at the side of the King, told me that he had never seen such a downpour of snow or rain as then, when a dense hail of missiles flew against the King. However, after catching sight of the precious Holy Wood, no one from the enemies girded themselves with missiles or arms; instead, all of them united themselves in defense through flight.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ I have been unable to find any mention of an abbot Gearhard who participated in the Crusade of 1101.

²⁵⁰ This crusader victory is called the First Battle of Ramleh, and took place on 7 September 1101. The battle took place near the city of Ramleh, near where the Muslim armies were camped. Thomas Archer and Charles Lethbridge, *The Crusades: the Story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York: Putnam Press, 1894), 136. Although not present at the battle, Ekkehard is still quick to attribute the victory to the presence of the True Cross, yet another reference to the will of God dictating the outcome of the crusades.

CHAPTER XXXI: JAFFA IS BESIEGED BY LAND AND SEA

So thus after victory was given to King Baldwin by God, to whom it makes no difference whether he saves many or few, as the crusaders sacked the camps and collected the booty of the enemies, a messenger sent from Jaffa arrived who said that the city was being besieged by land and sea.²⁵¹ Thereupon, burdened with their spoils, but with the rest handed over to fire, they hastened as quickly as possible to aid us.²⁵² Since the gates of the city had been closed from within, we were encircled by a lot of cavalry on land and by forty-two beaked ships on sea. After so many enemy assaults and so many miseries due to want and diseases, we began to mournfully celebrate the feast of the nativity of the Mother of God.²⁵³ However, the crusaders made us able to fill the day with the greatest religious celebrations. For on the following day, thirty ships, with crusader brothers numbering about 12,000, brought forth to us a great supply of grain and all provisions. The marvelous power of God kept these boats in check to such an extent that both the pagan and Christian peoples marveled a lot that they could be moved through no attempt or any skill of rowing from their location, or that even one of so many ships could do that. While the fleets of the enemy were striving to attack these ships, the marvelous power of God, through the virtue of the Holy Cross, which was raised on high on the shore by the order of the king, so long as no human assistance could be brought from the state, kept the enemies in check to such an extent that the pagan and Christian peoples marveled a lot that they could be moved through no attempt or any skill of rowing from their location, or that one of so many ships could do that.²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ During the Battle of Ramleh, Ekkehard appeared to have stayed behind in the city of Jaffa.

²⁵² Medieval historian William of Tyre reports that, despite the crusader victory, a contingent of the army was routed by Egyptian forces all the way back to the city of Jaffa, where Ekkehard was staying. The remnant of the crusading forces “made a bold stand before the city and shouted to the citizens in stentorian tones that the king and the entire Christian army had fallen in battle.” William of Tyre, Emily Babcock and A.C. Krey, trans., *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), 441.

²⁵³ This feast takes place on the 8th of September.

²⁵⁴ No other medieval or modern historian notes the presence of naval vessels in this siege. It is possible that Ekkehard is confusing the siege of Jaffa that briefly took place on 8 September 1101 with another siege that took

CHAPTER XXXII: CONCERNING THE MIRACLE OF THE DIVINELY LIT LAMPS

I cannot omit in silence an occurrence in the same year and at the same place, which I learned to have happened by the venerable priest Herimannus, who then lived on the Mount of Olives.²⁵⁵ In these words, he brought back this tale: *"On the day of the most sacred sabbath,"* he said *"which is in accordance with the encouragement of the ancient mercy of the Lord, after completing the baptismal service with much devotion, we carried out the customary prayers and were expecting a light from heaven to approach us in the evening. Then, because of our sins, although we desired the heavenly gift, which the Christians before us always were accustomed to receive in times past in sight of the pagans, we were disappointed in every way. After abstaining from every duty of the festive office, we spent the night of the Resurrection of the Lord only in mourning and grieving. However, in the very early morning we, barefoot and chanting the litanies, proceeded from the Sepulcher of the Lord. We entered the Temple of the Lord, certainly at which location, i.e. Mt. Moriah,²⁵⁶ in the area of Areuna where we read that David was heard in the greatest tribulation, and all people ought to be heard, who in that place prayed with a devoted heart - as was promised to Solomon.*

