

OXFORD MEDIEVAL TEXTS

*General Editors*

J. W. BINNS

D. d'AVRAY

M. S. KEMPSHALL

R. C. LOVE

# Albert of Aachen

*Historia Ierosolimitana*

HISTORY OF THE JOURNEY  
TO JERUSALEM

---

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY  
SUSAN B. EDGINGTON



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## PREFACE

SINCE the preparation of this edition and translation has occupied much of my adult life, I owe debts of gratitude to a very large number of people who have helped me in very many ways. The most outstanding are mentioned here and in the notes to the text, but I cannot attempt to name them all. I hope I thanked them adequately at the appropriate times and here I reaffirm my gratitude.

The project was suggested to me by the late Professor Joan Hussey, Royal Holloway College, as a Ph.D. thesis in 1968. I completed the edition under the supervision of Julian Chrysostomides, who supported me steadfastly through a process which took over twenty years. I am also indebted to the University of London's Board of Graduate Studies for allowing me to stretch the regulations to their limits and for greeting the appearance of my thesis in 1991 with congratulation instead of disbelief. I then had the good fortune to spend a term at Newnham College, Cambridge, as Ruth Cohen Schoolmistress Fellow, which allowed me to make real progress with the translation and historical notes.

I thank all of the librarians and archivists of collections which hold manuscripts of the *Historia* for supplying me with microfilm copies, which I used for the collation and edition of the text, and for accommodating me in person to allow the inspection of the manuscripts themselves. I have also had the privilege of using Cambridge University Library and its excellent holdings and facilities.

The General Editors of OMT—at that time Diana Greenway, Barbara Harvey, and Michael Lapidge—became involved in the 1990s and all looked at some part of the text. Michael Lapidge diligently read drafts of the entire text and translation and made many valuable suggestions for improvement. The late Timothy Reuter made a start on reading the historical notes, but was prevented from pursuing the task by his untimely death. Alan Murray, of Leeds University, stepped into the breach and contributed enormously from his encyclopedic knowledge of the subject. Neil Wright, University of Cambridge, read through the Latin text and identified classical borrowings. In the flurry of activity around the final stages of preparing the typescript I have been grateful for the support of OMT

editors John Blair, James Binns, and David D'Avray; their colleagues at Oxford University Press; the copy-editor Bonnie Blackburn, and the typesetter Anne Joshua.

My research has brought me into contact with many who have become good friends and a great source of encouragement. I met the late Otto Smail in the 1970s and he made two priceless contributions to my research: he provided me with a letter of introduction to Cambridge University Library, and he invited me to attend the seminars which he was then running at Queens' College with Jonathan Riley-Smith. The seminar series has evolved but still takes place, organized by my colleagues Thomas Asbridge and Jonathan Phillips at the Institute of Historical Research in London. I have enjoyed travelling to crusader lands with Jonathan, Tom and Jon, Malcolm Barber, Peter Edbury, John France, Yvonne Friedman, Luis Garcia-Guijarro, Bernard Hamilton, Robert Huygens, Piers Mitchell, Alan Murray, Bill Zajac, and others. I have also valued the support of these colleagues by correspondence and conversation. No less important have been my CUL tea-room friends, especially Debby Banham and Shelagh Sneddon. For general life support and garden maintenance my friends of longest standing, Sue and Chris Worthington, have put me deeply in their debt.

Meanwhile my teaching career was in further education at Huntingdonshire Regional College, and I have valued the support of students and staff, especially the practical help of the library, IT and printroom personnel, and the steadfast friendship of Geoff Pawling, now Assistant Principal. It gives me great satisfaction at the close of my career to have returned to the University of London to teach an MA in Crusader Studies.

However, my deepest and warmest appreciation is for my family, especially my daughter Rebecca, my son Ben and his wife Penny, and my grandchildren Hannah and Rebekah. Albert of Aachen was a presence in my children's lives; he has been a good companion in mine, and I hope that this version of his *Historia* does him justice.

S.B.E.

*Queen Mary, University of London*  
*June 2006*

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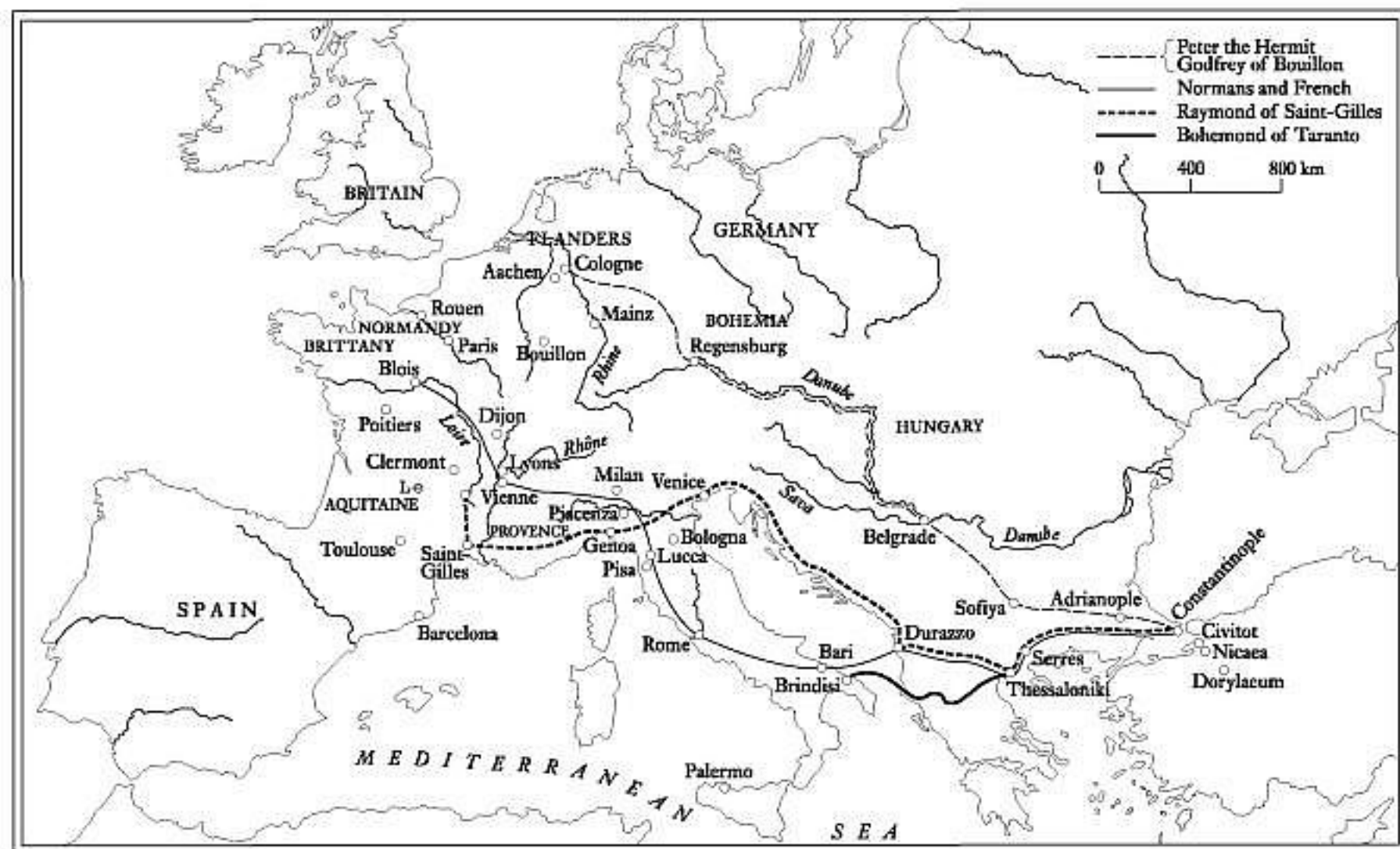
## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Albert of Aachen, <i>Historia Ierosolimitana</i> , cited by book and chapter
AC	Anne Comnène, <i>Alexiade</i> , ed. Bernard Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937-76); <i>The Alexiad of Anna Comnena</i> , trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969)
AA SS	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto urbe coluntur: vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex latinis et graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis</i> , ed. Johannes Bollandus and Godefridus Henschenius (2nd edn., 70 vols. and supplement, Brussels, Paris, and Rome, 1863-)
Andressohn, <i>Godfrey</i>	J. C. Andressohn, <i>The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon</i> (Bloomington, Ind., 1947)
Anon. Syriac	A. S. Tritton, 'The first and second crusades from an anonymous Syriac chronicle', <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , xcii (1933), pp. 69-101, 273-305
AOL	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i> , 2 vols. (Paris, 1881-4)
BD	<i>Baldrici episcopi Dolensis Historia Ierosolimitana</i> , <i>RHC Occ</i> iv. 1-111
BN	Bartolf of Nangis, <i>Gesta Francorum Hierusalem expugnantium</i> , <i>RHC Occ</i> iii. 491-543
Caffaro, <i>Ann. Ian.</i>	<i>Annales Ianuenses</i> , ed. L. T. Belgrano, <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , i (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, xi; Genoa, 1890), pp. 3-75
Caffaro, <i>Brevis Historia</i>	<i>Regni Iherosolimitani Brevis Historia</i> , <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , i. 127-46
Caffaro, <i>Lib. Or.</i>	<i>De liberatione civitatum Orientis liber</i> , <i>Annali Genovesi</i> , i. 99-124
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
ChA	<i>La Chanson d'Antioche</i> , ed. S. Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977-8)
Du Cange	C. du Cange, <i>Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis</i> , 10 vols. (Niort, 1883-7)

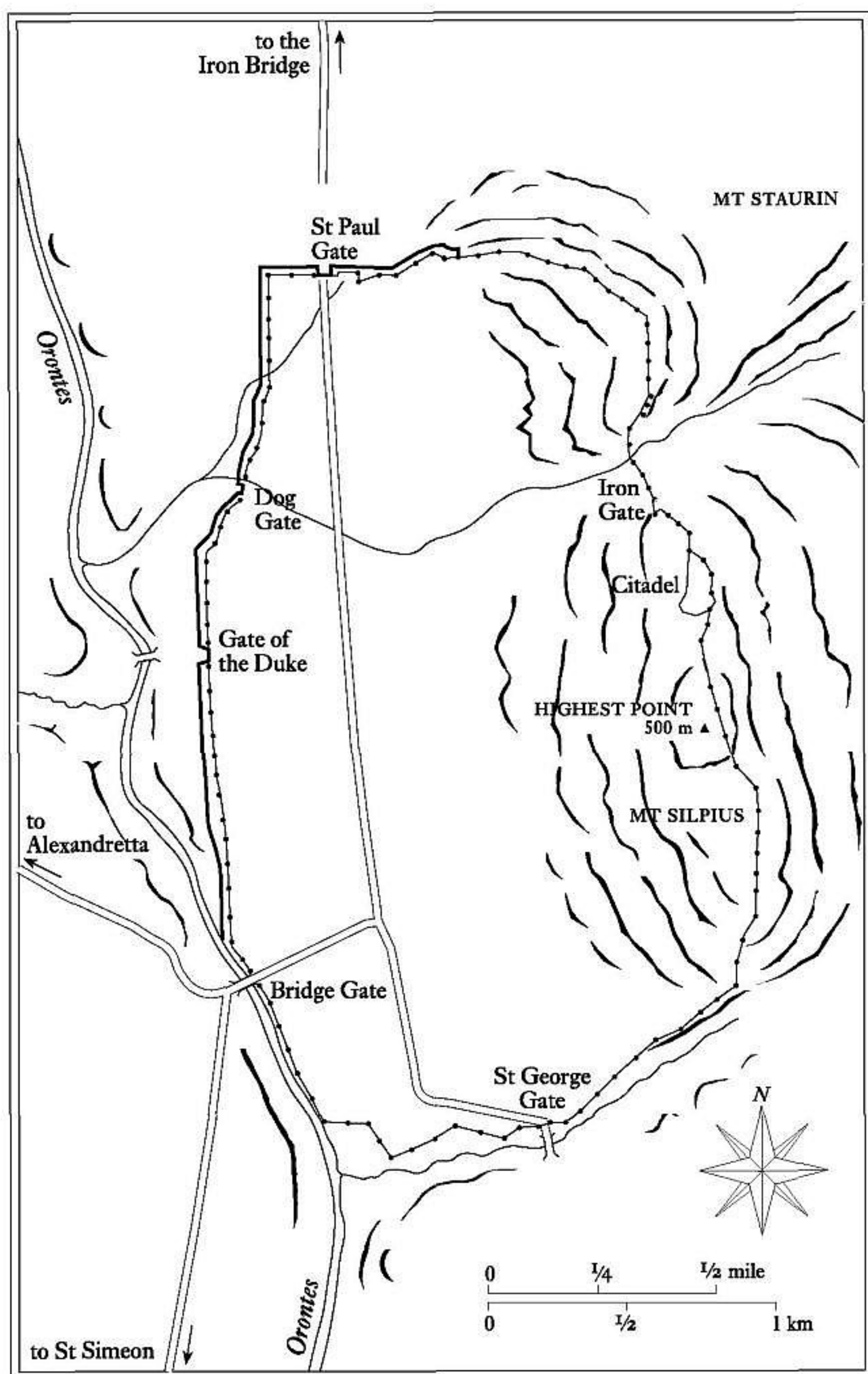
- Edgington, Ph.D. thesis S. B. Edgington, 'The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen: A Critical Edition' (Ph.D. thesis, London, 1991)
- ET<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd edn., 10 vols. in 11, Leiden, 1954–2000)
- Ekkehard See Frutolf and Ekkehard
- Ekkehard, *Hierosolymita* *Ekkehardi abbatis Uraugiensis Hierosolymita*, RHC Occ v. 1–40
- FC *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913)
- Frutolf and Ekkehard *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica necnon Anonymi Chronica Imperatorum*, ed. F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972)
- GF *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962)
- Gilo Gilo of Paris and a second anonymous author, *Historia vie Iherosolymitanae*, ed. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (OMT, 1997)
- GN Guibertus abbas S. Mariae Nogenti, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM cxxviiA (Turnhout, 1996)
- Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe* *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacrae spectantes: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901)
- Heimskringla* Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, trans. L. M. Hollander (Austin, Tex., 1964), pp. 688–714
- HL *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon: Dichterisches Formelgut von Ennius bis zum Archipoeta*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1979–83)
- IA *Extrait de la chronique intitulée Kamel-Altevarykh par Ibn-Alatyr*, RHC Or i. 187–800; ii. 1–180
- IQ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932)
- Kemal al-Din *Extraits de la Chronique d'Alep par Kemal ed-Din*, RHC Or iii. 578–690
- Lewis & Short *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. C. T. Lewis and C. Short (Oxford, 1879)

Mayer, <i>Montréal</i>	H. E. Mayer, <i>Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šöbak): Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert</i> (Wiesbaden, 1990)
ME	<i>Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa</i> , trans. A. E. Dostourian (Lanham, Md., 1993)
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores</i> , ed. G. H. Pertz et al., 32 vols. (Hanover, Weimar, Stuttgart, and Cologne, 1826–1934)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (2nd edn., 20 vols., Oxford, 1989)
OL	<i>Orbis Latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalter und der Neuzeit</i> , 3 vols. (Budapest, 1972)
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
OV	<i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (OMT, 1969–80)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , publ. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–54)
PT	<i>Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere</i> , ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, xii; Paris, 1977)
RA	<i>Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers</i> , ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, ix; Paris, 1969)
RC	<i>Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana . . . auctore Radulfo Cadomensi</i> , <i>RHC Occ</i> iii. 587–716
RHC	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i> , ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris, 1841–1906)
RHC Occ	<i>RHC, Historiens Occidentaux</i> , 5 vols. (Paris, 1844–95)
RHC Or	<i>RHC, Historiens Orientaux</i> , 5 vols. (Paris, 1872–1906)
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 vols. (Paris, 1737–1904)
RM	<i>Roberti Monachi historia Iherosolimitana</i> , <i>RHC Occ</i> iii. 717–882

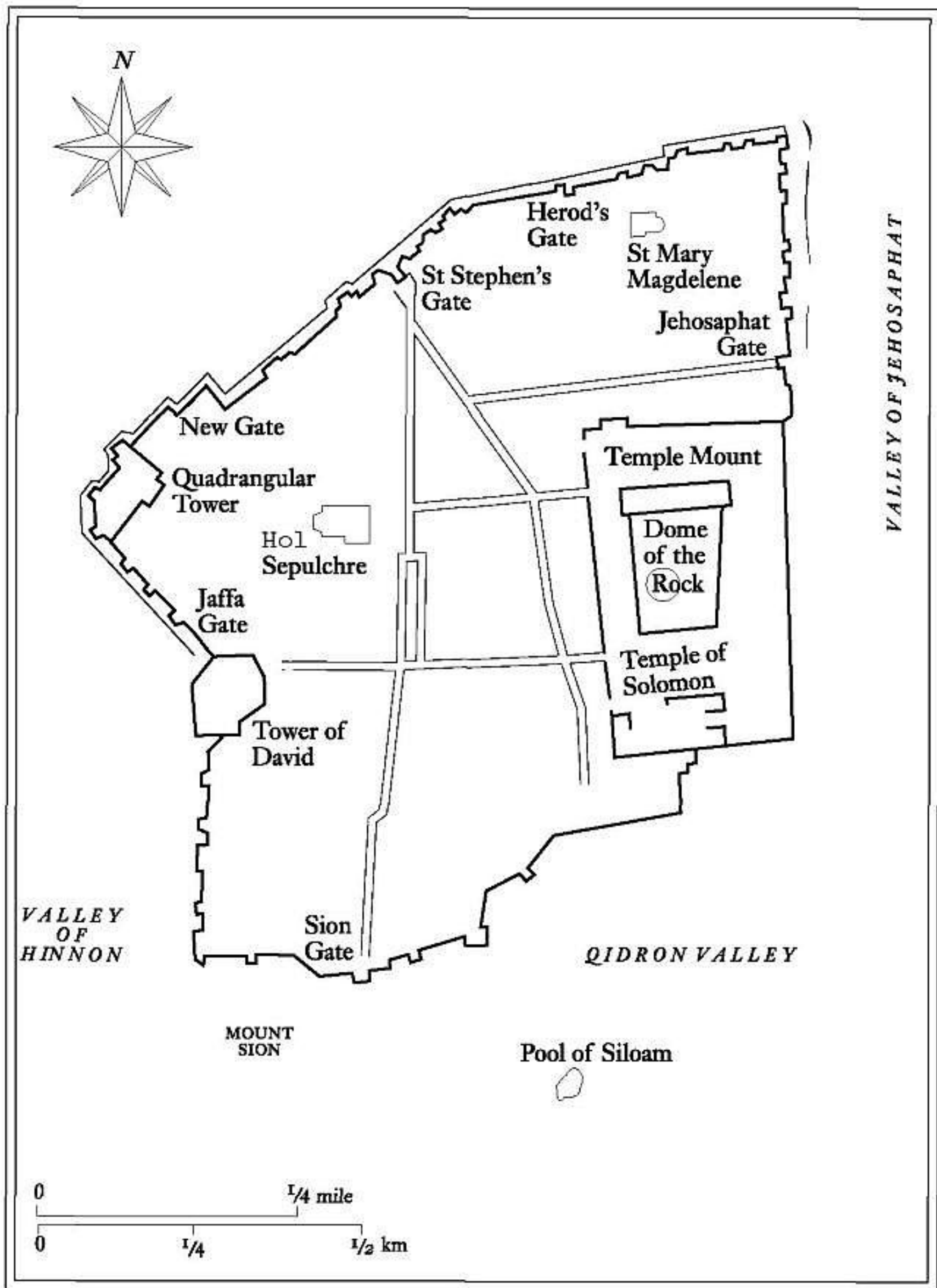
- RR* *Regesta regni hierosolymitani*, ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1894) and *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1904)
- SSRH* *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1937–8)
- Usamah Usamah ibn Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh*, ed. P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1929)
- WC Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896)
- WM William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (OMT, 1998–9)
- WT William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (CCCM lxiii–lxiiiA; Turnhout, 1986)



MAP 1. Routes of the crusading armies in 1096.