Soon after prayers and tears were poured forth, lest that by his abandoning us Christ should give reason for blasphemy among the Gentiles, before we had marched out of that famed atrium - behold! - we who had remained behind resoundingly heard clashing signs and praises

place in May 1102. At the outset of the siege, Egyptian forces had held up with head of what the defenders thought was King Baldwin. However, this was just a bluff. Baldwin arrived with his force of ships, his standard waving high, in order to break the naval blockade of the city. A northern wind limited the ability of the Egyptians to maneuver their ships while allowing Baldwin access to the harbor, accounting for the miraculous scene that Ekkehard witnessed from within the city. Once within Jaffa, Baldwin sought to reorganize the garrisons and send for reinforcements. Perhaps Ekkehard had muddled the order of events of the crusade in his mind when he wrote this section of the *Hierosolymita*. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 78-79.

²⁵⁵ The Mount of Olives is a mountain ridge running along the eastern side of Jerusalem. The priest Herimannus is not mentioned in any other crusade chronicle. This miracle happened on 6 April 1102.

²⁵⁶ Moriah is the mountain range where Abraham almost sacrificed Isaac.

from on high. Entering the church filled with immense joy, we saw two lamps lit by the heavens. What more can I say? Beginning with the baptismal service, which had been neglected the day before, we began the service and expounded the entire, esteemed Mass in our servitude to the Lord. Although dragged away from the Lord a short time ago, we finished mass to the very end with the happiest devotion. After we had departed, during the mass of the Syrians, those who always are accustomed to sing the psalms in the same choir upon our exit, reported that other lamps were divinely lit. Indeed, before vespers and during the hymns of vespers 16 such lamps were lit in the same manner.” Thus, it so happened that few men within Jerusalem, whether Christians or pagans, could be found who testified that they had not seen the evident power of Christ.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Even though Ekkehard did not witness this miracle, he considered it important enough to put in his chronicle. Here is another example of the importance of divine portents to Ekkehard's perspective on crusading.

CHAPTER XXXIII: BALDWIN MAKES ASCALON A TRIBUTARY; CONCERNING THE TREACHERY OF EMPEROR ALEXIUS

Four years after this miracle, King Baldwin compelled Ascalon to become a tributary to him after a long siege, during which a very large multitude of ships surrounded the city by sea and a large army surrounded the city by land.²⁵⁸ After some months, this virtuous man, with only 4,000 soldiers, defeated through divine aid and works 50,000 Saracen soldiers who had attacked him by surprise.²⁵⁹ Indeed, Baldwin captured a certain emir, who seemed to be second only to the King of Babylon.²⁶⁰ Another emir was also cut down amidst the great slaughter. Thus, the mercy of Christ brought victory to the crusaders before Antioch, Syria, Palestine, and all of Asia, and the barbarian filth was eliminated from all regions by the servitude of the Crusaders. Then the jealous persecutor of the church, Alexius, unsheathed the poisoned madness of his arrogance, which had been concealed for a long time. He united himself most safely with the Turks, who had little or no hope of presently exercising power in Asia. Oh, a most shameful deed! He gave back Nicaea, which once was a bastion of our Faith, to the son of the tyrant Suleimon,²⁶¹ even though - as I previously discussed - it was recently captured by the shedding of much Christian

²⁵⁸ Ekkehard likely confuses Ascalon with another Muslim city. King Baldwin unsuccessfully besieged Ascalon in 1100, eight years after the miracle of the divinely lit lamps. The city that Ekkehard is referring to is likely Acre, which was sieged in May 1104, two years after the lamp miracle. A Genoese fleet and an army led by Baldwin successfully besieged the town. Acre became one of the most important harbors for the crusader states, despite its distance from Jerusalem. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 88. The abundance of factual errors in the latter chapters of the *Hierosolymita* is indicative that either Ekkehard had left the Holy Land by this time, or that he was far removed from the heat of battle. He does not specify when he left the armies of Duke Welf and William.

²⁵⁹ Over a year after the Siege of Acre, Baldwin defeated the forces of al-Afdal at the Third Battle of Ramleh (27 August 1105). This was the last large-scale invasion that al-Afdal attempted against the crusader states. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 90.

²⁶⁰ Ekkehard once again errs in his description of the battle, because Sena al-Mulk, the son of al-Afdal, managed to escape from the battle. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 90.

²⁶¹ This accusation is not remotely true. Nicaea remained in the hands of the Byzantines until the Ottomans conquered it in 1331. The presence of so many factual errors leads the reader to question the validity of much of Ekkehard's testimony about the events of the crusade itself. Although he may be a valuable source for determining the mentalities of crusaders, his proximity to the events of the crusade expedition can easily be questioned.

blood.²⁶² Through frequent messengers, Alexius moved the Babylonian King against us. He established guards in order to prohibit the crossing of crusaders by land or sea. He even directed many of his beaked ships against Antioch, but these were captured in the battle. Then, to the confusion of Alexius, all the captured men's noses and thumbs were cut off and loaded onto one of their skiffs, and the crusaders sent down a feast of this sort to this same king, the murderer of many thousands of men. Also at this time Bohemond was freed by divine providence after a 3 year captivity, came to Italy by boat, and arranged for a fleet to be constructed there.²⁶³ Bohemond then travelled all the way to the kingdoms of Hispania, and he began to gather an army as large as he was able by all kinds of treaties against the tyrant Alexius.²⁶⁴ The day before the vigil of the Nativity of Christ,²⁶⁵ such a great fire among the stars seemed to burn from the West, that if it had happened in the East, it would have been believed to be the light of the sun. At this time some alms-bearers returning from Jerusalem announced that Acre, which is also called Accaron, had been captured by our men.²⁶⁶ They also had many more tales, which they provided to us with great joy since they bore favorable tidings about the state of the church of Jerusalem. Among other things, they told us that King Baldwin had married the daughter of Duke Roger of Sicily, the widow of King Conrad.²⁶⁷ Consequently, Baldwin brought together

²⁶² He discusses Nicaea in chapters 3 and 4 of the *Hierosolymita*.

²⁶³ Bohemond was captured by Malik Ghazi the Danishmend in 1100. He remained in captivity for three years until Baldwin and Patriarch Bernard paid his ransom in the spring of 1103. Bohemond promptly resumed rule of Antioch until early 1104, at which time he appointed his nephew Tancred to rule Antioch and left for Apulia. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 32, 38-39, 46-48.

²⁶⁴ After arriving in Apulia in 1104, Bohemond travelled west to southern France, the region that Ekkehard refers to as Hispania. In France, he recruited men to destroy the Byzantine Empire with the permission of King Philip I of France. This endeavor against the Byzantines was officially sanctioned by the Catholic Church. Runciman claims that the Byzantine Empire at this point interpreted the crusades as "a tool of unscrupulous western imperialism." Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 32, 38-39, 46-48.

²⁶⁵ 23 December 1105.

²⁶⁶ Acre is not the same city as Accaron, which is a city west of Jerusalem and south of Acre. Ekkehard refers to the capture of Acre earlier in this chapter, although he mistakenly thinks that the city in question is Ascalon. The many contradictory and inaccurate statements of the preceding chapters indicate that Ekkehard was either not in the Holy Land during this time, or else heard about the progress of the crusade from unreliable sources.