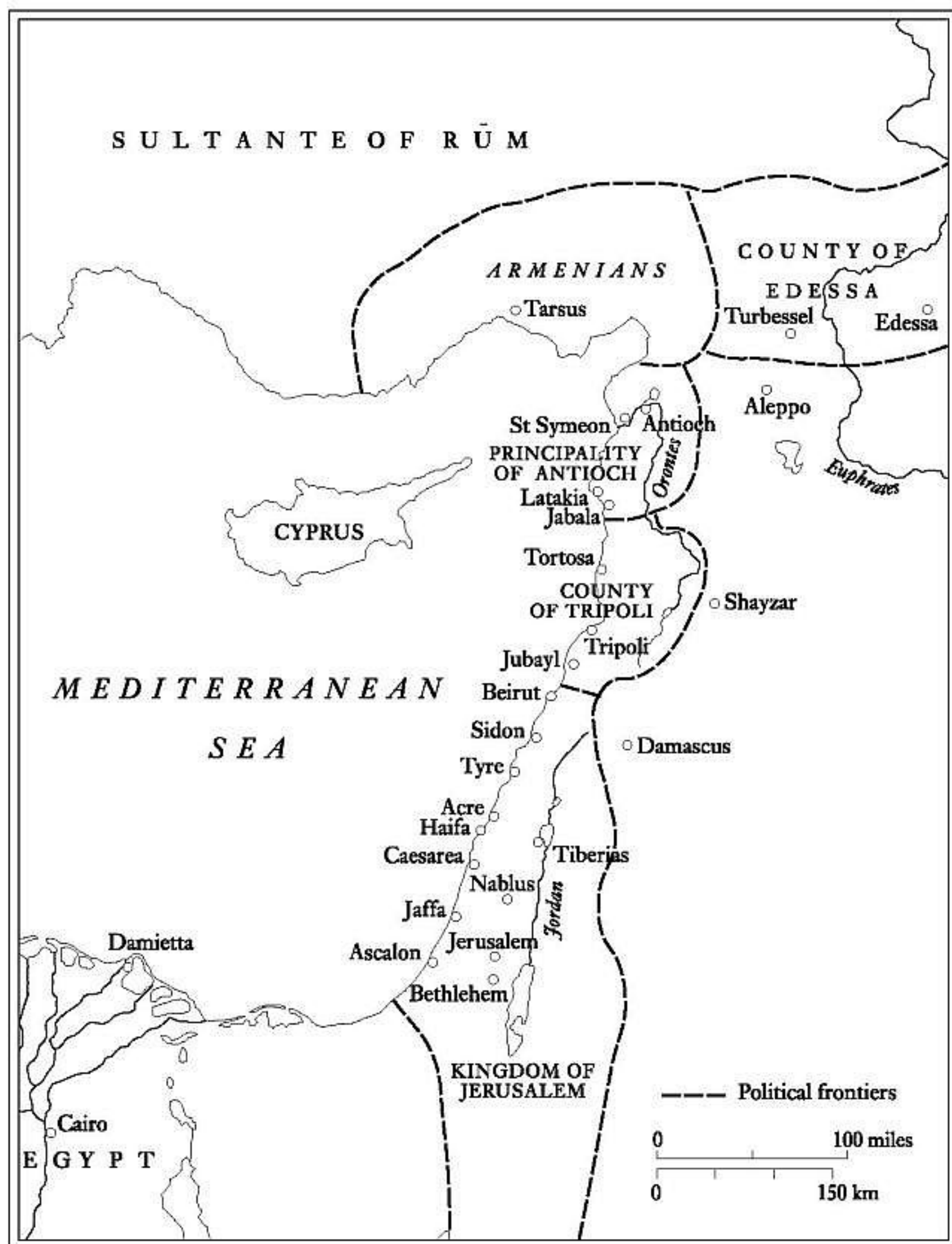
MAP 2. Antioch in 1097-8.



MAP 3. Jerusalem in 1099.



MAP 4. Routes of the crusading armies in 1101.



MAP 5. The crusader states in 1099–1119.

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# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE *HISTORIA* OF ALBERT OF AACHEN

### 1. *The Historia Ierosolimitana*

The *Historia Ierosolimitana* attributed to Albert of Aachen is the most complete, the most detailed, and the most colourful of the contemporary narratives of the First Crusade and of the careers of the first generation of Latin settlers in Outremer (1095–1119). It is also by far the longest.<sup>1</sup> The *Historia* comprises twelve books: the first six take the story of the First Crusade through to the capture of Jerusalem (1099) and its aftermath, ground that is covered in the three better-known eyewitness accounts of Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers, and the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*.<sup>2</sup> The great value of this part of the *Historia* is that its author appears not to have known those contemporary narratives, and his account is therefore independent of them. In books vii–xii of Albert's *Historia* further expeditions are described, but there is also considerable detail about the internal and external politics of the crusader states during the first two decades of settlement. The only comparable account in Latin is by Fulcher of Chartres, whose narrative ends in 1127, and who—as chaplain to Baldwin I of Jerusalem—was in a strong position to relate events at first hand. When he does so his work is, of course, invaluable, but he is often disappointingly discreet about affairs of state, and inclined to resort to classical authorities instead of his own experience: for example, his descriptions of natural history are derived from Solinus. Albert's information for this later period can frequently be checked only against Eastern writers, from whom there is a surprising degree of corroboration.

<sup>1</sup> It is roughly three times as long as Fulcher of Chartres; six times as long as Raymond of Aguilers, and ten times as long as the *Gesta Francorum*, based on the pagination of the *Recueil* editions: Fulcher *RHC Occ* iii. 310–486; Raymond *RHC Occ* iii. 231–309; *Gesta RHC Occ* iii. 119–64; Albert *RHC Occ* iv. 265–814. More recent editions of these works are used and identified below.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London, 1962) (hereafter *GF*); *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. H. and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969) (hereafter *RA*); Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913) (hereafter *FC*).

Albert offers an extraordinarily detailed account of the military campaigns, but he also shows an avid interest in all aspects of the crusading experience which would be novel or strange to his audience. For example, he gives a detailed description of the use of carrier pigeons by the Turks (v. 9), and a circumstantial account of sugar production in Syria (v. 37). He tells what colour banners the leaders carried, and he distinguishes clearly the different sorts of ships used in the eastern Mediterranean. There is an excessively detailed account of the death of Baldwin I of Jerusalem while on campaign in Egypt, his embalming and funeral (xii. 26-9), and a gruesome warning about the fatal effects of ingesting leeches (vi. 6). Examples could be multiplied. Surprisingly, though Albert wrote his *Historia* far away in Aachen, it is he who conveys the most vivid impression of the day-to-day experience of being on crusade.

The edition which follows is intended to bring this unparalleled wealth of information to the wider audience it deserves. It cannot of itself answer some important questions which are addressed in this introduction. Who was Albert? When did he write? Where did he write? Why did he write? What was his intended audience? What were his sources? Most important: how far is he to be trusted? These questions have been the subject of academic debate since 1841, when Heinrich von Sybel published his ground-breaking history of the First Crusade.<sup>3</sup> They were revisited by Peter Knoch in his study of the *Historia* of 1966.<sup>4</sup> There is still no consensus on the more important of them.

Paradoxically, although it may be argued that Albert of Aachen's *Historia* has frequently been overlooked and undervalued, it has exercised considerable influence over crusade historiography, mainly by way of William of Tyre.<sup>5</sup> William has never been overlooked or undervalued—quite the contrary—but it is not always remembered that he wrote in the latter part of the twelfth century, and for his account of the First Crusade he was dependent on written sources, including Albert's *Historia*.<sup>6</sup> Hence, for example, the prominence William gave to Peter the Hermit, which was in turn

<sup>3</sup> H. von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (Leipzig, 1841).

<sup>4</sup> P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen: Der Erste Kreuzzug in der deutschen Chronistik* (Stuttgart, 1966).

<sup>5</sup> William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (CCCM lxxiii-lxxiiiA; Turnhout, 1986) (hereafter WT).

<sup>6</sup> P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988); WT, *passim*.

responsible for some seven centuries of historical distortion.<sup>7</sup> The relationship between Albert's work and William's is examined below; the point here is to stress that a knowledge of the *Historia* of Albert of Aachen is essential to engage with the historiography of the crusades.

## 2. *The author*

Knowledge of the author's identity derives entirely from the text itself. The earliest manuscripts have no writer's name and 'Albert' or 'Adalbert' is found only in one branch of the stemma and cannot be said with any certainty to date from earlier than c.1200.<sup>8</sup> Thus the name Albert may have been attached to the *Historia* as long as a hundred years after the work's composition. That the writer lived in or near Aachen in the Rhineland (Fr. Aix-la-Chapelle, Lat. Aquensis) is not in any reasonable doubt. His detailed knowledge of people and places in that region, his special interest in the crusaders whose homes were there, as well as the origins of the manuscripts where known, are persuasive evidence. However, records from Aachen are sparse for the first decades of the twelfth century, when it is believed the author flourished. An Adalbert is recorded as witness to a charter issued in the city in 1134 and an Albert in 1158.<sup>9</sup> Both were canons of St Mary's in Aachen, which was probably Albert's church, as it figures in a vision (vi. 36), but they may be rather late, since our Albert was probably born before 1080 (see below). There was a church dedicated to St Adalbert in Aachen, which suggests that Adalbert or Albert was probably a popular name there. In the absence of any positive identification, it seems sensible to accept and use the name Albert of Aachen, and certainly more convenient than another 'Anonymous'.

One of the few personal insights which Albert affords is in his first chapter or prologue, where he explains how he himself longed to go

<sup>7</sup> See E. O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the first crusade', *Studies in Church History*, xxii (Oxford, 1985), pp. 79-107.

<sup>8</sup> The name is found in the first part of MS E and in its copies K and O. Although E is the earliest extant MS, the opening chapters are in a different hand (E<sub>3</sub>) and are thought to have been written in the early part of the 13th c. They include an introductory sentence: *Incipit hystoria Ierosolimitane expeditionis, edita ab Adalberto, canonico et custode Aquensis Ecclesie*. MS K, copied from E<sub>1</sub>, has in the top margin of the first page *Historia Ierosolimitana Alberti canonici Aquensis*, but this is in a later hand, perhaps also 13th c. MS B, copied from K and also 12th c., does not have the name; on the contrary, B ends with the words *Explicit hystorie Ierosolimitane a quodam uiro doctissimo fideliter composite liber duodecimus*.

<sup>9</sup> Knoch, *Studien*, p. 65; E. Meuthen, *Aachener Urkunden 1101-1250* (Bonn, 1972), pp. 175, 195.

on crusade but was prevented from doing so, and therefore he decided to write an account instead. This suggests that Albert was of an age to join the expedition in 1096. He refers to hindrances ('impedimenta') and it is possible that he was, like other religious, forbidden by his superior to go.<sup>10</sup> He was born, by inference, no later than c. 1080. If he was indeed a canon of St Mary's, the cathedral church of Aachen, he will have received a monastic education which equipped him to write the serviceable Latin of his *Historia*. His rather superficial knowledge of classical literature may also have been gleaned in the schoolroom, perhaps from readings of florilegia. As might be expected, he had a wider and deeper knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, though he never quoted at any length. It is impossible to guess, or deduce, whether Albert's native language was a form of French or German—he may well have thought in Latin from day to day—but he was apparently able to gather oral testimony from returning crusaders, and therefore probably had some facility in different vernacular dialects of northern France, Flanders, and the Rhineland.

### 3. *Dating*

If Albert's prologue was written soon after the work was compiled and before its publication, as seems logical, then it provides some clues to the dating of the *Historia*'s composition. Albert says at the outset that the history concerns the journey and expedition to Jerusalem, that is, the First Crusade. He refers to the success of the campaign in opening the way to pilgrims, but he does not mention settlement, nor later expeditions, nor even the reign of Baldwin I (1100–18), all of which he is to chronicle in the second part of the work (books vii–xii). This strongly suggests that Albert's original intention was to write the history of the crusade, culminating in the liberation of the Holy Places, an aim he achieved in books i–vi. Whether there was ever a first redaction (covering 1095–9) in circulation cannot now be established, though its existence would satisfactorily explain why William of Tyre in his first eight books shares so much information uniquely with Albert, but there is no shared information after 1099.

Whether or not they ever had an independent existence, the first six books of the *Historia*, according to the evidence of the prologue, were written soon after the events they describe. Book vi was

<sup>10</sup> See Pope Urban II's letter dated 19 Sept. 1096: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 137–8.

produced in its final form after 1102: this can be deduced from chapters 26 and 27, 36 and 37. Each pair of chapters describes a prophetic dream, and in each case the interpretation of the dream demonstrates its truth by reference to a later death: chapter 27 the death of Stabelo the chamberlain, which took place in May 1102; chapter 37 the death of Duke Godfrey (July 1100). Albert may have intended to end his story at chapter 54, after the victory at Ascalon, when many of the leaders set out for home. The first sentence has a fine valedictory ring to it: 'Et ecce prospere tot preliis, tot laboribus, omnibus seculis inauditis, in uictoria et bono fine completis . . .'. Whether or not this was Albert's intention, he became caught up in the story again, and book vi ends less artistically with the machinations of Bohemond and Raymond.

Thus it may be inferred that books i-vi were completed in the first years of the twelfth century. The prologue suggests this strongly and there is nothing in the text to indicate a later date, for example no hint of Baldwin I's later achievements, nor of Baldwin of Bourcq's ultimate accession. Books vii-xii cover the period from 1099, when many crusaders returned to Europe, to 1119, following Baldwin I's death and Baldwin II's accession. There is no satisfactory conclusion; in fact, the final chapter tells only half a tale: the massacre of 700 pilgrims by Bedouins and the king's determination to avenge them. Perhaps Albert's own death deprived us of his description of the battle of 'Ager Sanguinis', the Field of Blood, later the same year, or it may be that the original text lost its final leaf or leaves before the extant copies were made: the earliest of these (E) is defective at both beginning and end.

The earliest date which is possible for the completion of book xii is thus 1119. Additional evidence that the work was finished within a decade of that date is its probable inclusion in the catalogue of the monastery at Egmond (Netherlands), where it was listed in 1128-30.<sup>11</sup> Although the author is not named, the volume comprised twelve books and was about the journey to Jerusalem. Further, there is palaeographical evidence: the main part of E appears to have been written in the second quarter of the twelfth century and a date in the 1120s or 1130s is quite possible.

<sup>11</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911-31), iii. 426: 'Sub . . . abbate Asclino Fredericus monachus hos libros scribi fecit . . . Isti libri circa annum domini MCXXVIII vel XXX scripti vel empti sunt . . . Item de profectione Ierosolimitana xii libri in uno vol.'

4. *Sources*

A date of composition early in the twelfth century would be consistent with Albert's having used the testimony of participants as his major source of information. He may have used written sources, but after careful consideration of the extant prose accounts, it is difficult to believe that he was familiar with any of them. In the nineteenth century, it was suggested that Albert used a written account which had subsequently been lost. This theory of a 'lost Lotharingian chronicle' was taken up with enthusiasm, allowing, as it did, historians to use Albert's text selectively. Information of which they approved was attributed to Albert's written source; material they rejected was labelled legendary. As late as the 1960s Peter Knoch advanced a variation on the theory, which is that both Albert and William of Tyre used the same lost written source, accounting for the similarity of their narratives for the years 1095-9.<sup>12</sup> The difficulty is that no extrinsic trace of such a source survives. Since we can have no idea of its putative content, we are not relieved of the obligation to evaluate Albert's information by comparison with other extant sources. Moreover, the 'lost Lotharingian chronicle' has been hypothesized only for the story of the First Crusade. Albert's *Historia* continues until 1119, and many events after 1099 are described with different levels of detail and apparent accuracy.<sup>13</sup> More than one lost written source is even more unlikely.

Albert himself says that he compiled his *Historia* 'ex auditu et relatione', implying that he used predominately oral sources.<sup>14</sup> There is no reason to doubt this was so, and the use of oral testimony helps to explain certain features of the text which may be accounted either strengths and weaknesses: oral history is recognized today as immensely valuable, but, equally, as problematical. Firstly, the

<sup>12</sup> In the 19th and 20th cc. a great deal of attention was paid to the relationship between Albert's work and William of Tyre's. German historiography in particular postulated a written source used by Albert, which accounted for the more reliable historical content. For a résumé of the debate and a critique see Knoch, *Studien*, pp. 29-63; S. B. Edgington, 'The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen: A Critical Edition' (Ph.D. thesis, London, 1991), pp. 17-25.

<sup>13</sup> See historical notes to books vii-xii, and C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté Franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), p. 16: 'surtout pour les années postérieures à la croisade, la comparaison minutieuse avec les sources syriennes de toutes langues ne peut pas ne pas remplir d'admiration celui qui s'y livre devant l'étendue et l'exactitude de la plupart des informations d'Albert.'

<sup>14</sup> See i. 1 (preface); i. 24, 25; ii. 33, 65; iv. 53, 55; vi. 24; viii. 21.

informants were self-selected: they both survived to tell the tale, and they made the journey back to the Rhineland. This had implications for the type of stories they would tell. Furthermore, the historian using oral evidence is dependent on someone else's perceptions of number, of distance, and of time, and the vagaries of memory may lead to inaccuracies. Personal and place names may be subtly changed because only ever heard, not written. More insidiously, humans yield to the temptation to make a good story, to show themselves in a flattering light, to exaggerate the hardships, perhaps, and to minimize their own weaknesses. They are prone to hero worship and susceptible to prejudice. There should be added to this the consideration that Albert was dealing not with a single informant but with a multiplicity of them, whose reports had to be recorded with all their contradictions, or else reconciled. All these characteristics of oral history may be discerned in Albert's *Historia*.<sup>15</sup> They signal caution to the modern reader, but they also account for the *Historia*'s vivid readability.

There is a demonstrable but complex relationship between Albert's *Historia* and certain poetic sources. Chief among these is the *Chanson d'Antioche*, an epic account of the First Crusade, culminating in the battle of Antioch, 1098. This *chanson*, unlike its companion pieces the *Chanson des chétifs* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem*,<sup>16</sup> incorporates authentic historical material, from which it is deduced that it was based upon a 'primitive *chanson*' dating from soon after the events it describes. However, the three *chansons*—the 'first crusade cycle'—are preserved only in a reworked form from the last quarter of the twelfth century, and thus it is impossible to recapture their original wording. The correspondence between some passages in the *Historia* and the *Chanson d'Antioche* will be apparent in the historical notes to the text, below, but it is not possible to say with absolute certainty which of the two texts has primacy. It is probable that both incorporate early poetic material which originated in the camps of the crusaders.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Sybel subjected the *Historia* to a damning critique, identifying Albert's errors and contradictions: *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*; trans. as *The History and Literature of the Crusades* (London, 1861), pp. 159–96.

<sup>16</sup> The most recent editions of these two *chansons* are vols. 5 and 6 in *The Old French Crusade Cycle: Les Chétifs*, ed. G. M. Myers (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1981) and *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. N. R. Thorp (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1992).

<sup>17</sup> *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Duparc-Quioç, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977) (hereafter *ChA*). For a full discussion, see S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *chansons de geste*', in J. France and W. G. Zajac, eds., *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 23–38. The most important critics of Duparc's hypothesis

Thus it appears that Albert did not use any known and extant written source when he wrote the *Historia*. His work is, uniquely, independent of the three accounts of the First Crusade written by participants: the anonymous author of *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers, and Fulcher of Chartres. These narratives are interrelated and also share a view that may be characterized as 'French'. This became historiographical orthodoxy through the work of three writers in the first decade of the twelfth century: Robert of Reims, Guibert of Nogent, and Baudri of Dol all reworked the *Gesta Francorum*, and in the course of improving the author's style they emphasized both the 'Frenchness' of the participants and the central role of the pope as instigator of the first expedition.<sup>18</sup> Albert of Aachen, writing around the same time, preserves a different tradition about the origins of the crusade, stressing the role of Peter the Hermit. He also centres his account on the activities of Godfrey of Bouillon and his followers, and as Godfrey had been active in support of the German emperor Henry IV and against the papacy, he minimizes the importance of the pope. Although William of Tyre, writing after the middle of the twelfth century, adopted Albert's perspective, this 'imperial' historiographical strand was neglected in favour of the 'French' tradition, particularly after the reassessment of the primary sources for the First Crusade in the nineteenth century.

### 5. *Single authorship*

The above observations on dating and sources depend for their validity on the assumption that the same person ('Albert') wrote the entire work as we have it now. An examination of the writing style leaves little room for doubt that the *Historia* is the work of a single author. The syntax is uncomplicated and heavily dependent on the use of 'et', not only as a conjunction, used where a better stylist would have employed a complex sentence construction, but also in duplica-

of a 'primitive *chanson*' are R. F. Cook, '*Chanson d'Antioche*', *chanson de geste: Le cycle de la croisade est-il épique?* (Amsterdam, 1980); H. Kleber, 'Graindor de Douai: Remanieur - auteur - mécène?', in K.-H. Bender, ed., *Les Épopées de la croisade* (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, Beiheft, NF xi; Stuttgart, 1987), pp. 66-75.

<sup>18</sup> Texts of the three accounts are to be found in *RHC Occ* as follows: Robert, iii. 717-880; Guibert, iv. 113-262; Baudri, iv. 1-110. (A new edn. of Guibert's *Dei gesta per Francos* by R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* cxxvii, is used in the historical notes to the edition below.) They are discussed by J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), pp. 135-52; S. B. Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the evidence', in J. Phillips, ed., *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 57-77, at pp. 59-60.

tion, to which Albert was addicted. He duplicated nouns, like 'cedes et strages', 'menia et muri'; adjectives, such as 'nudus et uacuuus', 'fessus et grauatus', and verbs, as in 'uidere et intelligere' and 'offere et dare'. Simple word-frequency checks show a consistent profile throughout the work.<sup>19</sup> Such checks would not necessarily show up short interpolated passages, such as two chapters which A. A. Beaumont suggested had been added (v. 13, 14).<sup>20</sup> However, an examination of these two short chapters reveals the formulations 'amplius et ualidius', 'magnis et honorificis', 'terram et patriam', 'flamma et igne', 'retributione et uindicta', 'calumniis et iniuriis', all characteristically verging on the tautologous.

There is no objective check applicable to Albert's attitude to his subject matter, but it seems to be consistent throughout the twelve books. For example, he recounts battles with enthusiasm from beginning to end; he has a slightly prurient attitude towards women (the renegade nun, ii. 37; the fate of women on the 1101 expeditions, viii. 19-20); his use of biblical and classical allusions and quotations shows no significant variation over the length of the work. The main discernible change in subject matter is between the incorporation of legendary, *chanson*-style material into the first six books, and the more sober narrative of books vii to xii. This reflects the material available to him: epic poems on the First Crusade were circulating early in the twelfth century; there is no evidence for similar poems about the reign of Baldwin I (1100-18). Settlement is more prosaic than crusade. Albert used the materials available to him to construct coherent accounts of the two periods, but these were certainly more copious for the earlier one, 1095-9. The numbers involved in the crusading expeditions and returning from them were greater, and letters and stories of survivors were correspondingly more common. There is a reflection of this in Albert's uniquely detailed account of the 1101 expeditions (viii and ix), which must likewise have drawn on survivors' accounts. That he continued to depend on similar sources explains the comparative sparseness of information for the last decade, and the confused chronology in book xii.

<sup>19</sup> Four long extracts, from books i, iv, vii, and x, were analysed for word frequency and compared with two contemporaries, the author of *Gesta Francorum* and Geoffrey of Monmouth, by a team from Edinburgh University led by A. Q. Morton (unpublished).

<sup>20</sup> A. A. Beaumont, 'Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa', in Paetow, ed., *The Crusades*, pp. 101-38, at p. 119.

6. '*Historia*'

Although there is a remarkable consistency of style and approach throughout the twelve books, there is towards the end a discernible shift of genre. In the first six books Albert set out to write a '*historia*' of the First Crusade. He probably entitled his work *Historia* himself, since two copies of the earliest manuscript (which lacks its opening pages) have it as title.<sup>21</sup> '*Historia*' was a literary genre quite distinct from chronicle, annals, or biography, and still held within its meaning the two cognates 'story' and 'history'.<sup>22</sup> Albert's intention to write a literary composition, rather than a chronicle, licensed him to include anecdotes and travellers' tales, to invent speeches, and to exaggerate numbers.

Artistically, Albert's *Historia* ended with Godfrey's election and the return home of many of the leaders, in book vi. However, he continued to write, and the imbalance of the remaining six books is striking. Book vii is a very long book (only equalled by book iii on the siege of Antioch) which tells of Baldwin I's expeditions and of the machinations of the patriarch, Daibert of Pisa. Book viii recounts the wretched outcomes of the 1101 expeditions. In books ix, x, and xi Albert returned to Baldwin I's military successes and reverses, and to the struggle with Daibert (the books cover 1102-6, 1107-8, and 1108-11 respectively). Book xii continues to trace the history of the kingdom, but the pace accelerates sharply. Although it is one of the shortest books (with books viii and xi), it covers eight years and becomes more chronicle-like in construction,<sup>23</sup> with chapters beginning as follows:

1. Post hec anno regni sui undecimo . . .
17. In anno secundo post nuptias regis . . .
18. Post hec in anno sequenti . . .
19. In anno secundo post necem Malduci . . .
21. In anno tercio postquam rex Baldwinus nuptias . . . celebrauit . . .
31. In anno secundo regni Baldwini de Burg . . .
33. Item ipso in anno secundo regni Baldwini secundi . . .

<sup>21</sup> *Hystoria Ierosolimitane expeditionis* (E<sub>3</sub>); *Historia Ierosolimitana* (K).

<sup>22</sup> B. Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London, 1974), p. 7; C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 179.

<sup>23</sup> 'The historian proceeds diffusely and elegantly, whereas the chronicler proceeds simply, gradually and briefly': Gervase of Canterbury, c.1188 (RS lxxiii), p. 87, quoted in M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record* (London, 1979), p. 78.

It is unlikely that this shift represents a conscious change of genre on Albert's part; rather, it seems to be a desperate, and not very successful, attempt to organize his increasingly sparse and sporadic material.

### 7. *Albert's attitudes*

#### *Crusaders*

It has long been held as a truism that Albert wrote the *Historia* as a panegyric of Godfrey of Bouillon. Aubé, for example, Godfrey's biographer, asserted that this was 'le but avoué' of Albert's work, and quoted in support 'la phrase liminaire' of the *Historia*: 'super passagio Godefridi de Bullione, et aliorum principum'.<sup>24</sup> However, these words are not found in the early manuscripts and appear only in one dated 1390, and in the superscription to the edition of 1611, which used a closely related manuscript, no longer extant.<sup>25</sup> The simplified view of the *Historia* which sees it as a consciously slanted account of Godfrey and the house of Bouillon is not sustained by an objective reading of the text. As a simple example of how Albert has been misrepresented in this regard, there is the incident of Godfrey and the bear. This took place in northern Syria in the summer of 1097 and is related by later authors as a heroic and single-handed fight in defence of a poor pilgrim, as a result of which Godfrey was mortally wounded by the bear.<sup>26</sup> According to Albert, Godfrey did indeed go to the rescue of a poor pilgrim and fended off a fierce attack by the bear, but his injury was the result of slashing a femoral vein when he tripped over his own sword, and he himself had to be rescued by one of his knights (iii. 4).

In the opinion of Knoch, Albert was not only writing a 'hagiography' of Godfrey, but was deliberately overstating the part played by the Germans in the First Crusade.<sup>27</sup> It is true that from Albert we learn a great deal more about various Germanic groups involved in the expeditions of 1095–1119 than we do from any other writer, but Knoch's charge supposes a proto-nationalism that is surely anachronistic. Albert certainly showed a close interest in Godfrey and in the

<sup>24</sup> P. Aubé, *Godfrey de Bouillon* (Paris, 1985), p. 357. Cf. P. Rousset, *Les Origines et les caractères de la première croisade* (Neuchâtel, 1945), p. 23: 'Albert d'Aix écrit un panégyrique de Godefroid de Bouillon'; J. H. and L. L. Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles 1041 (ou 1042)–1105* (Toulouse, 1959), p. 142: 'Parmi les écrivains contemporains (ou presque) Albert a fait l'éloge du pur et inactif Godefroy.'

<sup>25</sup> MS O and Bongars's edition: see below.

<sup>26</sup> WT, pp. 219–20; GN, pp. 285–6.

<sup>27</sup> Knoch, *Studien*, pp. 116–19, 125.

house of Bouillon-Boulogne, which is to be expected if—as all the evidence suggests—he lived in Godfrey's home territory and gained his information largely from Godfrey's followers. Book ii of the *Historia* is a detailed account of Godfrey's expedition across Europe, and most of the information is found only in the *Historia*. In book iii and later books Godfrey's brother Baldwin's career in Edessa is recounted, again with much circumstantial detail.<sup>28</sup> This focus away from the pope as instigator of the crusade, and from Adhémar as spiritual leader, is in contrast to the eyewitness accounts, and there has been a tendency to confuse two separate issues: Raymond, Fulcher, and the *Gesta* author have been given credence because they were there, while Albert has been accused of distortion because he was not. In reality, the difference has less to do with participation in the crusade and more to do with the politics of Christendom: Godfrey had fought with the emperor and against the pope, and Albert continued to be a staunch supporter of Henry IV (e.g. xi. 48).

In short, Albert's political bias was no more and no less than other writers of his time. He disliked Raymond of Saint-Gilles, accusing him of avarice (e.g. vi. 28) and of being a source of discord (vi *passim*). He expressed reasonable doubts about the Holy Lance, but avoided both the uncritical advocacy of Raymond of Aguilers and the hysterical anti-Provençal tone of Radulf of Caen.<sup>29</sup> When doubts arose as to the relic's authenticity, Albert was again remarkably even-handed in his reporting (v. 32). In the matter of the patriarchate of Jerusalem he was undeniably partisan, favouring the northerner Arnulf against the Italian Daibert (books vii and x). But the advocate for the other side was no better placed to be objective than Albert: William of Tyre was writing of events before he was born, and he had an interest in upholding the reputation of the first Latin patriarch. There is little reason to prefer William's account of the dispute over Albert's very circumstantial story. In these conflicts between crusaders Albert's point of view is a valuable counter-balance to the shared bias of other accounts.

<sup>28</sup> According to Beaumont: 'Without Albert of Aachen we should have great difficulty in explaining clearly the progress of the Franks in North Syria and we should lack much information concerning the methods of the Franks in winning their foothold in the East' ('Albert of Aachen', pp. 137–8).

<sup>29</sup> RA, pp. 68–75; RC, p. 678; AA iv. 43.

*Byzantines*

Albert's treatment of the Byzantines shows a notable lack of prejudice.<sup>30</sup> As evidence we have the way in which he describes the emperor Alexios Komnenos: not only does he refrain from negative qualifications, he frequently values him very positively. He uses admiring adjectives (e.g. 'magnificus' and 'nominatissimus', i. 13; 'Christianissimus', i. 15) and he emphasizes details of the emperor's conduct: his liberality and supportiveness towards Walter Sansavoire and Peter the Hermit (i. 15), and his hospitality towards the leaders, especially Raymond (ii. 18–20). Even where Godfrey's troops fought the emperor's, Albert makes it clear that the blame was not all on one side (ii. 11), and at the end of it all Alexios showered the pilgrims with gifts.<sup>31</sup> Alexios also welcomed Svend of Denmark in 1097 (iii. 57), and in 1101 a stream of visitors: Lombards (viii. 1–7); Conrad (viii. 6); the two Williams (viii. 26); Welf and Ida (viii. 34). In 1109 he received Bertrand (xi. 4). Knoch claimed that Albert's attitude towards the Byzantines changed after book i.<sup>32</sup> On the evidence here, this view is not sustainable.

Albert's portrayal of the emperor may be contrasted with that in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*. After the capture of Nicaea, Albert represents the emperor's behaviour as very generous, while in the *Gesta* he is depicted as devious and calculating.<sup>33</sup> The *Historia's* treatment of the incident when the renegades from the siege of Antioch, including Stephen of Blois, dissuaded the emperor from coming to the crusaders' assistance also shows Alexios in a different light from that cast by the *Gesta*.<sup>34</sup> Albert presents a more balanced report of the disasters which befell the 1101 expeditions in Anatolia: he reports the rumour that the emperor deliberately caused Raymond to lead the pilgrims into the desert to be slaughtered by the Turks, but he goes on to say that reliable sources proved the emperor was entirely innocent and had in fact repeatedly warned the army about the difficulties. He rescued the remnant of the army and severely

<sup>30</sup> See Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium*, pp. 84–9. She refers to Albert's 'simple and objective' rendering of the facts, and his 'exceptionally independent and impartial mindset' ('eenvoudige en objectieve . . . uitzonderlijk zelfstandige en onbevooroordeelde instelling').

<sup>31</sup> With a rare note of irony Albert pointed out that the emperor did not lose by his generosity, as the money returned to him as payment for supplies (ii. 16).

<sup>32</sup> Knoch, *Studien*, p. 57.

<sup>33</sup> AA ii. 28: *GF*, p. 17.

<sup>34</sup> AA iv. 40: *GF*, pp. 63–4.

censured Raymond for the flight (viii. 46). Albert is revealed once more as anti-Provençal, but not as anti-Byzantine.

The worst epithet which Albert applies to the Greeks as a people is 'effeminati': this occurs in a speech by 'Suleyman' (the Turkish leader Qilij Arslan: iv. 6) and again when they lost Myra to the Turks (xii. 15). This is not an unusual prejudice among Western writers. When Albert censures an act of treason against Svend, he makes it clear that this was the work of a defined group of people: 'quorundam Christianorum, Grecorum scilicet'.<sup>35</sup> On two occasions Albert records unfavourable opinions of the emperor: where Godfrey was warned against him by some Franks (ii. 10) and where Bohemond hesitated to take the oath, 'eo quod imperator uir callidus et subdolus haberetur' (ii. 18). In both cases Albert is reporting the opinion of others, not necessarily concurring with it. Thus it is on the slenderest of grounds that Albert has been characterized as anti-Byzantine.

#### *Other Eastern Christians*

Albert's attitude to Christians of other rites than the Latin may be characterized as ecumenical. He never mentions doctrinal differences and treats all as 'fellow-Christians'. This is true of the Greeks (see above), the Armenians (e.g. iii. 17), and the Syrians. All three groups are identified as assisting in the capture of Antioch—and as victims of the massacre which followed, when 'the earth was covered with blood and the corpses of the slaughtered, many of them also the killed and lifeless bodies of Christians, Gauls as well as Greeks, Syrians and Armenians mixed together' (iv. 23). Cooperation seems to have been the norm: a Syrian Christian was useful as an envoy (v. 7) and another as a local guide (x. 28). During the siege of Jerusalem, 'native fellow-Christians' aided the crusaders by showing them where to find timbers for siege engines and how to extinguish a form of Greek fire (vi. 2; vi. 18). 'A certain faithful Christian native of the city, fully instructed in Christ's law', revealed to them the fragment of the True Cross he had concealed for safety during the Muslim occupation (vi. 38). The Christian inhabitants of Bethlehem welcomed the crusaders into their city (v. 44). When Godfrey died in 1100, 'for five days there was very great lamentation and bitter weeping by all the Christians there—Gauls, Italians, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks (vii. 21)'. Whether Albert was truly unaware of doctrinal tensions

<sup>35</sup> AA iii. 54. See Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium*, p. 88: 'Generalisaties passen niet in Alberts stijl.'

between the groups, or if he was deliberately underplaying them, just as he did the political differences between pope and emperor in western Europe, is a matter of speculation.

### *Muslims*

Towards the enemy, the Muslims, Albert is no less remarkably impartial.<sup>36</sup> He usually refers to them simply as Turks or Saracens, and distinguishes between the two. He has an accurate idea of the Turks as former nomadic warriors, recent invaders of Byzantine lands, and now the ruling elite over a large area. Their homeland, and the Saljūq Turkish empire as a whole, he refers to as Khurasan; he uses 'Romania' (Rūm) for Turkish Asia Minor, formerly Byzantine ('Roman'). Saracens is always used for the Egyptians, and also for the indigenous Muslim population of Syria and Palestine. Less frequently, Albert refers to both peoples as 'gentiles'. He has some understanding of Islam and does not, like other Westerners, accuse the Muslims of idolatry. When the Christians captured the Turkish camp, they found a large number of books—not images (iv. 56). Albert even spares some sympathy for the defeated enemy (e.g. vi. 30; vi. 47). He uses admiring adjectives when referring to the Muslim leaders (e.g. iii. 35; iv. 3, 5, 6, 7, 44, 45; x. 19; xii. 9, 18).<sup>37</sup> Albert even goes so far as to say that the 'king of Egypt' ruled justly and tolerantly in Jerusalem, 1098–9 (vi. 32).<sup>38</sup>

### *Jews*

It could be argued that Albert's objectivity with regard to the Byzantines and the Muslims was the outcome of his distance from the events he describes; that the eyewitness accounts were prejudiced as a result of their authors' experiences. Yet Albert also shows a remarkable sympathy with the Rhineland Jews and expresses condemnation of their Christian attackers (i. 26–9). He particularly says that forced conversion has no value (i. 29). In his criticism of the crusaders' murder and enforced baptism of the Jews Albert is unique

<sup>36</sup> H. Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild des Orients in vorhöfischen deutschen Epen* (Göttingen, 1966), p. 193, called Albert 'außerordentlich sachlich'. He later observed: 'Der epischen Objektivität Alberts möchte man es zuschreiben, daß ihn der Gegensatz zwischen Christen und Mohammedanern nicht zur Schwarzweißmalerei verführt' (p. 195).

<sup>37</sup> Cf. R. C. Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 158–65.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. R. M. Hill, 'The Christian view of the Muslims at the time of the First Crusade', in P. M. Holt, ed., *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), pp. 1–8.

among Christian writers, and his sense of outrage can only be matched by the Hebrew writers.<sup>39</sup>

### *Women*

Unexpectedly, Albert even shows some empathetic understanding of women. Norman Daniel remarked on this: 'Albert had a genuine, imaginative understanding of the sorrows of the bereaved women "carried off by stern enemies to an unknown and alien land"' (iii. 46; viii. 18, 31).<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, Albert did not stereotype; he knew that the captive women were not necessarily unhappy, for example the renegade nun (ii. 37) and the knight's widow who married her Turkish captor (v. 5). He was aware that captivity was not a 'fate worse than death' to some young women, and shows them dressing up in order to appeal to their captors' better natures (ii. 39). Most movingly, he describes the agonies of thirst suffered by the crusaders in Anatolia, when women were forced into premature labour and childbirth (iii. 2).

### 8. *Evaluation*

Albert's empathy is only one outstanding feature of the *Historia*. The work is curiously secular in outlook. There are comparatively few biblical, patristic, or liturgical citations, and these are usually found in speeches made by the leaders. References to classical literature are likewise few and do not give any impression of familiarity with the entirety of the works in question; they are clichés and tags which may have been remembered from the schoolroom or from the reading of florilegia. Albert's prose style is unsophisticated, but it is vividly descriptive. All these features should be viewed as deliberate on his part. There is no reason to doubt that he saw himself as inventing a new type of literature to match a new kind of enterprise, as he indicates in his own preface. What sort of audience he envisaged is hard to gauge.

Albert was apparently unaware of other narratives emerging from the same expedition. His *Historia* achieved a modest circulation within the Rhineland area, boosted by the preaching of the Second Crusade in the 1140s (see below). At some point, as mentioned, that part dealing with the First Crusade was used by William of Tyre as

<sup>39</sup> B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), p. 62; L. Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, 4 vols. (London, 1974-84), i. 44.

<sup>40</sup> N. Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (2nd edn., London, 1979), p. 201.

one of the sources for his chronicle, and it was in this form that Albert influenced mainstream historiography of the First Crusade thereafter. Although the second part of the *Historia* contains much unique and important information, it was widely disregarded. Manuscript copies of the *Historia* continued to be made until the sixteenth century, and the first printed edition appeared in 1584, but during these centuries the work seems to have been little read. Although interest revived in the nineteenth century, the work was dismissed as too problematical to be useful to historians, and only now can a case be made for Albert's rehabilitation.

## II. MANUSCRIPTS

### 1. *Extant manuscripts*

There are thirteen extant manuscripts of Albert of Aachen's *Historia*. They were assigned sigla in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and these have been retained for the current edition. Paul Meyer, who edited the text for the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, allocated sigla A to D to the manuscripts he used for this edition.<sup>41</sup> He also assigned E to a sixteenth-century manuscript from Florence (our P), but did not use it, and listed variants from the two early editions as F and G. Bernhard Kugler listed variants from two early German codices and gave them sigla E and H.<sup>42</sup> Peter Knoch assigned sigla J to P and, finally, R, which was given to a fragment published by Heinrich Hagenmeyer.<sup>43</sup> The manuscripts are described here in alphabetical order of sigla.

#### A Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 561 and 562 (Eberbach, s. xii)

Parchment, two quarto volumes: vol. 1, 140 fos., AA bks. i–vi; vol. 2, 119 fos., AA bks. vii–xii. A leaf is missing at the beginning of vol. 2, with chapter headings 1–28 for book vii. The main text is in a single twelfth-century hand, but space left at the beginning of each book was insufficient for the chapter titles, and a second scribe was obliged to summarize them ruthlessly. Chapter enumeration is also unreliable. A two-line verse in a different hand follows the text:

<sup>41</sup> *RHC Occ* iv. 265–713, and preface, pp. xx–xxix.

<sup>42</sup> B. Kugler, *Die Deutschen Codices Alberts von Aachen* (Tübingen, 1894); id., *Eine neue Handschrift der Chronik Alberts von Aachen* (Tübingen, 1893).

<sup>43</sup> Knoch, *Studien*, pp. 14–21; H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 320–9.

Anno milleno centeno quominus uno  
Ierusalem Franci capiunt uirtute potenti.<sup>44</sup>

This is followed, in yet another hand, by an exasperated comment:

Hora [*sic*] tria sunt michi difficilia et quartum penitus ignoro: uiam aquile in celo et uiam nauis in medio maris, uiam colubri supra terram et uiri adolescentis in iuuentute. (cf. Prov: 30: 18–19)

*Provenance:* On the flyleaf ‘Liber sancte Marie in Eberbach’ is written twice; Eberbach is in the Mainz diocese. A second note says ‘auctor huius libri uocatur Gunfridus’, then ‘nominatur Godefridus’. How the volume came into the possession of Archbishop Laud in the seventeenth century, and subsequently the Bodleian Library, is not known.

*Status in transmission:* chapter titles were introduced by a precursor of manuscripts C, H, and N, so the abridged titles in A represent a later stage of transmission. The verse is an inversion of lines 2–3 of a five-line verse recorded in C and N. A heads its branch of the stemma and is used in this edition.

**B Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 5128**  
(Noyon?, s. xii<sup>ex</sup>)

Parchment, 139 fos., written in two columns with illuminated capitals at the head of each book. Those to books iv and vi were excised before 1879, when the manuscript was used to prepare the *RHC* edition. Peter the Hermit is pictured at the head of book i, and Adhémar of Le Puy for book v; other books have animals, leaves, and flowers. The codex has no table of chapters, chapter headings, or enumeration. On the last page is written: ‘Explicit hystorie ierosolimitane a quodam uiro doctissimo fideliter composite liber duodecimus.’

*Provenance:* on the last page is written in a later hand (s. xiii): ‘Liber sancti Egidii episcopi et confessoris Noviomensis.’

*Status in transmission:* the absence of chapter headings, along with textual variants, place B on the earliest branch of the stemma, but as a copy of E (via K) it has not been used for this edition.

<sup>44</sup> The same two-line verse is found in various annals and other 12th-c. writers: see FC, p. 307 n. 2; Knoch, *Studien*, p. 27 n. 50.