²⁶⁷ Ekkehard once again inaccurately reports these proceedings. King Baldwin, after separating from his Armenian

such a large fleet of Sicilians and Normans for himself, which he placed in a naval blockade on part of the sea around Ascalon, which was again very hostile to Christianity. This very city had been made a tributary to the same King Baldwin, who had previously besieged the city with his own forces by land.²⁶⁸

wife Arda, married Adelaide of Salona, the Countess-Dowager of Sicily. She was the mother of Roger II of Sicily and the third wife of Roger I of Sicily. However, contrary to what Ekkehard wrote, her father was not Duke Roger of Sicily, but instead Manfred del Vasto. Runciman, *History of the Crusades II*, 102-103.

²⁶⁸ King Baldwin assaulted Ascalon, but was bought off by the governor Shams al-Khilafa. The Franks did not capture Ascalon until 1153 under the forces of King Baldwin III. Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 94.

CHAPTER XXXIV: THE LORD GIVES SOME THOUGHT TO ZION

After concealing his face for a little while, but not long after the time when the Lord had looked back to Zion,²⁶⁹ which once he had chosen for himself to live, there began to be deservedly spread across all the lands of the world the seed of such joy that those with faithful souls, who are the true daughters of Jerusalem, were fertilized far and wide with vows of good deeds. Also, the prophecies for a long time nearly handed over to oblivion were repeated in many hearts, tongues, and voiced everywhere: "*Behold*," they said, "*in our times when the end of days has arrived. The Lord has considered Zion, and he will be seen there in all his glory. He has shown mercy to Jerusalem, the city of his sanctification, the city of his rest. Rejoice in happiness, all you who mourned for her*," and so forth. Although these and a thousand other predictions of this kind referred by analogy to that Jerusalem, who is our mother from on high, these prophecies urged those with very weak bodies, nurtured from the breasts of her consultation already recorded or about to be recorded, to literally embark upon this actual journey despite the dangers, instead of mentally participating in such a great joy.²⁷⁰ I know a man with an affinity for words who confessed to have heard in a vision the hymn "*Laetatus sum*," with "*alleluia*," and so he himself accompanied the singing of the hymn. Through this event he was moved so greatly to the same pilgrimage that his soul had no rest until, after many tribulations, he was physically present and worshipped, stretching out to where the feet of God stood.

²⁶⁹ Zion is the land of Israel, specifically Jerusalem.

²⁷⁰ Ekkehard considered to the act of travelling to the Holy Land as a quintessential part of crusading, despite any mental or physical illnesses. The description of these prophecies once again reaffirms Ekkehard's belief in divine omens as a way of promoting the practice of crusading.

CHAPTER XXXV: THE PRAISE AND DEFENSE OF THE ARMIES CRUSADING FOR CHRIST

It is not to be wondered at, but to be venerated, how after the stumbling-stones, harder than the stone hearts of the pagans, were removed from the way of the Lord, the single-minded Catholic church reached on a new path to the source of its own birth and to the cradle of its earliest establishment, and the particular home of the True Bread.²⁷¹ It was set forth how in that time the church subjected each of its valued members through this same path not only to death, but also to the mockeries of the pagans, as if sheep to be slaughtered. Few of these same confessors of Christ are alive to be able to tell their tales, which has miserably been recorded as a journey among the idolaters, with little hope of the comforts of food or hospitality.²⁷² Who could sufficiently write this tale about the unheard of and countless torments that they endured for gold and tribute? For these people a most unpleasant death always awaited, since there is only life through the Cross.

However, let me return to our times, for I speak that which I know, and I assert that which I see. Although now the clear way is open for those hastening to the absolution of their sins and the rewards of martyrdom, this goal indeed does not lack the dangers of bandits, rivers, the open sea, desertion, hunger and thirst, heat and sickness, and a thousand other troubles of the pilgrimage that are scarcely credible for the inexperienced.²⁷³ So many struck down bodies of Christian Crusaders, with their heads cut off, lie along the same road, giving faith to my words. In the same place, these Christians, who were robbed by an attacking pagan force, are seen to

²⁷¹ Likely a reference to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, or the Holy Lands as a whole.