## C Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg.

lat. 509 (Utrecht, 1158)

Parchment, 175 fos., paginated from 1, although book i, chapters 1–19 are missing. The *Historia* is written in a single clear hand, with elaborate initial capitals for each book. There is a table of chapters at the beginning of each book, ii–xii. At the end, after the origin and date (see below), and in the same hand as the text, there is a curse on book-stealers—‘Siquis ergo huic ecclesie ui uel fraude abstulerit istum librum, Anathema sit Maranatha’—and on the following page a five-line verse and an epitaph for Godfrey:

Anno milleno centeno pretereunte,  
Hierusalem Franci capiunt uirtute potenti,  
Post annos mille centeno quominus uno,  
Ex quo uirgo grauis, ui Ierusalem superatur,  
Idibus in Iulii, subiit iuga Christicolarum.<sup>45</sup>

## EPITAPHIUM DVCIS GODEFRIDI

Francorum gentis Syon loca sacra petentis,  
Mirificum sydus dux hic recubat Godefridus,  
Egypti terror, Arabum fuga, Persidis error,  
Rex licet electus, rex noluit intitulari,  
Nec diademari, sed sub Christo famulari,  
Eius erat cura, Syon sua reddere iura,  
Catholicque sequi pia dogmata iuris et equi,  
Totum scisma teri, circa se, iusque foueri,  
Et sic cum superis potuit diadema mereri,  
Milicie speculum, populum uigor, anchora cleri.<sup>46</sup>

In a second hand there is the comment:

<sup>45</sup> Some lines of this five-line verse resemble one in Fulcher: ‘Anno milleno centeno quominus uno / Virginis a partu Domini qui claruit ortu, / Quindecies Iulio iam Phoebe lumine tacto, / Iherusalem Franci capiunt uirtute potenti, / Quippe Godefrido patriae mox principe facto’, FC, pp. 306–7. See *ibid.* n. 2; Knoch, *Studien*, pp. 26–7.

<sup>46</sup> A version of this epitaph is also in the autograph Annalista Saxo, c.1152: *MGH SS* vi. 733. Fulcher has a different, six-line epitaph, but the editor Hagenmeyer has a full discussion of Albert’s: FC, pp. 350–1 n. 5. The tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin I were destroyed by fire in 1808, but M. de Vogüé published another version of this same epitaph which he had found in a 12th-c. MS, a compendium of extracts about the Holy Places, and L. du Clou yet another (the closest to MS C) in his *Itinerarium breve Terrae Sanctae*, composed in 1671 (published Florence, 1891). This last is the best evidence that the epitaph may actually have been carved or written on the tomb of Godfrey: S. de Sandoli, *Corpus inscriptionum cruce signatarum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291): Testo, traduzione e annotazioni* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 51–5.

Cognitor es Christe, quoniam per me liber iste  
Est bene tractatus, sicut alter queso paratus

and an epitaph for Baldwin I:

Epitaphium Balduwini regis Ierusalem fratris ducis Godefridi de Bullone: hii  
uersus habentur sculpti super sepulcrum eius in Ierusalem.

Rex Balduwinus Iudas alter Machabeus  
Spes patrie uigor ecclesie uirtus utriusque  
Quem formidabant cui dona tributa ferebant  
Cedor et Egiptus, damas homicida Damascus  
Proh dolor in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.<sup>47</sup>

*Provenance:* On fo. 175<sup>v</sup> is written: 'Liber Sancti Pauli Apostoli in Traiecto, scriptus Anno Dominice Incarnationis, Millesimo, centesimo quinquaginta, octavo. Indictione septem.' On fo. 1<sup>r</sup> is the date 1656 and 'Volumen clxxxix N Petav.' Nicolas Petau was the son of Paul Petau (1568–1614), a collector of manuscripts and cousin of Jacques Bongars (see below). On Paul's death his library passed to his son, and when he died the library was sold and the manuscripts bought by Queen Christina of Sweden (1632–89).<sup>48</sup> The queen's collection became the fonds 'Reginensis' of the Vatican. Also on fo. 1<sup>r</sup>, in a later hand, is written 'Alberti Aquensis Ecclesiae Canonis et Custodis Expeditionis Hierosolimitanis Historia. Liber duodecimi.'

*Status in transmission:* the inclusion of chapter titles and pattern of variants show that C belongs to the second stage of transmission. It has been used for this edition.

## D Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat.

lat. 1999 (s. xiii)

Parchment, 173 fos., the main text in one hand. Tables of chapters are included at the start of each book, and although chapters are not numbered in the text after i. 2, their openings are clearly signalled by red-, blue-, or green-decorated capitals. The five-line verse both precedes the text, with the remark 'In nomine Domini incipio

<sup>47</sup> This epitaph is well attested as that carved on the tomb of Baldwin I: Theodericus recorded seeing it in 1172: ed. T. Tobler (Sankt Gallen, 1865), p. 26 (cited FC, pp. 613–14 n. 23). It was also copied by P. Horn, *Iconographiae monumentorum Terrae Sanctae*, 1727–1744 (2nd edn., Jerusalem, 1962): see Sandoli, *Corpus*, p. 57.

<sup>48</sup> *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, ed. J. F. and L. G. Michaud, 45 vols. (Paris, 1843–65), xxxii, s. v. Petau, Paul.

uersificari', and is repeated at its end, together with the Godfrey epitaph (see C). Two lines are added to the latter, associating Baldwin with his brother:

Huic uirtute pari frater datur associari,  
Balduin insignis gentilibus ut ferus ignis.<sup>49</sup>

One chapter, vii. 62, is displaced to the end of book x.

*Provenance:* there are various scribbles in later hands, including 'Liber domini Philippi', but no indication of origin or provenance.

*Status in transmission:* the displacement of vii. 62 places D firmly on the H branch of the stemma. It has not been used for this edition.

**E Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek,  
MS 102 (Liège, s. xii<sup>med</sup>)**

Parchment, 195 fos. This is the earliest extant manuscript. Regrettably it has survived in a rather mangled form. The main body of the text is in a single hand (E or E<sub>1</sub>) dating from the second quarter of the twelfth century. At five points whole pages were erased and recopied by another hand (E<sub>2</sub>). This appears to have been done from the same exemplar and not significantly later than E<sub>1</sub>, and therefore these passages are treated as an integral part of manuscript E. At a later date chapters i. 1–22 were lost and their want supplied by a thirteenth-century copyist (E<sub>3</sub>), who also listed all the chapter titles (for books i–xii) at the beginning. The attribution of the *Historia* to 'Adalbertus' is also in hand E<sub>3</sub>, and so cannot be dated earlier than the thirteenth century on this evidence. In addition to the first part of book i, a leaf is missing between fos. 26 and 27 (ii. 28–34), and so is the last half-page (xii. 33). In the absence of this, we cannot tell if the *Historia* continued, or if any of the verses were appended.

*Provenance:* On the reverse of fo. 1 is 'Liber monasterii sancti Iacobi Leodiensis'.

*Status in transmission:* E represents the earliest stage in transmission and is used as the basis for this edition. It was not used for the *RHC* edition, but B. Kugler published a list of variants in 1894.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> These lines follow the Godfrey epitaph in the version of L. du Clou: see above, n. 38, and Sandoli, *Corpus*, p. 55.

<sup>50</sup> Kugler, *Deutschen Codices*, pp. 41–94.

**H Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer  
Kulturbesitz, MS lat. fol. 677 (Gladbach, s. xii<sup>med</sup>)**

Parchment, 161 fos. H is written in a serviceable hand of the mid-twelfth century. The period of composition is confirmed by the initial A of book xii, which shows St Vitus presiding over the work of two monks, Conradus and Godefridus. Both were active in the Gladbach scriptorium in the middle of the twelfth century: Godfrey professed in the time of Abbot Walter (c.1129–40) and Conrad under Abbot Ervinus (c.1140–55); Godfrey is in a Necrologium of 1167.<sup>51</sup> An error in this codex resulted in chapter vii. 62 being placed at the end of book x. It was evidently omitted from its proper place and copied onto a parchment strip for insertion, but inadvertently bound in at the wrong place. Another leaf, fo. 155, is now missing, but other manuscripts of the same branch have the text, so it must have been lost at some time after J was copied in the thirteenth century. H is followed by none of the verses.

*Provenance:* H originated at the monastery of St Vitus in Gladbach: 'Liber monasterii sancti Viti in Gladbach' is written inside the front cover. In 1890 it was discovered in the possession of the barons (Freiherren) of Bussche-Hünnefeld, and Bernhard Kugler published a description and a list of variants (from the *RHC* edition).<sup>52</sup> C. Köhler published a notice that the manuscript had been sold on 4 December 1911 at Leipzig, and the buyer was not known.<sup>53</sup> During the period when Germany was partitioned, the codex was in Marburg an der Lahn; it is now in Berlin.

*Status in transmission:* H is closely related to manuscript C: they probably share a common exemplar which represented the second stage of development of the *Historia*. H is less careful than C, but its errors and omissions are useful in allowing a number of younger manuscripts to be eliminated.

**J Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS  
XXXVII, 1808 (s. xii<sup>ex</sup>)**

Twenty fragments: 18 fos. and 2 vertical strips. The codex was dismembered in the sixteenth century (the date 1559 is on one of the rescued leaves) and the leaves variously used by archivists. When the

<sup>51</sup> Kugler, *Neue Handschrift*, p. 5.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3–119.

<sup>53</sup> *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, xii (1909–11), 486.

pages were rescued and rebound they were not put in the correct order.<sup>54</sup>

**Jw Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Mappe 12  
Slg 7**

A single fragment from the same manuscript came to light among a collection of some 1,200 fragments and a notice was published by Klaus Nass.<sup>55</sup> It is a parchment strip containing parts of book iii. 42–3, 45–6 and undoubtedly comes from the same codex as the fragments J.

*Provenance:* nothing is known of J's history, but the 'new' fragment Jw has a clear archivist's notice from Blankenburg, and Nass has deduced from extrinsic evidence that the dismantling of the codex took place before 1599 and in Wolfenbüttel.<sup>56</sup>

*Status in transmission:* fo. 12 of J contains book vii. 61–6, but chapter 62 is omitted (see H). Kugler listed variants,<sup>57</sup> which show that J is closely related to H, probably a direct copy (see below).

**K Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottob.  
lat. 631 (s. xii<sup>ex</sup>)**

Parchment, 99 fos., written in a neat and economical script. The text is complete, with chapters neither titled nor numbered. The *Historia* ends without an explicit, and there are no verses following the text.

*Provenance:* there is no indication as to the origin of the manuscript. In the seventeenth century it was owned by Petau and by Queen Christina of Sweden (see C above). On fo. 1<sup>r</sup> a more recent hand—possibly Petau's—has written 'Historia Ierosolimitana Alberti Canonici Aquensis'.

*Status in transmission:* K preserves the earliest version of the text and was probably copied from E before the opening chapters were lost from E. It has been used in this edition only to reconstruct these missing chapters.

**L Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat.  
7317 (s. xv)**

Paper. The volume contains 444 fos.: the *Historia* occupies fos. 5<sup>r</sup>–198<sup>v</sup>; the rest comprises various works on oriental themes.<sup>58</sup> The

<sup>54</sup> For precise contents see Edgington, Ph.D. thesis, pp. 50–1.

<sup>55</sup> K. Nass, 'Wolfenbütteler Funde', *Deutsches Archiv*, xlix (1993), pp. 165–9.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>57</sup> Kugler, *Deutschen Codices*, pp. 34–40.

<sup>58</sup> The contents are listed in Knoch, *Studien*, p. 18 n. 19.

*Historia* is written in two hands (books i–vi; books vii–xii). Chapter vii. 62 is at the end of book x. The five-line verse, the Godfrey epitaph, and the two-line addition for Baldwin follow the text. Both copyists of L had difficulty with their exemplar, or were simply poor Latinists. Outstanding absurdities include:

‘infantes adhuc fugientes’ (for ‘sugentes’) vi. 23

‘aspersa uerba’ (for ‘aspera’) vi. 58

‘uni aut alicuius populi’ (for ‘poculi’) vii. 41

‘ligna Sarracena’ (for ‘lingua’) vii. 67

‘celebrandos hostes’ (for ‘debellandos’) viii. title to 15

‘leonem dominum qui erat grauis’ (for ‘domitum . . . gratus’) viii. 4

‘defensione aquarum’ (for ‘defectione’) viii. 16

‘ceteris . . . spiritibus’ (for ‘tetrīs’) viii. 19

‘non paucis uulneribus ab eo honoratus’ (for ‘muneribus’) viii. 26

*Provenance*: nothing is known.

*Status in transmission*: the displacement of vii. 62 shows that L belongs to the H branch of the stemma.

#### **M Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Cent. II. 100 (s. xv)**

Parchment, 270 fos. The *Historia* occupies fos. 184<sup>r</sup>–270<sup>r</sup>, following the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo (fos. 1<sup>r</sup>–183<sup>r</sup>). Kugler noted a portion of text missing between fos. 199–200 (iii. 3–13), but failed to notice nine other similar lacunae.<sup>59</sup> Since the fifteenth-century binding is excellently preserved, and the surviving pages are numbered consecutively, the losses were probably at the time of binding, when leaves were missed from each gathering. The result is a manuscript which lacks chapters from every book except viii, about a seventh of the text in all. Chapter vi. 37 has been moved to the end of the work. Chapter vi. 36 appears at the right place in the text, but is also repeated after book xii with some necessary verbal alterations to make it free-standing, and is followed here, but not in book vi, by chapter 37. These chapters tell of a miraculous dream presaging Godfrey of Bouillon’s elevation to the lordship of Jerusalem. They are followed in M by an epilogue which summarizes Baldwin I’s reign and Baldwin II’s accession. Apart from these curiosities, M has little independent value.

*Provenance*: the origin of the manuscript is unknown. A coat of arms on the front of the binding and also painted on the front end-

<sup>59</sup> For details, see Edgington, Ph.D. thesis, p. 53.

paper shows that when bound it was in the possession of the Stein family at Ostheim and Nordheim in Bamberg.<sup>60</sup>

*Status in transmission:* the abridged chapter titles show M to be a copy of manuscript A.

#### N Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1974/641 (Trier, s. xv)

On quarto paper, 222 fos. Miscellaneous religious texts are bound together;<sup>61</sup> Albert's *Historia* occupies fos. 43<sup>r</sup>–184<sup>v</sup>. It is in a different hand from the other contents (but the watermarked paper is the same). There are several amendments and supplied omissions, written in darker ink. These were not drawn from any of the surviving manuscripts or (as Knoch conjectured) from the early edition.<sup>62</sup> They have the appearance of intelligent guesswork. The text of the *Historia* begins at ii. 18, with the words 'introiuit in osculo pacis'. There is also a leaf missing between fo. 66 and fo. 67. Chapter vii. 62 is in the correct place. This copyist was more prone than most to homoioteleuton: examples may be found in iv. 11, iv. 12, and iv. 15. The spelling is variable and 'y' is greatly favoured. At the end of book xii, in the same hand, are recorded the Jerusalem verse and Godfrey's epitaph, as in C. Also in the same hand, there follows a fragment relating to the Second Crusade (1147). This is discussed later in relation to the transmission of the *Historia*.

*Provenance:* On the front leaf is written: 'Liber monasterii beate Marie ad Martyres extra muros Treueis ordinis sancti Benedicti.'

*Status in transmission:* Kugler dismissed manuscript N as of slight worth.<sup>63</sup> However, a study of the variants shows conclusively that N is not derived from any extant exemplar. It is closely related to both C and H (chapter titles and variants), and should be treated as a sibling manuscript, in spite of its more recent date.

#### O London, British Library, Add. MS 25440 (Liège, 1390)

Paper, 149 fos. Although the *Historia* is complete, the ink has so faded on fos. 105<sup>v</sup>–133<sup>r</sup> as to be illegible under normal lighting. Like

<sup>60</sup> 'der familie Stein zu Ost- und Nordheim in Bamberg': *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg: Band IV: Varia*, ed. Ingeborg Neske (Wiesbaden, 1997), p. 4. The Stadtbibliothek's catalogue was destroyed in the Second World War, and because the binding says only *Pantheon* the *Historia* was feared lost; since my enquiries in 1987 it has been recatalogued.

<sup>61</sup> For contents list see *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, 6. Heft (1910), p. 152; Knoch, *Studien*, pp. 19–20 n. 21.

<sup>62</sup> Knoch, *Studien*, p. 20. <sup>63</sup> 'Sein Wert is gering'; Kugler, *Deutschen Codices*, p. 3.

another late manuscript, L, there are spelling errors which may argue an imperfect knowledge of Latin, e.g. 'plaudes' for 'paludes'; 'plaustrī' for 'palustrī'; 'partis' for 'pratis', and 'turcidant' for 'trucidant' (a Freudian slip?).

*Provenance:* On fo. 149<sup>v</sup> is written: 'Anno a natiuitate Domini millesimo ccc nonagesimo mense martii die ultima fuit presens liber conscriptus et conscribi fecit domnus Iohannes ego de Puchey presbyter et canonicus sancti Gengulphi Floriensis.' Flône was an Augustinian foundation in the diocese of Liège.

*Status in transmission:* O is a direct copy of manuscript E in its fourteenth-century form, that is, the work of three different hands. This is most easily demonstrated by reference to fo. 17<sup>v</sup> (ii. 28), where there is the same text missing and a note: 'Hic deficiunt duo folia que sunt perdita' (between fos. 26 and 27 of E).

**P Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 66. 33 (1517)**

Paper, 279 fos. The complete text is written in a very clear hand. Chapters are listed at the head of each book, but are not numbered in the text. Chapter vii. 62 is at the end of book x. The five-line Jerusalem verse, the Godfrey epitaph, and the two-line addendum for Baldwin are appended.

*Provenance:* Not known. At the end is the inscription: 'Anno Domini m<sup>o</sup> quing<sup>o</sup> dec<sup>o</sup> sep<sup>o</sup> de mense martii sedente Leone X<sup>o</sup> Sebastianus de Martinis de Milexo pro copia scribebat.'

*Status in transmission:* P belongs to the H branch of the stemma.

**R Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 135 [no longer extant] (s. xiii<sup>med</sup>)**

In 1879, Heinrich Hagenmeyer drew attention to an extract of Albert's *Historia*, comprising chapters i. 2–5, contained in a Tournai manuscript.<sup>64</sup> The library at Tournai was destroyed in May 1940 and MS 135 no longer exists, but a catalogue description was published in 1950.<sup>65</sup> It was a thirteenth-century collection, parchment, 117 fos. It began with an extract from Geoffrey of Monmouth and continued with a miscellany of writings both ecclesiastical and secular. On fo. 98<sup>r</sup> there was a chronicle or genealogy which ended in 1244: as this

<sup>64</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit*, pp. 320–9.

<sup>65</sup> *Catalogue générale des MSS des bibliothèques de Belgique: VI*, ed. P. Faider and P. van Sint Jan (Tournai, 1950), p. 153.

immediately preceded the Albert extract on the same page, it provides a terminus a quo for the entry. Two later 'excerpta de historiis' are of crusading interest: 'De situ Ierusalem' and 'De subuersione urbis Antiochene et de tribus uiris apparentibus'.

*Provenance:* the catalogue says codex 135 was from the same library as codex 134, a volume containing Bede in twelfth- and thirteenth-century hands, which was of 'Anglo-Saxon origin'.

*Status in transmission:* Hagenmeyer collated the Darmstadt manuscript (E<sub>3</sub>), the Tournai extract (R), and the Bongars edition (G—from the H branch of the stemma; see below). From this it appears that manuscript R had more affinity with the E group than the CHN group.

## 2. *Lost manuscripts*

Certain manuscripts can be shown to have existed by reference to the stemma, including Albert's original text, a common exemplar for CH and N, and the manuscript used for the earliest edition (see below). There is documentary evidence for the existence of two others, both produced within the Low Countries.

**Egmond.**<sup>66</sup> A sixteenth-century copy of a catalogue of books written for or acquired by Abbot Walter (1129–61) contains a 'historia de profectione ierosolimitana xii libri in uno uolumine' written, according to a marginal note, by a monk called Simon at the abbey.<sup>67</sup>

**Leuven.**<sup>68</sup> Jakob Gretzer (1562–1623) noted a copy made by a fellow Jesuit: 'pervenit ad me Lovanio Chronici illius exemplar manu exaratum . . . cuius inscriptio ita habet: Incipit Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis, edita ab Alberto, canonico et custode Aquensis Ecclesiae super Passagio Godefridi de Bullione et aliorum principum.'<sup>69</sup>

## 3. *Relationships of the manuscripts*

### *The E Group*

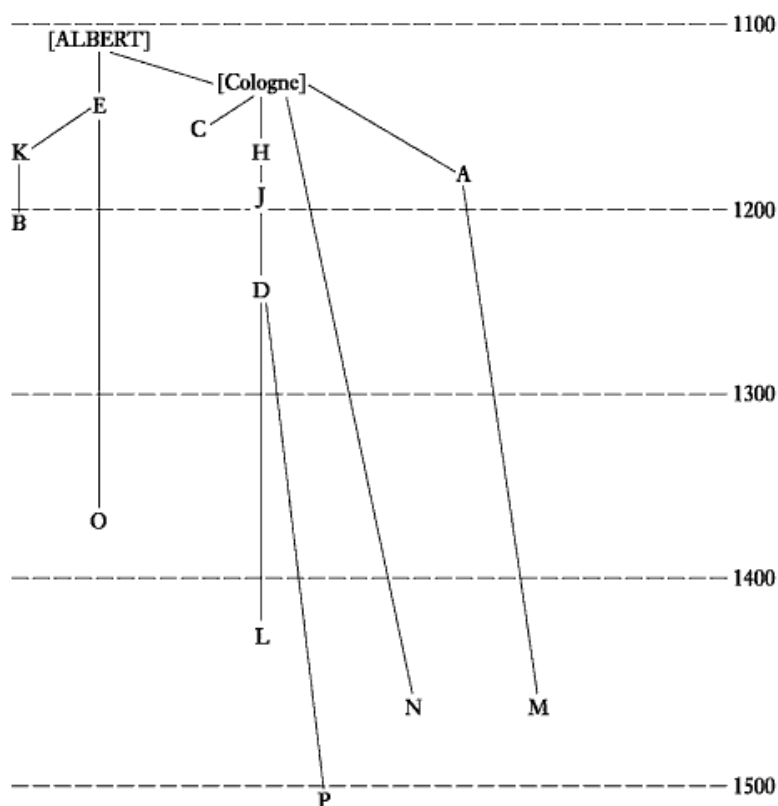
Manuscript E is apparently the oldest extant. (See Figure 1.) It suffered some damage quite early in its existence, as described above,

<sup>66</sup> Abbey of St Adalbert, prov. Noord-Holland, Netherlands.