²⁷² Ekkehard's description of Muslims as idolaters reveals his ignorance about the intricacies of the Muslim faith. He has little knowledge of its similarities to Christianity in Judaism, and he presupposes that all Muslims in the Middle East subscribed to the same religious views.

²⁷³ According to Ekkehard, crusading should be carried out for the purpose of absolving sins and reaping the rewards of martyrdom. The dangers of the crusading trail are part of the crusading experience.

have drunk from the chalice of Christ, by stretching out in the manner of the Cross against the East, in the midst of the vows of the prayers on behalf of which they are travelling. Wherefore it is necessary that some, ensnared in the bonds of extravagant notions, cease to reproach those who carry the cross after Christ, although under the constraint as was Simon.²⁷⁴ They question why they, because of the flaw of fickleness, follow the route itself, seeing that nowhere is it proclaimed by divine laws. Rather, they themselves bear witness, with their tongues poisoned by insults, of their incorrigibility so long as they do not seek the hard ways of the Lord. Moreover, why should we believe these people to be anything other than true martyrs, to whom the world is a crucifix and they themselves are a crucifix to the world? With the sign of the cross they mark themselves in the face of so many tortures, and out of so many, very few return, and these same people return bearing palms as if victorious over death.

²⁷⁴ Although one of the lesser known apostles, Ekkehard was aware that Simon preached the Cross in areas outside of the Middle East. Various traditions indicate that he preached Christianity in Europe and Africa. "St. Simon the Apostle," *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13796b.htm> (accessed Feb. 7, 2011).

CHAPTER XXXVI: CONCERNING THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM

Now, those same people living in the Promised Land experience daily martyrdoms, clearly voluntary exile, the absence of parents, lack of resources, invasions, robberies, continuous fear of the deceit of the barbarians, and constant war with the kingdoms of Persians and Babylonians. However, during these days, the daughter of Zion, certainly the church of Jerusalem, shaking the dust from herself, did not stop singing a new hymn to her beloved, who has done wonderful things to her: *"Despite the considerable multitude of my woes in my heart, your consolations have cheered my soul."* For among these tribulations, the Holy Places have been cleansed of the aged filth of the pagans, the destroyed churches are restored, the bishoprics and monasteries across these regions are set up in their previous locations, cities and castles are fortified, the once forsaken ports and markets are thriving with throngs of people, lands are granted to farmers, vintners, and shepherds. Also, with the Resurrection of Christ returning every year, the gift of heavenly fire is given for the use of mankind, which exceeds all worldly favors.²⁷⁵

Into my hands there has even come what I believe now has been spread across the entire world, a transcript of a certain epistle, which they report to have been brought forth by the Archangel Gabriel from the Savior to our church at Jerusalem. It was then sent down by her to all churches. Just as this epistle extends many terrifying threats to those double agents, so too does it not refuse the usual consolations of divine mercy to the truly repentant. Therefore, through multitudes of compassion, the glory of the Lord has risen above Jerusalem. Thus, it is proper that all the lands in the world, remembering that salvation once came down from Mount Zion, just as a little while ago they mourned over her with the affection of a brother, so too now

²⁷⁵ These sentences provide an indication of what Ekkehard considers to be the purpose of crusading. By removing the pagans and establishing a thriving Christian society, Ekkehard hopes to establish a world united through faith in God.

to rejoice with the same ancient mother. They will be filled by the breasts of her consolation, there ascending from east to west and from north and south, acknowledging without a doubt in all ways the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, it is permitted to be said with safe faith the he blessed this same location more than the earthly paradise itself by his incarnation, miracles, passion, resurrection and ascension, whose name and mercy all will proclaim and glorify forever and ever. Amen.

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