<sup>67</sup> See Knoch, *Studien*, p. 22 and nn. 32–4 for details.

<sup>68</sup> Prov. Vlaams-Brabant, Belgium.

<sup>69</sup> Knoch, *Studien*, p. 23 and n. 35 (NB. Knoch erroneously placed Gretzer in the 18th c.); *RHC Occ* iv. xx (preface); p. 627.



### Characteristics

#### *E group*

no chapter titles  
use of 'et'  
Roman days

#### *CHN group*

titles  
use of '-que'/'ac'  
ordinal days

#### *A branch*

abridged titles

### Provenance (where known)

E: Liège

B: Noyon

O: Liège

C: Utrecht

H: Gladbach

N: Trier

A: Eberbach

FIGURE 1. The relationships of the manuscripts

and so the first section has to be left aside while the rest of the text is considered.<sup>70</sup> In this main text the divisions and initial capitals do not always coincide with chapters as later established. This suggests that E represents an early version of the text which did not have chapter divisions and titles. An examination of the titles reinforces this, for the vocabulary used is strikingly unlike Albert's; for example, in the titles for book iii (the longest) there are over thirty words not found anywhere in the book. Within the text itself, collation shows E to be more closely related, especially in word order, to the CHN group than to A. However, there are some idiosyncrasies. As remarked earlier, Albert was a great user of 'et'. In CHN and A 'et' has sometimes been changed to the enclitic 'que', or to 'ac'. Another feature of E is the use of Roman names for the days of the week, e.g. 'dies Iouis', where CHN and A use ordinals, e.g. 'feria quinta'. A copyist may have thought that pagan gods were out of place in a Christian text. This, together with the greater likelihood of chapter divisions being introduced than dropped by a copyist, is strong evidence that E represents the earliest extant form of the *Historia*. It has therefore been used as the basis for the current edition, even though the missing portions present some difficulties.

Manuscript K was copied directly, or via an intermediary, from E. It has no chapter titles and it shares with E text divisions and position of coloured capitals, which do not always coincide with chapters used by ACHN. Where E has a variant it is shared by K; where E has an omission, so does K; however, K has variants and omissions not in E. Manuscript B is altogether a more lavish production than E or K, though it shares with them text divisions and lack of titles. It is a less accurate copy of E than K, but K and B are closely related. If K varies from E then it is almost invariably followed by B. Exceptions are where K, whose text shows lack of revision, has a nonsensical reading, for example:

ii. 22

E: 'cum uniuerso comitatu Lotharingiorum'

K: 'cum uniuerso Lotharingiorum'

B: 'cum uniuersis Lotharingis'

<sup>70</sup> Chapter titles for the whole volume, chs. i. 1–22, and also the first record of Albert's name, all added by E<sub>3</sub>.

## iii. 41

E: 'uidentes se hac arte nil proficere'

K: 'uidentes se in hac arte nichil proficere'

B: 'uidentes se in hac parte nil proficere'

## vii. 2

E: 'seuo et graui martyrio me perire'

K: 'seuo et graui me perire'

B: seuo et graui supplicio me perire'

These and other examples show a clear line of transmission  $E \rightarrow K \rightarrow B$ .

Manuscript O is a direct copy of E in its fourteenth-century form, with the three hands  $E_1$ ,  $E_2$ , and  $E_3$ , as explained in the description of E. Two fragments are also related to the E group. The first is section  $E_3$ , which supplies the first twenty-two chapters of E, and can be collated against A, H, and K (plus C for chapters 19–22). Where C/H and K have the same reading it is shared by  $E_3$ , but where K diverges from C/H,  $E_3$  follows K. Both K and  $E_3$  have variants of their own. For these chapters, therefore,  $E_3$  used either  $E_1$  (perhaps after the initial pages had become detached) or a near relative, perhaps E's exemplar. The copyist  $E_3$  must also have had access to a second text from which he took the table of contents he placed at the head of his text. For the second fragment R, now lost, we have only Hagenmeyer's collation.<sup>71</sup> As he recorded variants from E and from the edition by Bongars, which have been checked for accuracy, his transcription should be accepted. It appears that the fragment had a greater affinity with the E group than with CHN or with A.

### *The CHN group*

These three manuscripts are closely related and probably shared the same exemplar. All three have the same chapter divisions and carry tables of chapter titles at the head of each book. C and H are closely related: if C has a variant reading from E it is shared by H; however, H has many variants not in C. C could not, therefore, be a copy of H, though on internal evidence H could be a copy of C. Word order and spelling, including proper names, support this inference. Moreover, a close relationship between the two is rendered more likely when the manuscripts' origins are considered. C originated at the Benedictine monastery of St Paul in Utrecht, which was founded as a daughter-

<sup>71</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit*, pp. 320–9.

house of St Vitus in Gladbach c.1006, while H is from St Vitus. A close link between the scriptoria is probable. However, C is dated 1158 and H was probably rather earlier. There are also about twenty readings unique to C, so it is preferable to treat the two manuscripts as independent. They almost certainly derive from the same exemplar, and C is the more accurate copy.

Although N is a fifteenth-century manuscript it is quite clear that it is a copy of one of the earliest and best manuscripts and stands in a sibling relationship with C and H—albeit at three centuries' distance. Thus where C and H share a reading N usually, but not always, has the same. On occasion N shares a reading uniquely with A, C, H, or E; on others, all five have different readings. For example:

vi. 9

- 'igne infixo et immisso aride materiei' E
- 'igne immisso et aride materiei infixo' C
- 'igne infixo et aride materiei inherente' H
- 'igne infixo et aride materiei infixo' N
- 'igne aride materiei infixo' A

iii. 32

- 'proculdubio agnouimus' ECN
- 'proculdubio cognouimus' H
- 'cognoscimus proculdubio' A

iii. 54

- 'suo uictrici euentu' EHA
- 'suo prospero euentu' C
- 'suo uel prospere uictrici euentu' N

vi. 15

- 'expugnare' ECH
- 'impugnare' NA

vi. 22

- 'fornicati' E
- 'fornicei' CH
- 'forinseci' N
- 'fornacei' A

viii. 37

- 'siti' ('s' erased) EC
- 'siti' H

'sitis' N

'sitis ardore' A

ix. 11

'Deo prouidente' ENA

'Deo protegente' CH

ix. 43

'adeuntes' E

'adunantes' CA

'considerantes' H

'adunantes' crossed out and 'adeuntes' inserted N

These different groupings illustrate the independence of the five manuscripts, but also suggest that C, H, N (and possibly A) have a shared exemplar, and where there is an unclear reading each makes sense of it in a different way.

Manuscript N is important because it tells us more about the lost manuscript which was its exemplar, and so also, probably, that of C and H.<sup>72</sup> The text of the *Historia* is followed immediately and in the same hand first by the verses in praise of Godfrey of Bouillon, then by a version of the first part of a source for the Second Crusade, the 'Lisbon Letter'. This is based on a letter written by the priest Winand to Arnold, archbishop of Cologne.<sup>73</sup> The version in N is prefaced by an introduction which attempts rather incoherently to link the first expedition to the second:

In the year of the incarnate word 1147, in the fiftieth year from the earlier expedition, that is to say of Duke Godfrey and the other leaders, the third of the papacy of Lord Eugenius III, the fourth of Emperor Conrad II, also the eighth of Archbishop Arnold I of this holy see Cologne, at the exhortation and preaching of a certain venerable priest, Bernard abbot of the monastery which is called Clairvaux, and also of Rudolf the splendid teacher and monk . . .<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> The argument which follows is set out in detail in S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', in J. Phillips and M. Hoch, eds., *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 54–70.

<sup>73</sup> S. B. Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research*, lxi (1996), pp. 328–39.

<sup>74</sup> 'Anno incarnati uerbi millesimo centesimo xlvii, de apriori [sic] expedicione scilicet Godefridi ducis et aliorum primorum anno quinquagesimo, papatus uero domini Eugenii tertii tertio, imperii Koenradi secundi quarto, huius quoque sacre Agrippinensis Colonie sedis antistitis Arnoldi primi octauo, hortatu et ammonicione cuiusdam uenerabilis sacerdotis, Bernhardi abbatis monasterii quod Clareuallis appellatur, Rudolphi quoque doctoris gloriosi et monachi . . . '.

The synchronism of this passage is typically twelfth-century rather than fifteenth, but also the writer has made a mistake, putting 'xl unde' for 'xlvii de', and this strongly suggests he is copying rather than composing. The linking passage was therefore in the exemplar volume, as an examination of the wording confirms. The reference to Godfrey picks up the subject of the epitaph which precedes it. Pope Eugenius III reigned from 1145 to 1153. Conrad III (not II) was king of the Germans 1137-52 (though never, in fact, crowned emperor by the pope). In the entry which follows, the use of 'this' ('huius') says very clearly that the exemplar manuscript was written in Cologne. Arnold I was archbishop of Cologne 1138-51. The 'splendid teacher and monk, Rudolf' was an anti-Jewish preacher Radulf whose activities in the Rhineland aroused such concern that St Bernard set out to counter them. Therefore, in this obscure text we get a perception of Radulf which is radically different from other mainstream evidence.<sup>75</sup>

The contradictory nature of the passage reinforces the impression of an early date, and so the Cologne manuscript, which was the exemplar of N, appears to have been copied within a short time of the Second Crusade. The distinguishing of Arnold as Arnold I suggests it was written after the investiture of Arnold II (1151), but had it been written much later then it would have been influenced by the orthodox view of Radulf. An examination of the version of the Lisbon Letter in N reinforces this impression of an early date. It is incomplete, and what apparently happened was that the copyist started converting from the first-person narrative of the original letter to third-person reported style, but after a while he became careless and forgot to make the necessary changes; realized this; became discouraged, and gave up about half-way through. In theory an abandoned draft might have found its way into the Trier manuscript in the twelfth or the fifteenth century, but, given the evidence of the transitional passage, it is most likely that a twelfth-century Cologne copyist of Albert had in front of him a draft taken directly from the autograph letter written by Winand to Archbishop Arnold. He recognized that it made a neat coda to Albert's *Historia*, and he

<sup>75</sup> Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn, *The Book of Remembrance*, ed. and trans. S. Eidelberg in *The Jews and the Crusaders* (London, 1977), pp. 117-33, at pp. 121-4; Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C. C. Mierow (New York, 1953), pp. 74-5; Bernard's letter 365; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, H. H. Rochais, and C. H. Talbot, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957-77), viii. 320-2.

appended it to the text. The result of these deductions is a putative copy of Albert produced in the early 1150s in Cologne which was in its turn copied in Gladbach and Utrecht soon afterwards, and in Trier three centuries later: the shared exemplar for C, H, and N.

### *The H branch*

A feature of manuscript H which is invaluable for determining later relationships is the error which resulted in chapter vii. 62 being placed at the end of book x. This error places J, D, L, and P, and the earliest edition, as descendants of H. It is by good fortune—since we have no more than about a tenth of the manuscript's text—that J can be firmly established in the H family by this means. Both J and D are thirteenth-century manuscripts, but a study of variants in H, J, and D strongly suggests that J was D's exemplar. Thus, for example:

iv. 49	H: 'et ipsi sagitta'	J: '-sss-'	D: omits
vii. 33	H: 'suscepit ac iocunde'	J: 'ac' erased	D: omits
x. 21	H: 'deditionem'	J: 'de-' expuncted; 'tra-' above	D: 'traditionem'
xii. 4	H: 'suum'	J: 'suum'; '-que' added above	D: 'suumque'

Apart from the spelling mistakes mentioned in its description, L is an accurate copy of D, as is manuscript P. That P is not a copy of L is easily demonstrated, for example, in viii. 21: L omits 'et uiribus exhausti' while P does not. Finally, the early edition, by Reineck, also used a manuscript with the displaced chapter, but a study of the variants establishes that it is not any extant manuscript (see below).

### *Manuscript A*

Somewhere between the production of manuscript E<sub>1</sub> and the lost Cologne manuscript chapter titles were added to the text. Manuscript A has the titles, but in an abbreviated form, apparently because of the lack of space left for them in the codices of A. It is also unique in many of its variants and omissions, so although in theory it could be a sibling of C, H, and N, it is treated here as a more remote branch of the stemma, representing a phase of development beyond the CHN group. Although manuscript M is far from complete it can be placed with certainty as a copy of A because it copies the abbreviated chapter titles. It also shares most of A's readings, including word order and spelling. When A has obviously omitted a word M supplies it: e.g. 'genere' for 'uoce' (vi. 42); 'luminis' for 'ignis' (xii. 33).

## III. EDITIONS

1. *Previous editions**Latin text*

The *editio princeps* is Reinerus Reineccius, *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum* (Helmstedt, 1584). It is subtitled 'De bello sacro historia, exposita libris xii, et nunc primum in lucem edita'. In the preface Reineck explains that the codex had been given to him by Christian Distelmeyer (1552–1612), counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg. It was written on parchment, and there was no author's name: 'sed ne quidem coniectura probabili, nomen, patriam, aut gentem, in qua natus esset, certo explorare potuimus'. The displacement of vii. 62 is sufficient to show the manuscript used belonged to the H family. It also had the five-line verse, Godfrey's epitaph, and the two-line epitaph for Baldwin, all of which are in H, while C and N lack the Baldwin verse. In only one place Reineck acknowledges that he has corrected the text: in iii. 39 his exemplar had 'utiliore', which he amended to 'ulteriore'. None of the extant manuscripts has 'utiliore'.

Using the *Recueil* edition (see below), Kugler identified thirty-eight significant variants which he considered made it impossible for D to have been Reineck's exemplar.<sup>76</sup> These have been checked. Although in fourteen cases out of the thirty-eight Kugler was misled by the *Recueil's* defective collation, all of the remaining twenty-four are shared with manuscript E. This extraordinary result is borne out by the full collation of the Reineck edition against other manuscripts: its closest agreement is indeed with D, but there are over 300 places where it differs from D and shares a reading with B alone (23); BK (14); BKE (41); with all manuscripts except HDPL (30), with all manuscripts except DPL (158), or in combinations less likely to be significant. There are also forty-nine readings shared with A alone; thirteen with C alone, and 25 with P alone.<sup>77</sup> It is possible that Reineck's codex was a hybrid, but it is strange that the copyist left vii. 62 displaced if he had access to a manuscript of the older family. Unfortunately, we almost certainly have to reckon with a random element introduced by Reineck's copying and correcting his exemplar. It is unlikely that the latter will ever be satisfactorily placed on the stemma, the original presumably having gone, like many another

<sup>76</sup> *RHC Occ* iv. xxviii (preface); Kugler, *Deutschen Codices*, p. 13 n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> These calculations were carried out before N was collated and its value reassessed.

codex in the sixteenth century, 'along the one-way road to the printing press'.<sup>78</sup>

Reineck's text was republished in J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols., Hanau, 1611), i. 184–381. The author, however, was no longer anonymous, and Bongars owed this to David Hoeschel, who printed Albert's name in the preface to his *Alexiad*, having discovered it from J. Gretzer. The superscription on the manuscript in question read: 'Historia Hierosolymitanae expeditionis, edita ab Alberto, canonico et custode Aquensis Ecclesiae, super Passagio Godefridi de Bullione et aliorum principum.' Apart from 'Alberto' for 'Adalberto', this is identical to manuscript O, and the *Recueil* editor had no doubt that the London manuscript was that used by Hoeschel.<sup>79</sup> However, Gretzer's copy was from Leuven (see above). It was probably closely related to O, and Hoeschel collated the manuscript against the Reineck edition and sent variants to Bongars, which should have helped to establish this, but Bongars did not fulfil his intention of publishing them in an appendix.<sup>80</sup> Bongars's text was in turn used verbatim by J. P. Migne in vol. clxvi of the *Patrologia Latina* (1854).

The first critical edition was by Paul Meyer, *Liber Christianae expeditionis pro ereptione, emundatione, restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (5 vols., Paris, 1841–1906), iv. 267–713. Meyer used A as his base manuscript and noted variants from B, C, D, and the editions of Reineck (F) and Bongars (G). He listed a further eight manuscripts in his preface (pp. xxvii–xxviii), but did not collate them. His descriptions have many errors. It is noteworthy that no German manuscript was used (possibly for political reasons, as the edition was published in 1879). The choice of A as basis is curious, as it must have been clear that the chapter titles were abbreviated from those in C, D, F, and G. B is a beautifully written copy, but its only advantage over its parent and grandparent (K and E) was its being in Paris. Meyer claimed that B was closely related to A and that he preferred any reading AB to a reading CD (p. xxix), but this gave him great difficulties because, as explained above, A and B are two of the more

<sup>78</sup> L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1974), p. 124.

<sup>79</sup> Kugler and Knoch both misread the *Recueil* as saying the opposite. The sentence concerned is: 'Il n'y a pour nous aucun doute que ce ms. ne doive être identique avec le ms. du Musée britannique addit. 25440' (*RHC Occ* iv. xxi).

<sup>80</sup> Bongars's preface page b, recto.

remotely related manuscripts. What Meyer did, in fact, was to take a majority decision among the manuscripts, which frequently relegated A's reading to a footnote.

Had Meyer preferred C to A consistently then it would have resulted in a sounder text. In the event, the edition has the appearance of having been largely based on F or G (Reineck's edition); this is the only way many of the variants falsely listed make sense. The false readings are particularly numerous for C and D. A likely explanation for this is that Meyer, working against time in the Vatican Library, cut corners by annotating the printed edition. The collation of C was very careless: of 215 cases where C was recorded as sharing a reading only with FG, just fourteen were correct; of 494 variants where Meyer notes CDFG, 81 were accurate. This has led to C's being consistently undervalued, since both Kugler and Knoch accepted Meyer's readings. The *Recueil* edition does not provide a sound text: the editor did not select his manuscripts according to proper critical principles and he did not exercise sufficient care in collating the manuscripts he used. Above all it is regrettable that he placed such reliance on the earlier edition of Reineck.

Bernhard Kugler did not produce an edition of the *Historia*, although it is believed that he planned to do so.<sup>81</sup> However, in two books, *Eine neue Handschrift der Chronik Alberts von Aachen* (Tübingen, 1893) and *Die deutschen Codices Alberts von Aachen* (Tübingen, 1894), he did the groundwork for a new edition using the German manuscripts. In the earlier book he listed variants for H, and in the later one for J and E. Both lists are exhaustive and very accurate. However, although considerable editorial work was done in the nineteenth century, it did not satisfy the need for a definitive edition.

## 2. Translations

F. P. G. Guizot used the Bongars reimpression of Reineck's edition for his French translation, which appeared in two volumes as *Histoire des faits et gestes dans les régions d'Outre-mer*, volumes xx and xxi in *La Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1824). J. F. Michaud published long extracts from the *Historia*, translated into French, in his *Bibliothèque des croisades* (4 vols., Paris, 1829), i. 43–81. The translated passages were linked by summaries and paraphrases. H. Hefele, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges* (2 vols., Jena, 1923), used

<sup>81</sup> Hagenmeyer, preface to edition of Fulcher of Chartres (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 81 n. 2.

Meyer's *Recueil* edition for his German translation. He added very few historical notes, and although there were sixteen illustrations, none was from an Albert manuscript. There has been no translation into English of the whole text, though Albert is frequently quoted, particularly on the subject of the 'People's Crusade' of 1096, for which he has eyewitness status.

### 3. *The present edition*

#### *Latin text*

All the extant manuscripts were fully collated, and from this it was clear that certain of them can be treated as *eliminandi*. These are B, K, and O, which are in a filial relationship to E; D, J, L, and P, which are lineal descendants of H, and M, which is a copy of A. The fragment R is no longer extant, and the manuscript used by the *editio princeps* is also lost, while the edition itself has a definite, if problematical, relationship to H and may therefore be discarded. The elimination leaves the five manuscripts A, C, E, H, and N. The last of these is a fifteenth-century manuscript, but its status in the transmission is equivalent to C and H, and therefore it was decided to record its variants alongside theirs. It quite often has a bizarre reading, which may be discounted, but its testimony is valuable if it confirms either C or H against the other.

Therefore, the choice of manuscript for the basis of the edition lay between the four twelfth-century manuscripts, A, C, E, and H. E represents the earliest stage of transmission, a version of the *Historia* without chapter titles, and it has been used as foundation, corrected only where it has a clearly impossible reading, using C, H, N, and/or A (in order of reliability). A particular difficulty of the edition is that a portion of the text is missing at the beginning of the base manuscript E. For the missing chapters (i. 1-22), K and E<sub>3</sub> have been used in conjunction to reconstruct as far as possible the reading of E: if K and E<sub>3</sub> share a variant reading then it is probably that of the lost part of E; but if K agrees with the other manuscripts (C/H/A), then the reading in E<sub>3</sub> is likely to have been introduced by the copyist. Conversely, if E<sub>3</sub> and CHA are in agreement, then K has introduced a variant reading (see manuscript descriptions above).

The chapter divisions in C, H, N, and A have been introduced into the text without mention in the *apparatus criticus*. This seemed desirable, as it means the books and chapters are numbered to match the earlier *Recueil* edition, which has been much used and

cited by historians.<sup>82</sup> The chapter titles, however, have been consigned to an appendix. Because we do not have an autograph edition, spelling has been standardized on E's most usual choice, with variants noted only where they might affect interpretation. In the case of proper names, all the different versions are recorded at first appearance and thereafter a single form adopted. Punctuation has been altered where necessary to conform with modern conventions: most commonly this means the insertion of a second comma after a non-defining clause. Capital letters are used for names of people and places.

### *Translation*

My aim has been to provide a translation which is both accurate and readable. Sometimes this has entailed breaking up or rearranging Albert's very long sentences, or rendering active as passive, or vice versa. Albert rather frequently uses a singular (collective) noun with a plural verb; this has been silently amended except on a very few occasions where the change would be unreadably pedantic.

A particular problem has been the rendering of names of people and places. For western Europeans, I have generally used the English equivalent for well-known people, e.g. Peter the Hermit (not Pierre or Pieter); for lesser-known people I have not tried to be consistent—for example, Odo (not Eudes or Otto), but Rainald or Reinhard (depending on provenance) rather than Reginald. They are identified in the notes, with their place of origin, at first appearance. Greek names have their modern transliterations, e.g. Alexios, Tatikios, Anna Komnene. Arabic and Turkish names are usually given in a form close to the one used by Albert in the text of the translation, and identified in the notes with a transliteration of Arabic names. (However, Arab historians' names are customarily used without diacritics.) Place names are even more problematical. Certain well-known places have accepted 'crusader' names; for example, for Nicaea and Antioch it would not be sensible to insist on İznik and Antakya. Having made this decision, it seemed more faithful to the text to keep medieval renderings of lesser-known places: Philippopolis and Adrianople, rather than Plovdiv and Edirne, for instance. However, sometimes an obscure place has a modern name similar to its medieval name, so, for example, Semlin has become Zemun. In two cases a

<sup>82</sup> For the same reason, a marginal concordance of page numbers in the *Recueil* edition has been provided.

modern term has been adopted to avoid confusion: the medieval 'Romania' represented Turkish lands conquered from the Greeks in Asia Minor, and has been translated as Rūm; Albert's 'Babylonia' has been rendered as Egypt.

In addition to the identification of people and places, the historical notes occasionally correct dates and other matters of factual detail. They also provide references to other sources for the same events, which sometimes corroborate and sometimes conflict with Albert's account. They are intended to complete the rehabilitation of Albert as an indispensable resource for historians of the First Crusade and the first generation of settlement in the Latin East.

# SIGLA

- A Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 561 and 562
- B Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 5128
- C Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 509
- D Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 1999
- E Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 102
- H Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS lat. fol. 677
- J Hanover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS XXXVII, 1808
- Jw Wolfenbüttel, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv, Mappe 12 Slg 7
- K Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottob. lat. 631
- L Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 7317
- M Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Cent. II. 100
- N Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 1974/641
- O London, British Library, Additional MS 25440
- P Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 66. 33
- R Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 135

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TEXT AND  
TRANSLATION

## LIBER PRIMVS

271 1. DE VIA ET EXPEDITIONE IERUSALEM HIIS VSQUE  
DIEBUS INAUDITA ET PLURIMUM ADMIRANDA. Sepius  
accensus desiderio eiusdem expeditionis et faciendo orationis illic dum  
feruerem, sed minime ob diuersa impedimenta intentioni mee effectus  
daretur, temerario ausu decreui saltem ex hiis aliqua<sup>a</sup> memorie  
commendare que auditu et relatione nota fierent ab hiis qui presentes  
affuissent; ut uel sic<sup>b</sup> non in<sup>c</sup> otio,<sup>b</sup> sed quasi in uia si non corpore, tota  
mente et anima consocius<sup>d</sup> esse elaborarem.<sup>e 1</sup> Quapropter de labore et  
miseriis, de<sup>f</sup> firmata<sup>g</sup> fide, et robustorum<sup>g</sup> principum ceterorumque  
hominum<sup>h</sup> conspiratione bona in amore Christi,<sup>h</sup> quomodo reliquerint  
patriam, cognatos, uxores,<sup>i</sup> filios filiasque, castella, urbes, agros, regna  
et omnem huius mundi dulcedinem, certa pro incertis, et in nomine  
Iesu exilia quiesierint, uiribus nostris exiguis, puerili et incauto<sup>j</sup> stilo  
scribere presumpsi: quomodo<sup>k</sup> iter in manu forti<sup>2</sup> et exercitu robusto<sup>l</sup>  
Ierosolimam fecerint, et mille milies Turcorum Sarracenorumque  
legiones audaci assultu triumphantes occiderint; quomodo<sup>m</sup> introitum  
et accessum sacri sepulchri Domini nostri Iesu Christi patefecerint,  
census et tributa peregrinorum huc intrare cupientium ex toto  
remiserint.

272 2. Sacerdos quidam Petrus nomine, quondam heremita, ortus de  
ciuitate Amiens,<sup>a</sup> que est in occidente de regno Francorum, omni  
instinctu quo potuit huius uie<sup>b</sup> constantiam primum adhortatus est; in  
Beru regione prefati regni factus predicator in omni admonitione et  
sermone.<sup>3</sup> Huius ergo<sup>c</sup> admonitione assidua et inuocatione<sup>d</sup> episcopi,

1 <sup>a</sup> om. K <sup>b</sup> om. E<sub>3</sub> <sup>c</sup> om. A <sup>d</sup> concius E<sub>3</sub> <sup>e</sup> laborarem A <sup>f</sup> et A  
<sup>g</sup> fiducia multorum E<sub>3</sub> <sup>h</sup> aspiramine bona in intentione E<sub>3</sub> <sup>i</sup> parentes E<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>j</sup> incausto E<sub>3</sub> <sup>k</sup> A adds et before quomodo <sup>l</sup> A adds in after robusto <sup>m</sup> A adds  
et before quomodo

2 <sup>a</sup> Ammiens A; Ambiens E<sub>3</sub>; Amiens K <sup>b</sup> uite E<sub>3</sub> <sup>c</sup> igitur E<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>d</sup> uocatione AH

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Albert was forbidden by his bishop to join the expedition: compare Robert the Monk (RM, p. 729) and Urban II's letter to Bologna in Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 137–8.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. 13: *passim*. D. H. Green, *The Millstätter Exodus* (Cambridge, 1966) examines this vernacular version of the Bible story as 'a crusading epic' (his subtitle); Albert's use of the

## BOOK ONE

1. CONCERNING THE WAY AND EXPEDITION TO JERUSALEM, UNHEARD OF UNTIL THESE DAYS AND GREATLY TO BE WONDERED AT. Many times I was fired with longing for that same expedition and for offering prayer there. Since I was so inspired, but could not go because of various hindrances to the carrying out of my intention, with rash daring I decided to commend to posterity at least some of the things which were made known to me by listening to those who had been there and from their reports, so that even thus I would take great pains, not in idleness, but as if I were a companion in the journey, if not with my body then with all my heart and soul.<sup>1</sup> And therefore I have ventured to write with my poor mental powers and my childish and heedless style about their hardship and misfortunes and the way their faith was strengthened, and the good concord of the strong princes and the rest of the men in the love of Christ; how they left their homeland, kinsmen, wives, sons and daughters, castles, cities, lands, estates, and all the sweetness of this world, left settled things for unsettled, and sought exile in the name of Jesus; how they made the journey to Jerusalem with a strong hand<sup>2</sup> and a lusty army, and their triumphant legions killed a thousand times a thousand Turks and Saracens in a bold attack; how they laid open the entrance and approach to the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ and completely remitted the taxes and tributes of pilgrims wishing to enter there.

2. A certain priest, Peter by name, once a hermit, who was born in the city of Amiens which is in the west of the kingdom of the Franks, was the first to urge steadfastness in this journey with all the inspiration he could.<sup>3</sup> In Berry, a region of the aforesaid kingdom, he became a preacher of the utmost persuasiveness and oratory. In response to his

phrase 'in manu forti' at the outset of his narrative appears to be a conscious reference to the biblical parallel.

<sup>3</sup> Peter participated in the First Crusade to its conclusion in 1099. In 1100 he returned to Europe and founded an Augustinian monastery at Neufmoutier near Huy (prov. Liège, Belgium), himself becoming prior. He died in 1115. Albert is generally thought to have been mistaken in making Peter the instigator of the expedition, but for a review of the evidence and a reassessment of his role see Blake and Morris, 'A hermit goes to war'; J. Flori, *Pierre l'Ermite et la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1999).

abbates, clerici, monachi, deinde laici nobilissimi diuersorum regnorum principes, totumque uulgus, tam casti quam incesti, adulteri, homicide, fures, periuri, predones, uniuersum scilicet genus Christiane professionis, quin sexus femineus penitentia ducti ad hanc letanter concurrerunt uiam. Qua occasione et intentione hanc uiam idem heremita predicauerit, et eius primus auctor extiterit, presens pagina declarabit. Hic uero sacerdos aliquot annis ante huius uie initium, causa orationis Ierosolimam profectus est, ubi in oratorio dominici sepulchri presentatus<sup>e</sup> uisa quedam illicita et nefanda tristi animo accepit, et infremuit spiritu;<sup>4</sup> ipsum<sup>f</sup> Deum uindictam super uisis iniuriis appellat. Tandem super nefariis operibus motus, patriarcham sancte Ierosolimitane ecclesie appetit,<sup>g</sup> cur pateretur gentiles et impios sancta inquinare et ab hiis fidelium oblationes asportari<sup>h</sup> requirit, ecclesia uti pro stabulis,<sup>i</sup> Christianos colaphizari, peregrinos sanctos iniusta mercede spoliari et multis oppressionibus ab hiis angustari.

3. Patriarcha uero et sacerdos uenerabilis sepulchri dominici, hiis auditis, pia et flebilis profert responsa: 'O fidelissime Christianorum, quid super hiis compellas aut<sup>a</sup> inquietas<sup>b</sup> paternitatem nostram,<sup>b</sup> cum nostre uires uel potentia non magis quam formica exigua aduersus tantorum superbiam computetur? Vita enim nostra aut assiduus redimetur tributis, aut mortiferis deputabitur suppliciis, et maiora speramus de die in diem affore pericula, nisi Christianorum affuerint auxilia, que tua legatione inuitamus.' | Cui<sup>c</sup> Petrus in hoc modo respondit: 'Venerande pater, satis comperimus et nunc intelligimus ac uidemus quam inualida manus Christianorum sit tecum hic inhabitantium; quantis obpressionibus subiaceatis gentilium. Qua de causa ob Dei gratiam et uestram liberationem, et sanctorum emundationem, Deo comite, uita sospite, rediens imprimis<sup>d</sup> domnum apostolicum requiram, deinde omnes primates Christianorum, reges, duces, comites, et principatum regni tenentes, iugum seruitutis uestre reserans et angustiarum uestRARUM intolerantiam.<sup>e</sup> Iam omnia inter se hec nuncia eque uidentur ut fiant.'

<sup>e</sup> proh dolor! AH      <sup>f</sup> ipsumque AH      <sup>g</sup> expetit AH      <sup>h</sup> assportari A  
<sup>i</sup> stabulis K

3      <sup>a</sup> et H      <sup>b</sup> om. K      <sup>c</sup> Qui H      <sup>d</sup> in primis E<sub>3</sub>HK      <sup>e</sup> seruitutis uestre miseriam et angustiarum intolerantiam cunctis insinuans AH

<sup>4</sup> John 11: 33.

<sup>5</sup> Symeon II, the orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem, died 1099.

constant urging and calling firstly bishops, abbots, clerics, monks; then the most noble laymen, princes of different domains, and all the common people, as many sinful as pious men, adulterers, murderers, thieves, perjurers, robbers: that is to say every sort of people of Christian faith, indeed even the female sex, led by repentance, all flocked joyfully to this journey. How it happened, and why the hermit preached this same journey and was its first instigator, this present book will tell. In fact some years before the beginning of this journey the priest set out to Jerusalem in order to pray, and there in the Temple of our Lord's Sepulchre, alas, some unlawful and wicked things were seen, and he suffered them with a grieving heart, and groaned in the spirit,<sup>4</sup> calling on God himself as avenger of the wrongs he had seen. At length, disturbed by the wicked deeds, he sought out the patriarch of the holy church of Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> He asked why the patriarch allowed gentiles and wicked men to defile the holy places, and let the offerings of the faithful be carried off, churches be used as stables, Christians beaten up, holy pilgrims robbed by excessive fees and distressed by the many violent acts of the infidels.

3. The patriarch and venerable priest of our Lord's Sepulchre heard what Peter had to say and uttered a holy and tearful reply: 'O most faithful of Christians, why do you reproach me about these things and make things difficult for our fatherly care, when our strength and power may not be reckoned more than a poor ant's against the tyranny of so many? The fact is, either we have to ransom our life by constant payments, or it will be cut short by fatal executions, and we expect the dangers to be greater from one day to the next unless there should be aid from the Christians, which we summon with you as our envoy.' Peter replied to him in this way: 'Reverend father, I have learnt enough and now I understand and see how inadequate is the band of Christians living here with you, and how many acts of oppression you are subject to from the gentiles. Because of this, for the love of God and for your liberation, and for the cleansing of the holy places, with God beside me and as long as life is vouchsafed to me, I shall return and seek out first of all the pope, then all the leaders of Christian peoples, kings, dukes, counts, and those holding the chief places in the kingdom, and I shall make known to them all the wretchedness of your servitude and the unendurable nature of your difficulties. Meanwhile it is right that all these things of which we have spoken should be seen so that they may be dealt with.'

4. Interim tenebris celo circumquaque incumbentibus, Petrus orandi causa ad sanctum sepulchrum rediit, ubi sicut<sup>a</sup> orationibus et uigiliis fatigatus somno decipitur. Cui in uisu maiestas Domini Iesu oblata est, hominem mortalem et fragilem sic dignata alloqui: 'Petre dilectissime fili Christianorum, surgens uisitabis patriarcham nostrum, ab<sup>b</sup> eo sumes<sup>c</sup> cum sigillo sancte crucis litteras legationis nostre, et in terram cognationis tue quantocius iter accelerabis,<sup>6</sup> calumnias et iniurias populo nostro et loco sancto illatas reserabis, et suscitabis corda fidelium ad purganda loca sancta Ierusalem et ad restauranda officia sanctorum. Per pericula enim et temptationes uarias paradisi porte nunc aperientur uocatis et electis.'<sup>7</sup>

5. Ad hanc itaque miram et dignam Deo<sup>a</sup> reuelationem, subtracta uisione, Petrus <sup>b</sup>somno expergefatus est.<sup>b</sup> Qui in primo diei crepusculo processit a limine templi, patriarcham petiit, uisionem Dei sibi ex ordine aperuit, litteras legationis diuine cum sigillo sancte crucis requirit. Quas ille<sup>c</sup> non recusauit, sed cum gratiarum actione accommodauit. Accepta hinc licentia, in obedientia legationis ad natales oras regressus est. Non modica anxietate nauigio per mare regressus, ad ciuitatem Bare<sup>d</sup> reuehitur, ubi terris redditus, Romam sine mora proficiscitur. Ibi apostolico reperto,<sup>e</sup> quam audiuit et accepit a Deo et patriarcha legationem retulit, super inmundiciis gentilium et iniuriis sanctorum et peregrinorum. Hec uero apostolicus aure uoluntaria et intenta ut accepit, in omnibus se | promisit mandatis parere sanctorum et precibus. Qua de causa sollicitus, uenit ad ciuitatem Verzellaus<sup>f8</sup> transactis Alpibus, et<sup>g</sup> conuentum totius occidentalis Francie, et concilium<sup>h</sup> apud Podium ciuitatem sancte Marie fieri decreuit.<sup>9</sup> Deinde ad Clarum Montem in

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4 <sup>a</sup> sicut *om.* K <sup>b</sup> *AH add et before ab* <sup>c</sup> sumens H

5 <sup>a</sup> Dei E<sub>3</sub>K <sup>b b</sup> a somno fit expergefatus E<sub>3</sub>K <sup>c</sup> H adds dare after ille

<sup>d</sup> Barim AH <sup>e</sup> recepto E<sub>3</sub> <sup>f</sup> Vercellaus H; Vuerzellaus K <sup>g</sup> sed E<sub>3</sub>HK

<sup>h</sup> consilium E<sub>3</sub>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Acts 7: 3.

<sup>7</sup> This passage (i. 2-4) bears close resemblance to the *Chanson d'Antioche*, lines 268-339 (*ChA*, ed. Duparc-Quoioc, i. 30-4). The patriarchal letter became a charter ('cartula') fallen from heaven in the Rosenfeld Annals (*MGH SS* xvi. 101) and other north German annals based on these. See Blake and Morris, 'A hermit goes to war', pp. 93-4.

<sup>8</sup> Probably Vercelli (prov. Vercelli, It.). Urban is known to have been in Lombardy in the summer of 1095: F. Duncalf, 'The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont', in Setton (gen. ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, i. 230. However, William of Tyre has 'Vigiliacum' (WT, p. 130) and this seems to be the source of later accounts which place Urban in Vézelay. It must be acknowledged that Albert's geography becomes more unreliable the further he

4. Meanwhile, as darkness was falling in the sky all around, Peter went back to the Holy Sepulchre to pray. There, since he was exhausted by prayers and vigils, he was overtaken by sleep. And the majesty of Lord Jesus was shown to him in a vision, deigning thus to address the frail and mortal man: 'Peter, most beloved son of the Christians, you will arise and go to see our patriarch and get from him a letter of our mission with the seal of the holy cross, and you will hasten as quickly as possible your journey to the land of your people;<sup>6</sup> you will disclose the malicious acts and injustices inflicted on our people and our holy place, and stir the hearts of the faithful to the cleansing of the holy places in Jerusalem, and to the restoring of the ceremonies of the holy places. For through dangers and diverse temptations the gates of paradise will now be opened to those called and chosen.'<sup>7</sup>

5. With this wonderful revelation, worthy of God, the apparition withdrew and Peter was roused from his sleep. And in the first grey light of day he came forth from the entrance of the Temple and sought out the patriarch. He disclosed the divine vision to him just as it had happened and asked for a letter of holy mission with the seal of the holy cross. The patriarch did not refuse these to him, but rather complied with expressions of thanks. Peter received the licence from him, and in obedience to his mission returned to his native shores. He crossed the sea again with considerable anxiety and sailed back to the city of Bari, and when he was back on dry land he set out for Rome without delay. There he found the pope and revealed to him the mission he had heard and received from God and the patriarch, about the defiling by the gentiles and the outrages against the holy places and the pilgrims. Indeed, as soon as the pope had heard these things with a willing and attentive ear, he promised to obey in all things the commands and entreaties of the saints. Stirred into action because of this, he came to the city of *Verzellaus*,<sup>8</sup> crossing the Alps, and decreed that there should be a meeting of all the west of the Frankish kingdom, and a council at Le Puy, the city of St Mary.<sup>9</sup> Then he

ventures from Aachen, which may explain the ambiguity as to whether Urban crossed the Alps before or after 'Verzellaus'.

<sup>6</sup> The spectacular volcanic landscape of Le Puy (dép. Haute-Loire, France) is dominated by the cathedral dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Notre-Dame du Puy. The present twelfth-century Romanesque church is an enlargement of a previous basilica, which like its successor was an important halt on the pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela (prov. La Coruña, Spain).

Aluernas<sup>i</sup> proficiscitur.<sup>10</sup> Vbi audita legatione diuina et admonitione apostolica, episcopi totius Francie, ducesque et<sup>j</sup> comites, magnique principes, cuiusque ordinis et<sup>k</sup> gradus, expeditionem ex proprio sumptu ad ipsum sepulchrum Deo annuerunt. Ipso etenim in regno amplissimo conspiratio et coniuratio sancta huius uie datis dextris inter potentissimos creuit. In quorum affirmatione terremotus magnus factus est, nil aliud portendens quam diuersorum regnorum iter moturas legiones, tam ex regno Francie quam Lotharingie, terre Theutonicorum, simul et Anglorum, et ex regno Danorum.

6. Anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo nonagesimo sexto, indictione quarta, Henrico<sup>a</sup> quarto rege, ac tercio imperatore Romanorum augusto, anno regni sui quadragesimo tercio, imperii uero eius terciodecimo,<sup>11</sup> Vrbano secundo (qui et Odardus) apostolico,<sup>12</sup> octauo<sup>b</sup> die mensis Martii,<sup>13</sup> Walterus cognomento<sup>c</sup> Senzauehor<sup>d</sup><sup>14</sup> miles egregius, cum magna societate Francigenarum peditum, solummodo octo habens equites, ex admonitione predicti Petri Heremite in<sup>e</sup> initio uie Ierusalem intrauit regnum Vngarie. Vbi cognita et audita illius animi intentione, et causa assumpte uie, a domno Kalamanno<sup>f</sup> rege Christianissimo Vngariorum<sup>g</sup> benigne susceptus est, et pacifice concessus est sibi<sup>h</sup> transitus per uniuersam terram regni sui, et emendi licentia.<sup>15</sup> Hic itaque sine offensione et aliquo aduerso incursu, usque ad Belegrauam ciuitatem Bulgarorum profectus est, transiens Maleuillam,<sup>i</sup> ubi terminantur fines regni Vngariorum.<sup>j</sup><sup>16</sup> Illic pacifice fluuium Maroe<sup>17</sup> nauigio traiecit, sed in eodem loco

<sup>i</sup> Aluernis *A*      <sup>j</sup> ac *AH*      <sup>k</sup> ac *H*

6    <sup>a</sup> Heinrich *H*      <sup>b</sup> octaua *H*      <sup>c</sup> cognomen *E<sub>3</sub>K*      <sup>d</sup> variously below: *Senzouair A*; *Senzauoir E*; *Senzauohir H*; *Senzauoer K*      <sup>e</sup> om. *E<sub>3</sub>*      <sup>f</sup> spelt *Kalomann*—by *CHE* later      <sup>g</sup> *Ungarorum A*      <sup>h</sup> ei *K*      <sup>i</sup> spelt *Malauillam* occasionally by *AE*  
<sup>j</sup> *Ungorum H*

<sup>10</sup> Modern Clermont-Ferrand (dép. Puy-de-Dôme, France).

<sup>11</sup> Henry IV (1056–1106). His imperial coronation was in 1084. Albert also calls him Henry III later (v. 13), and numbers his son the fifth king and fourth emperor (xi. 48). His arithmetic here with regard to dates is hard to understand or explain.

<sup>12</sup> Urban II (1088–99) was formerly Odo, or Eudes. He was born c.1035 at Châtillon-sur-Marne, became canon and archdeacon at Reims, then monk and prior at Cluny. Under the patronage of Gregory VII he became cardinal-bishop of Ostia c.1080 and served as legate in Germany 1084–5. Then, and later when he was pope, he and Henry IV were implacable opponents in the dispute over lay investiture of bishops.

<sup>13</sup> Probably a mistake for 8 May. William of Tyre also gives 8 Mar. as the date Walter set out, but quickly passes on to his entry into Hungary (WT, p. 140). Orderic Vitalis ix. 4 (ed. Chibnall, v. 29) says that Walter and his companions were in Cologne on Easter Saturday (12 Apr.) and for Holy Week, but moved into Hungary ahead of Peter, which agrees with a May date for their arrival there.

set out for Clermont in the Auvergne.<sup>10</sup> When they had heard the divine mission and the pope's recommendation, the bishops of all the Frankish kingdom, the dukes and counts and great princes, of whatever class and rank, promised to God an expedition at their own expense to the Holy Sepulchre itself. And as a matter of fact, in that very spacious kingdom a holy concord and alliance for this journey originated among the most powerful, who pledged their right hands to it. And in confirmation of these things a great earthquake occurred, predicting nothing other than the mobilization of armies of different kingdoms: from the kingdom of the Franks as well as from Lotharinga, and at the same time from the land of German peoples and of the English and from the kingdom of the Danes.

6. In the year of our Lord's incarnation 1096, the fourth indiction, when Henry was the fourth king and the third august emperor of the Romans, in the forty-third year of his reign and the thirteenth of his imperial rule,<sup>11</sup> Urban II (who was also Odard) being pope,<sup>12</sup> the eighth day of March,<sup>13</sup> Walter, nicknamed 'Sansavoir',<sup>14</sup> an outstanding warrior, entered the kingdom of Hungary with a great fellowship of Frankish foot soldiers and only eight knights who were starting on the journey to Jerusalem in response to the urging of the said Peter the Hermit. Once his purpose was heard and understood, and the reason the journey had been undertaken, he was graciously received there by Lord Coloman, the very Christian king of the Hungarians, who granted to him in peace passage through all the lands of his kingdom and a licence to buy food.<sup>15</sup> And so, without any misfortune or assault upon them whatsoever, they advanced right to Belgrade, the city of the Bulgars, passing through Zemun, where the territories of the Hungarians end.<sup>16</sup> There they peacefully crossed the river Morava<sup>17</sup> in boats, but in that same place,

<sup>14</sup> Walter Sansavoir: his cognomen has misled generations of historians into thinking he was impoverished, but the family probably came from Boissy-Sans-Avoir (dép. Yvelines, France). J. Riley-Smith identifies Walter as a member of the Poissy family from the same region: *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 93, 100. See A. V. Murray, 'The army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096-1099: Structure and dynamics of a contingent on the First Crusade', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, lxx (1992), pp. 301-29, at p. 323.

<sup>15</sup> King Coloman of Hungary (1095-1116) had succeeded László I (St Ladislaus), who had firmly re-established Christianity in his lands.

<sup>16</sup> Beograd, capital of Serbia. Whether Zemun (Serbia) acquired its sinister Latin name, 'Mala villa', as a result of these events, or at an earlier time, has not been established (*Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, viii (Zagreb, 1971), s.v. Zemun).

<sup>17</sup> Here Albert's geography is mistaken: the river Sava, not the Morava, separates Belgrade and Zemun. William of Tyre copies his mistake (WT, p. 141).

275 Maleuille sedecim de comitatu<sup>k</sup> | illius remorati sunt, ut emerent arma, ignorante Waltero qui iam diu flumen transierat. Vngari uero quidam peruerse mentis uidentes procul Walteri absentiam et illius exercitus manus illis sedecim iniecerunt: quos armis, uestibus, auro et argento spoliauerunt, et sic nudi ac uacui abire permissi sunt. Hii uero dolentes, rebus et armis uacui, usque ad predictam Belegrauum quo Walterus cum omni manu sua extra muros ad hospitandum tentoria posuerat iter accelerauerunt, omne infortunium quod eis acciderat sibi referentes, sed equo animo, quia reditus ad uindictam tedio erat, accepit. In ipsa denique nocte qua socii nudi et<sup>l</sup> uacui recepti sunt, Walterus licentiam emendi uite necessaria requisiiuit a principe Bulgarorum et magistratu ciuitatis. Qui fraudem<sup>m</sup> et exploratores terre estimantes, omnia uenalia illis interdixerunt.<sup>18</sup> Quapropter Walterus et omnis illius comitatus animo grauiter motus, armenta, boues et oues illorum, que per agros ad pabula herbarum emisse passim uagabantur, ceperunt ui rapere et abducere, quousque grauis seditio inter peregrinos et<sup>n</sup> Bulgarios gregem suum excutientes accrescere cepit, et misceri armis, dum tandem uirtute Bulgarorum inualescente, usque ad centum et quadraginta de peregrino exercitu a multitudine societatis quidam<sup>o</sup> diuisi, in quoddam oratorium fugientes peruenerunt.<sup>p</sup> Bulgari uero accrescente suorum manu, et Waltero diffidente ac cum tota societate diffugium faciente, oratorium obsidentes sexaginta ex inclusis combusserunt, ceteros uix ab hostibus et oratorio pro defensione uite elabentes, plurimos graui uulnere perculserunt. Post hanc calamitatem et attritionem suorum, Walterus relictis<sup>q</sup> circumquaque sociis fugitiuis,<sup>r</sup> siluas Bulgarorum per octo dies exuperans, ad ciuitatem ditissimam que uocatur Nizh<sup>s</sup> <sup>19</sup> in medio Bulgarorum regno secessit, ubi duci et principi terre reperto iniuriam et dampnum sibi illatum retulit,<sup>t</sup> iusticiam de omnibus "ab eo clementer" consecutus.<sup>v</sup> Quin et arma et pecuniam illi in reconciliatione largitus est, ac ei conductum idem domnus terre, per ciuitates Bulgarie Sterniz et Phinepopolim atque Andronopolim<sup>20</sup> pacifice dedit, et emendi licentiam, quousque ad imperatoriam urbem Constantinopolim<sup>21</sup> que est caput totius regni Grecorum,

<sup>k</sup> cominatu *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>l</sup> om. *K*      <sup>m</sup> fraudes *H*      <sup>n</sup> om. *A*      <sup>o</sup> om. *E*<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>p</sup> deuenerunt *AH*      <sup>q</sup> relictis *A*      <sup>r</sup> fugitiis *AH*      <sup>s</sup> Niz *A*; *E* has Niz once  
<sup>t</sup> referens *AH*      <sup>v</sup> om. *A*      <sup>w</sup> *AH* add est after consecutus

<sup>18</sup> This is the first of many incidents where provisioning the armies caused problems. The question is discussed in 'Money and supplies on the first crusade', in K. Leyser,

Zemun, sixteen of the fellowship stayed behind to buy arms, unknown to Walter, who had by then crossed the river long before. In fact, certain Hungarians with evil minds, seeing from afar that Walter and his army were absent, fell upon that band of sixteen and stripped them of their arms, clothes, gold and silver, then they let them go, naked and empty-handed. So they were lamenting their lack of possessions and arms all the way to the said Belgrade where Walter and all his band had pitched tents outside the walls to stay for a while. There they reported to him all the misfortune that had afflicted them, but he listened to them calmly, because going back to exact vengeance would have been wearisome. Then the same night that the naked and empty-handed comrades were taken in, Walter asked the prince of the Bulgars and the city magistracy for a licence to buy the necessities of life. The officials considered the damage and the people spying on their land, and they forbade all sales to them.<sup>18</sup> Because of this Walter and all his company were seriously troubled in their minds, and they began forcibly to seize and to lead away the Bulgars' herds of cattle and sheep which had been let out into the fields to graze and were wandering here and there. It came to the point where a serious quarrel began to develop between the pilgrims and the Bulgars who were driving off their herds, and arms were joined, until at length when the strength of the Bulgars was prevailing some hundred and forty of the pilgrims were cut off from the great number of their fellowship and, fleeing, they came to a certain chapel. The Bulgars were increasing in strength, while Walter was losing heart and taking flight with all his company, and they besieged the chapel, where they burnt sixty of the men shut up in it and inflicted severe wounds on very many more of the rest who only just managed to slip away from the enemy and from the chapel to save their lives. After this disaster and weakening of his men Walter abandoned his comrades who were fleeing all around, and he passed through the Bulgarian woods in eight days and withdrew to a very rich city in the middle of the Bulgarian kingdom, called Niš,<sup>19</sup> where he found the leader and prince of the country and reported to him all the outrage and the damage inflicted upon himself and he easily obtained justice from him with regard to all these things. Indeed that same lord of the country bestowed both arms and money on him in reconciliation, and gave him a safe-conduct through the Bulgarian

*Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1994), pp. 77–95.

<sup>19</sup> In Serbia.

cum omni manu sua descendit. Vt autem descendit omni instantia humillime petitionis qua potuit ab ipso domno imperatore exorauit, quatenus in regno suo pacifice moram obtineret cum licentia emendi uite necessaria, donec Petrus Heremita cuius admonitione et instinctu uiam hanc inchoauerant<sup>a</sup> socius haberetur et, sic coniunctis milibus suis, brachium maris sancti Georgii nauigio transmearent, et sic tutius  
 276 Turcis cunctisque genti|lium cuneis resistere ualerent. Quod et actum est, et a domno imperatore Alexi nomine benigne de omnibus petenti responsum et concessum est.<sup>22</sup>

7. Post hec non longi temporis interuallo, Petrus predictus et exercitus illius copiosus, ut harena maris innumerabilis<sup>23</sup> qui a diuersis regnis illi coniunctus conuenerat,<sup>a</sup> scilicet Francigene, Sueui, Bawarii,<sup>b</sup> Lotharingii,<sup>c</sup> continuabat pariter uiam in Ierusalem, qui itinere<sup>d</sup> suo in Vngarie descendens regnum, ante portam Cyperon<sup>24</sup> tabernacula sua fixit, cum omni exercitu Christianorum<sup>e</sup> quem<sup>f</sup> eduxerat. Hiis locatis, protinus regnatori Vngarie nuncia direxit, quatenus sibi suisque consociis<sup>g</sup> pateret aditus et transitus per medium regni eius. Quod<sup>h</sup> illi concessum est, ea conditione interposita, ne in terra regis predam contingeret, sed pacifice uiam teneret, omnia uero quibus indigeret exercitus sine iurgio et lite precio mutuarent. Petrus ergo audita erga se suosque regis beniuolentia gaudis est, et pacifice regnum Vngarie transiuit, dans et accipiens omnia usui necessaria in numero, iusticia et mensura,<sup>25</sup> et sic<sup>i</sup> sine turbine usque ad Maleuillam cum omni legione sua profectus est. Vt autem appropiauit<sup>j</sup> terminis loci predicti, fama in auribus suis suorumque allata est quoniam comes regionis illius nomine Guz, unus de primatibus regis Vngarie, auaricia corruptus, adunationem armatorum contraxisset militum, et pessimum consilium inisset cum predicto duce, Nichita nomine,<sup>26</sup> principe Bulgarorum et preside ciuitatis Belgrade,<sup>k</sup> quatenus et ipse collecta

<sup>a</sup> inchoauerat *A*

7 <sup>a</sup> conuenerant *E*<sub>3</sub> <sup>b</sup> Baioarii *H* <sup>c</sup> Lotharingi *H* <sup>d</sup> *AH* add in before  
 itinere <sup>e</sup> *om. H* <sup>f</sup> quos *E*<sub>3</sub>*HK* <sup>g</sup> sociis *K* <sup>h</sup> Quot *E*<sub>3</sub> <sup>i</sup> *om. E*<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>j</sup> appropinquauit *AH* <sup>k</sup> *spelt* Belegraue *A*, and Belegraua previously by *AE*<sub>3</sub>*HK*

<sup>20</sup> Sofiya is the present capital of Bulgaria; Philippopolis is modern Plovdiv, Bulgaria, and Adrianople is modern Edirne (prov. Edirne, Turkey).

<sup>21</sup> Modern Istanbul, Turkey.

<sup>22</sup> Alexios I Komnenos, Byzantine emperor 1081–1118.

<sup>23</sup> 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 17: 11.

towns of Sofiya, Philippopolis, and Adrianople,<sup>20</sup> and a licence to buy, and Walter marched down with all his band as far as the imperial city of Constantinople,<sup>21</sup> which is the capital of all the empire of the Greeks. Moreover, as he marched down he entreated the lord emperor himself, with all possible urgency in a most humble petition, that he might peacefully take a breathing-space in his kingdom, with licence to buy the necessities of life, until he had Peter the Hermit as comrade-in-arms, at whose instigation and inspiration he had started the journey, and with their thousands of men joined together they would cross the Straits of St George in boats and thus be able more safely to oppose the Turks and all the battle-formations of the gentiles. All this was carried out, and the lord emperor, Alexios by name, graciously responded and granted everything he sought.<sup>22</sup>

7. Not long after all this the aforementioned Peter with his great army, as innumerable as the sand of the sea,<sup>23</sup> which had assembled and joined him from the different kingdoms, that is to say Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Lotharingians, was carrying on in the same way the journey to Jerusalem. He marched down into the kingdom of Hungary on his journey and pitched his tents in front of the gate of Sopron<sup>24</sup> with all the army of Christians he had led. When their tents were in place he sent messages right away to the ruler of Hungary, asking him to open the way into and through the middle of his kingdom to Peter and his comrades. This was granted to him, but on one condition, that he would not seize any plunder in the king's lands but would keep peacefully on his journey while, indeed, all the things the army needed might be procured at a price, without brawling and dispute. Therefore Peter rejoiced when he heard the king's kindness towards him and his men, and travelled through the kingdom of Hungary peacefully, giving and obtaining everything necessary for their use in quantity, justice, and fair measure,<sup>25</sup> and thus he and all his troops proceeded without disturbance as far as Zemun. But as he approached the boundaries of the said place, a rumour came to his ears and to those of his men, that a count of that region, Guz by name, one of the Hungarian king's nobles, corrupted by greed, had assembled a band of armed soldiers and had entered into a very

<sup>24</sup> Sopron (co. Győr-Moson-Sopron, Hungary) is on the north-west border of Hungary, some forty miles south of Vienna.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Wisd. 11: 21.

uirtute satellitum, anteriores agminis Petri debellaret et occideret, ipse uero postremos insecutione suorum militum detruncaret, ut sic uniuersa spolia tanti exercitus, in equis, auro et argento ac uestibus deriperent et diuiderent. Petrus hec audiens, quia conchristiani<sup>1</sup> erant<sup>m</sup> Vngarii et Bulgari, omnino de illis tantum facinus credere noluit, quousque ad Maleuillam uenientes consocii illius arma et spolia sedecim sociorum Walteri in menibus et muris pendentia aspexerunt, quos paulo ante retardatos, Vngarii in dolo spoliare<sup>n</sup> presumpserunt.<sup>o</sup> Petrus autem tunc<sup>p</sup> confratrum iniuria cognita, uisisque illorum armis et spoliis, socios ad uindictam admonet. Qui fortiter signis cornicinum intonant, erectis signis ad menia conuolant, muros grandine sagittarum obpugnant, quas tam incessabili et incredibili densitate oculis in menibus assistentium adeo intorquebant, ut nequaquam uirtutem Gallorum inpugnantium<sup>q</sup> Vngarii sufferre ualentes, a muro declinarent, si forte infra ciuitatem ante uires illorum remanere ualerent. | Ad hec Godefridus quidam, cognomen habens Burel, de Stampis ciuitate ortus,<sup>27</sup> magister et signifer ducentorum peditum, qui et ipse pedes erat, fortis uiribus, intuens fugam Vngariorum<sup>r</sup> procul a menibus muros scala quam forte ibidem reperit<sup>s</sup> transuolat. Reinoldus de castello Breis,<sup>28</sup> eques insignis, opertum habens caput galea, et lorica indutus, pariter menia post Godefridum ascendit, donec uniuersi, tam equites quam pedites, intrare contendunt. Vngarii uero uidentes anime sue angustias et imminens periculum, ad septem milia conglobantur ad defensionem, ac, per aliam portam que respicit ad orientem egressi, super uerticem precelsi<sup>t</sup> silicis, quam prefluit Danubius, et qua ex parte insuperabile erat munimen constiterunt. Quorum plurima pars que pre angusto aditu per portam uelociter effugere

<sup>1</sup> cum Christiani *E<sub>3</sub>K*      <sup>m</sup> essent *K*      <sup>n</sup> spoliari *K*      <sup>o</sup> presumpserant *AH*  
<sup>p</sup> hac *AH*      <sup>q</sup> om. *K*      <sup>r</sup> aduersariorum *H*      <sup>s</sup> repperit *HK*      <sup>t</sup> precelse  
*AE<sub>3</sub>H*

<sup>26</sup> This 'duke' was evidently a Byzantine: apart from his name (Niketas), later (i. 13) he is in communication with the emperor. Duncalf ('The Councils', p. 259) calls him the Byzantine governor of Bulgaria; J. Kalić ('Les Données d'Albert d'Aix sur l'histoire des relations Byzantino-Hongroises vers la fin du xie siècle [in Serbo-Croat], *Recueil de travaux de la Faculté de philosophie*, x [1968], pp. 189-90) suggests he was a Byzantine border commander. If his title was officially 'Dux', then he was probably general of the Bulgarian theme. No more is known about Guz than is found in this passage.

wicked plot with the said duke, who was called Nichita,<sup>26</sup> prince of the Bulgars and ruler of the city of Belgrade, that the duke, having brought together the strength of his accomplices, would vanquish and kill the the vanguard of Peter's army, while Guz would pursue and behead the men at the rear of Peter's soldiers, so that they might thus snatch and share between themselves all the spoils of such a great army in horses, gold and silver, and clothes. Hearing this, because the Hungarians and Bulgars were fellow Christians, Peter refused altogether to believe them capable of so great a crime, until, as they approached Zemun, his companions caught sight of the weapons and spoils hanging on the ramparts and walls which had belonged to Walter's sixteen associates whom the Hungarians had delayed a little while before and had dared to rob by a trick. Then Peter, when he learnt of the outrage against his fellow countrymen, and saw their weapons and spoils, urged his companions to vengeance. At the signal from the trumpeters they shouted out bravely and ran together to the ramparts with standards held aloft, they attacked the walls with a hail of arrows which they shot at the eyes of those standing on the ramparts with such incessant and extraordinary density that the Hungarians could not withstand the strength of the attacking Gauls at all, and they turned away from the wall in the hope that they would be able to last out within the city in the face of the enemy troops. At this a certain Godfrey, who had the surname Burel and was born in the city of Étampes,<sup>27</sup> commander and standard-bearer of two hundred infantry and likewise a foot soldier himself, vigorous in strength, as he watched the flight of the Hungarians at a distance from the walls, rapidly crossed the ramparts with a ladder, which he found by chance there. Reinold of the castle of Brojes,<sup>28</sup> a distinguished cavalryman, who was wearing helmet and hauberk for protection, likewise climbed the walls after Godfrey until everyone, cavalry as well as infantry, was striving to enter. The Hungarians saw that their lives were in difficulty and danger threatened, and up to seven thousand of them massed together for the defence; they came out through another gate, which looked to the east, and took up a position on the top of a very high rock past which flowed the Danube, and from that direction their defence could not be overcome. The majority of them, who were unable to flee quickly through the gate

<sup>27</sup> Étampes (départ. Essonne, France). Godfrey is mentioned only by Albert.

<sup>28</sup> Identified as Brojes (near Épernay, département. Marne, France) in *RHC Occ.* iv. 277; see Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

nequiuerant, ante ipsam ianuam in ore gladii ceciderunt.<sup>29</sup> Alii qui in uertice collis liberari sperabant ab insequentibus peregrinis trucidati sunt. Alii a<sup>v</sup> cacumine montis precipitati, in ipsius Danubii undis absorti sunt, sed plures nauigio elapsi sunt. Ceciderunt illic circiter quatuor milia Vngariorum; peregrinorum centum tantum preter uulneratos ibidem<sup>w</sup> occisi sunt. Hac Petrus adepta uictoria, cum uniuersis suis in eodem castello Maleuille, diebus mansit quinque, propter habundantiam alimentorum, quam ibi reperit<sup>x</sup> in frumento et gregibus ouium, et armentis, et poculorum plenitudine, et equorum numero infinito.

8. Comperta <sup>a</sup>autem illius<sup>a</sup> uictoria et Vngariorum cede cruenta,<sup>30</sup> et uisis ferro cesis corporibus illorum, que plurima extincta atroci uulnere Danubius suis procellis aduexerat Belegraue, ubi reflexo aluo iter et cursum continuat a Maleuilla distans miliario, dux prefatus Nichita suos conuocat, et consilio ab omnibus accepto metu concussus Belegraue Petrum ultra expectare recusat, sed Nizh<sup>b</sup> spe defensionis aduersus uires Francigenarum, Romanorum, Theutonicorum quia robore murorum ciuitas hec munita habebatur migrare disposuit, secum asportatis uniuersis thesauris Belegraue. Conciues uero illius per siluas et montana ac deserta loca cum armentis suis<sup>c</sup> in fugam misit, quousque accersito auxilio exercitus imperatoris Constantinopolis, sociis Petri resisteret, et uindictam Vngariorum sumeret, propter amicitiam et foedus quod cum Guz comite et principe Maleuille percussit. Transactis abhinc sex diebus, nuncius  
278 quidam de uilla aduenarum Francorum | Petro celeriter mittitur, qui hanc minarum certam legationem illi indicaret dicens: 'Rex Vngarie collecto exercitu uniuersi regni<sup>d</sup> sui in ultione<sup>e</sup> suorum ad uos descensurus est, de quibus nec unum quidem certum est ab armis illius euadere. Nam dolor occisorum et lamenta regem et uniuersos parentes et amicos illorum commouerunt. Quapropter quantocius fluuium Maroam<sup>31</sup> superantes, uiam uestram hinc maturate.' Petrus uero<sup>f</sup> intelligens iram regis, et illius grauissimam adunationem, cum uniuersis sociis Maleuillam deserens, sed cuncta spolia, gregesque

<sup>a</sup> corruerunt *A*      <sup>v</sup> in *A*      <sup>w</sup> ibi *H*      <sup>x</sup> reperit *H*

8    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> hac *AH*      <sup>b</sup> Niz *E<sub>3</sub>K*      <sup>c</sup> om. *H*      <sup>d</sup> om. *K*      <sup>e</sup> ultionem *AH*  
<sup>f</sup> uere *H*

<sup>29</sup> Eccclus. 28: 22.

<sup>30</sup> 'caede cruenta' is a phrase common in classical literature: *HL* i. 224-5.

<sup>31</sup> As above, Albert has the river Morava.

because of the narrow approach, fell by the edge of the sword<sup>29</sup> before that very gate. Some who were hoping to find freedom on top of the slope were slaughtered by the pursuing pilgrims. Others, who rushed headlong from the peak of the mountain, were swallowed up in the waves of the Danube itself, but more slipped away in boats. About four thousand Hungarians died in that place; as few as a hundred of the pilgrims, apart from those wounded, were killed in the same place. After achieving this victory Peter stayed five days with all his men in the same fortress of Zemun because of the abundance of food which he found there in grain and flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and a plentiful supply of drink, and an infinite number of horses.

8. The aforesaid Duke Nichita learnt of this victory and the bloody massacre<sup>30</sup> of the Hungarians, and saw their bodies, which had been cut to pieces by weapons, most of them destroyed by hideous wounds, which the Danube carried with its turbulent waves to Belgrade where the river bed turns and continues its journey and course a mile distant from Zemun. He called together his men and took advice from all of them, then because he was shaken by fear he refused to wait for Peter any longer in Belgrade but instead arranged to move to Niš, taking with him the entire treasure of Belgrade, in the hope of a defence against the forces of the French, Romans, and Germans, because this fortified city was enclosed by the strength of walls. Indeed, he put his fellow citizens to flight through the forests and the mountainous and uninhabited places with their herds, until the help of the imperial army of Constantinople had been summoned whereby he might oppose Peter's companions and avenge the Hungarians on account of the friendship and treaty which he had concluded with Guz, the count and prince of Zemun. Six days had passed after these events when a messenger was swiftly sent to Peter from a town of people unknown to the Franks, to make sure he was aware of the threats, saying: 'The king of Hungary has assembled an army from all his realm to avenge his men and is about to go into battle against you, and not even one of your men is sure to escape his weapons. For grief and lamentation for the dead have roused the king and all their kinsmen and friends. Therefore cross the river Sava<sup>31</sup> as quickly as possible, and hasten your journey away from here.' Peter realized the anger of the king and the great seriousness of the alliance against him, so he left Zemun with all his companions (taking with them, however, all

ac<sup>g</sup> predam equorum abducens, Maroam transire disposuit. Sed paucas naues, numero tantum centum quinquaginta, in toto litore reperit, quibus tanta multitudo subito posset transire et euadere, propter timorem regis in fortitudine graui superuenientis. Vnde quamplurimi quibus naues defecerant, iunctura lignorum et copulatione uiminum transire certabant, sed a Pincenariis<sup>h</sup> qui Bulgariam inhabitabant,<sup>i32</sup> plurimi in ipsa lignorum et uiminum copulatione fluctuantes, sine gubernaculo, a societate interdum diuisi, sagittis confixi interierunt. Videns autem Petrus interitum et submersionem suorum que fiebat Bawariis, Alemannis,<sup>j</sup> ceterisque Theutonicis, ex promissione obedientie imperauit ut Francigenis fratribus subuenirent. Qui ilico septem ratibus<sup>k</sup> inuecti, septem nauiculas Pincenariorum submerserunt cum inhabitantibus,<sup>l</sup> septem tantum uiuos captiuantes in presentiam Petri adductos<sup>m</sup> ex precepto illius trucidauerunt. Hac ultione suorum facta, et Maroa fluuiio transito, ingentia et spaciosissima nemora Bulgarorum ingreditur cum uehicularum cibarium et omni apparatu et spoliis Belegraue. Et octo diebus in saltu spaciosissimo expletis, ipse cum suis urbem Nizh muris munitissimam applicuit. Vbi flumen quoddam per lapideum pontem ante ciuitatem transcentes, pratum uiriditate et amplitudine uoluptuosum et ripam fluminis fixis tabernaculis<sup>n</sup> occupauerunt.

9. Hospitatis itaque peregrinis legionibus, ex prouidentia Petri et consilio maiorum fit legatio ad ducem Nichitam<sup>a</sup> principem Bulgarorum qui in eadem ciuitate tunc presens habebatur,<sup>b</sup> quatenus licentiam emendi cibos acciperent. Quod<sup>c</sup> benigne annuit, sub hac tamen<sup>d</sup> conditione, ut obsides ei darentur, ne aliqua iniuria aut uis sicut Belegraue a tanta multitudine fieret. Walterus filius Waleranni<sup>e</sup> de Bretul castello quod est iuxta Beluatium,<sup>33</sup> et Godefridus Burel de Stampis duci obsides constituti et<sup>f</sup> dati sunt. Hiis missis et a duce receptis omnium rerum sufficientia ad emendum undique illis concessa est, et non habentibus unde emerent, plurima largitio

<sup>g</sup> ad E<sub>3</sub>    <sup>h</sup> Pincenariis AE<sub>3</sub>H here, but they have Pincenari- later    <sup>i</sup> inhabitant A  
<sup>j</sup> Alamannis K    <sup>k</sup> nauibus A    <sup>l</sup> innatantibus A    <sup>m</sup> abductos H    <sup>n</sup> tentoriis A

9    <sup>a</sup> Nichitam K    <sup>b</sup> aderat A    <sup>c</sup> Quot E<sub>3</sub>    <sup>d</sup> om. A    <sup>e</sup> Walteramni AH; Walerani E<sub>3</sub> (but E<sub>3</sub> has Walerann- later)    <sup>f</sup> om. K

<sup>32</sup> The Pechenegs had settled in the Niš region in the middle of the 11th c.: *Chronicon S. Andreae*, MGH SS vii. 535; *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense* c. 104 (SSRH i. 369-71); Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 317-20; Matthew of Edessa (ME) pp. 80, 90.

their spoils and herds and booty of horses) and set out to cross the Sava. But he found few ships—only a hundred and fifty in number on the whole riverbank—in which such a great number could immediately cross and escape through fear of the king who was in hot pursuit. Because of this, as many as possible of those for whom there were no ships tried their best to cross using timbers joined together and fastened with osiers. But while they were tossing about on that same raft of joined timbers and osiers, with no way of steering and meanwhile separated from their companions, most of them perished, shot by the arrows of the Pechenegs, who inhabited Bulgaria.<sup>32</sup> Now Peter, seeing that his men were dying and drowning, ordered the Bavarians, Swabians, and the rest of the Germans to help their Frankish brothers in accordance with their promise of obedience. They immediately brought in seven rafts and sank the seven little boats of the Pechenegs along with those who were on them, taking only seven people alive, whom they brought into Peter's presence and slaughtered on his orders. After he had thus avenged his men and the river Sava had been crossed, Peter entered the huge and very extensive forests of the Bulgars with his carts of food supplies and all his equipment and booty from Belgrade. And after spending eight days in the vast woodland he and his men approached the town of Niš with its heavily fortified walls. There they crossed a river by way of a stone bridge in front of the city, and by pitching their tents they took possession of a meadow, delightful in its greenness and wide extent, and the bank of the river.

9. Therefore the great host of pilgrims was quartered there, and in accordance with Peter's foresight and the decision of the majority, representatives were sent to Duke Nichita, prince of the Bulgars, who was then in that same city in person, to obtain permission to buy food. He graciously assented, but on one condition, that hostages would be given to him so that no injustice or act of violence, such as had happened at Belgrade, should be done by so great a number. Walter, son of Waleran of the castle of Breteuil which is near Beauvais,<sup>33</sup> and Godfrey Burel of Étampes were selected and given to the duke as hostages. After they had been sent and received by the duke, the pilgrims were granted enough of all things to buy everywhere, and for those who had no means of buying a very great distribution of alms

<sup>33</sup> Dép. Oise, France. Walter is mentioned only by Albert. He was part of the influential crusading Montlhéry/Le Puiset clan, a nephew of Hugh I and Alice of Montlhéry: see Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 224, 249.

279 clemosinarum a ciuitate collata est. Hac igitur nocte cum omni tranquillitate peracta, et obsidibus Petro fideliter a | principe restitutis, centum uiri Alemannorum<sup>g 34</sup> propter contentionem uilissimam cum quodam Bulgaro uespere habitam in uenditione et emptione, paulisper subtracti<sup>h</sup> a tergo agminis Petri, septem molen-  
dinis, que sub predicto ponte in flumine degebant, ignem submiserunt, et in fauillam redegerunt.<sup>i 35</sup> Quin domos quasdam que extra urbem erant, simili incendio in ultione furoris sui succenderunt. Ciues autem uidentes edificia suorum igne conflagrare, unanimi conuentu, ducem suum Nichitam adeunt, Petrum et uniuersos sequaces illius falsos Christianos asserentes, raptores tantum esse, et non homines pacificos, qui Pincenarios ducis Belegraue et Maleuille tot Vngarios occiderunt, et nunc incendium hoc presumpserunt, nequam pro benefacto remunerationem.<sup>j</sup>

10. Dux, audita hac iniuria et querimonia suorum, precepit ut uniuersi ad arma contenderent cum omni equitatu quem illic<sup>a</sup> adunauerat cognita inuasionem Maleuille, et absque mora peregrinos insequerentur in caput eorum reddentes uniuersa mala que sibi illata sunt. Ad hoc denique ducis imperium,<sup>b</sup> Bulgari, Comanite,<sup>c</sup> Vngarii plurimi<sup>d</sup> cum Pincenariis qui conuentione solidorum ad urbis defensionem conuenerant, arcus corneos et osseos arripiunt,<sup>36</sup> loricas induunt, et uexillis haste<sup>e</sup> innexis, Petrum cum exercitu suo secure gradientem insequuntur, ac tardos et extremos exercitus detruncare et transfigere non parcentes, currus et plaustra lento gressu subsequenter retinuerunt, matronas, puellas, pueros teneros abducentes, qui exules et captiui in terra Bulgarie usque in presentem diem<sup>f</sup> cum uniuersis rebus et armentis<sup>f</sup> inuenti sunt. Protinus in hac repentina<sup>g</sup> peregrinorum disturbance et occisione, quidam Lambertus nomine,<sup>h 37</sup> uelocitate equi elapsus<sup>i</sup> ad Petrum peruenit, cui rem hanc ignoranti,<sup>j</sup> et omnia que acciderant retulit, et quomodo hec initia malorum et dolorum ab Alemannis extiterint, propter incendium

<sup>g</sup> Alemannorum *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>h</sup> subtransacti *K*    <sup>i</sup> redigerunt *K*    <sup>j</sup> *H* adds restituentes  
after remunerationem

10    <sup>a</sup> illuc *A*    <sup>b</sup> imperii *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>c</sup> Comauite *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>d</sup> plurima *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>e</sup> hastis *K*  
<sup>f f</sup> om. *A*    <sup>g</sup> *A* adds inuasionem after repentina    <sup>h</sup> nunc *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>i</sup> lapsus *H*  
<sup>j</sup> ignorante *E*<sub>3</sub>

<sup>34</sup> William of Tyre calls them 'Theutonici' (WT, p. 145).

<sup>35</sup> Probably river mills of the type common in south-eastern Europe even today, which are fixed to the bank but sit above the river to harness the current.

was collected by the city. After that night had been passed in complete quiet, therefore, and when the hostages had been faithfully restored to Peter by the prince, a hundred men of the Swabians<sup>34</sup> withdrew for a short time from the rear of Peter's army on account of a most vile dispute with a certain Bulgar which came about in the evening while selling and buying. They set fire to seven mills which were situated in the river below the aforesaid bridge, and reduced them to ashes.<sup>35</sup> They even set on fire some houses which were outside the town with a similar conflagration to satisfy their rage. But the citizens, seeing that their buildings were being consumed by fire, approached their Duke Nichita as an unanimous assembly, declaring that Peter and all his followers were false Christians and nothing more than robbers, and not peaceful men, who had killed the duke of Belgrade's Pechenegs and very many Hungarians of Zemun, and now had dared to start this fire, a wicked repayment for their kindness.

10. When the duke heard of these outrages and the complaints of his men, he ordered that they should all take up arms eagerly, with the entire cavalry which he had brought together in that place, knowing about the attack on Zemun, and they should pursue the pilgrims without delay, so bringing on their heads all the evils which had been visited on themselves. Thereupon, following this order from the duke, the Bulgars, the Cumans, many Hungarians, with the Pechenegs, who had come together as an assembly of men determined on the defence of the city, snatched up bows of horn and bone,<sup>36</sup> put on hauberks, and having attached their standards each to a spear, they pursued Peter, who was proceeding unsuspectingly with his men, and without mercy they beheaded and stabbed those who were slow and at the tail end of the army, and they seized the carts and the waggons which were following behind in their sluggish way, carrying off women, girls, young boys (who have been found as exiles and prisoners in the land of Bulgaria right up to the present day), along with all their possessions and herds. Directly upon this sudden destruction and slaughter of pilgrims, a certain man, Lambert by name,<sup>37</sup> who escaped by the speed of his horse, approached Peter and, as he knew nothing about this affair, reported it to him, and all that had happened, and how the beginnings of the evils and deceptions

<sup>36</sup> These will have been the powerful composite bows used by these horse-archers and other nomadic peoples, including the Turks, rather than the shortbow common in the West. See D. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050-1350*, 2 vols. (New York, 1988), e.g. pp. 5, 6, 632 (illus. 10).

<sup>37</sup> Not otherwise known.

quod fecerant.<sup>k</sup> Petrus uero miliario remotus hec omnia ignorabat. Qui <sup>l</sup>ad hec<sup>l</sup> uerba nuncii grauitur turbatus, conuocat sapientiores et magis sensatos de exercitu quibus sic loquitur dicens:

280 **II.** 'Graue et durum nobis infortunium ex furore insipientium Theutonicorum ortum imminet. Nostri quamplurimi cum ipsis Alemannis a duce Nichita<sup>a</sup> et <sup>b</sup>suo satellicio<sup>b</sup> in arcu et gladio ceciderunt, in ultione incendii, quod me prorsus latebat. Nostra<sup>c</sup> autem omnia plaustra cum opibus et armentis retenta sunt. Nil aliud super hiis uideo utilius, quam ut obuiam duci redeamus, pacem cum illo componamus, quia iniuste nostri cum eo egerunt, cum omnia nobis necessaria pacifice ciues sui administrauerint.' Ad hanc uocem et sententiam Petri, repetito itinere exercitus reuersus est ad ipsam ciuitatem Nizh, et <sup>d</sup>in prefato prato<sup>d</sup> tentoria sua relocauerunt,<sup>e</sup> ut excusaret se Petrus, et uniuersam legionem que precesserat, ut sic mitigato duce captiuos suos et plaustra recuperarent.<sup>f</sup> In hac itaque intentione et consilio Petrus cum prudentioribus dum satageret, et uerbis cautis excusationem suam ordinaret, mille insensatorum hominum, iuuentus nimie leuitatis et dure ceruicis,<sup>38</sup> gens indomita et effrenis, sine causa, sine ratione trans<sup>e</sup> predictum pontem lapideum ad menia et portam ciuitatis in graui assultu uadunt,<sup>h</sup> quibus mille eiusdem leuitatis iuuentus trans uada et ipsum pontem concurrentes<sup>i</sup> ingenti uociferatione<sup>j</sup> et furore in auxilium iunguntur, Petrum ductorem suum hec prohibentem et pacem fieri iubentem cum omnibus sensatis<sup>k</sup> audire recusantes. In hac igitur dissensione grauissima discordantium legionum totus cum Petro hanc seditionem prohibente, preter<sup>l</sup> hec duo milia remansit exercitus, qui nullomodo ad opem hiis se contulerunt. Bulgari uero uidentes hoc scisma in populo et facile hec duo milia posse superari,<sup>m</sup> e duabus<sup>n</sup> eruperunt portis in sagittis et lanceis, et graui uulnere, et sic in uirtute magna repressos, uniuersos in fugam<sup>o</sup> uerterunt. Quorum quingenti a ponte corruentes, undis inmersi ac suffocati sunt. Alio<sup>p</sup> uero in latere pontis trecenti ad uada incognita fugam inierunt, quorum alii armis, alii

<sup>k</sup> fecerint *K*      <sup>l l</sup> adhuc *E*<sub>3</sub>

11    <sup>a</sup> Nichito *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>b b</sup> sue satellicide *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>c</sup> Nunc *A*      <sup>d d</sup> presita prata *E*<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>e</sup> recitauerunt *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>f</sup> recipierent *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>g</sup> transiens *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>h</sup> reduxit *E*<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>i</sup> incurrentes *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>j</sup> notiferatio *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>k</sup> sero satis *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>l</sup> propter *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>m</sup> superare  
*E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>n</sup> duobus *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>o</sup> fuga *E*<sub>3</sub>      <sup>p</sup> Alii *A*

<sup>38</sup> Literally 'stiff-necked': Exod. 32: 9; Deut. 9: 13, etc.

were the work of the Swabians because of the fire they had made. But Peter, a mile distant, knew nothing of all these things. He was seriously troubled at the words of the man who brought the information, and he called together the more prudent and intelligent men from the army, and spoke to them thus, saying:

II. 'A serious and severe misfortune threatens us, arising from the rage of the senseless Germans. Very many indeed of our men have been slain with those same Swabians by Duke Nichita and his guard, killed by bow and sword, in vengeance for the fire which was utterly unknown to me. However, all our waggons have been held back with our riches and herds. I see nothing more useful we may do about these things than to turn back to the duke and to make peace with him, because our men have acted unjustly towards him, when his citizens had peacefully supplied us with everything we needed.' When it heard Peter's speech and judgement the army turned round and retraced its journey to that same city of Niš, and pitched its tents again in the same meadow as before so that Peter might make his apologies and those of the whole great army which had gone before, and thus appease the duke so that the army might recover its prisoners and waggons. While Peter, therefore, along with the more prudent of his men, was fully occupied with this project and plan and was composing his apology with careful words, a thousand foolish men, headstrong<sup>38</sup> youngsters of excessive irresponsibility, a wild and undisciplined set of people with neither cause nor reason, advanced in a great assault over the aforesaid stone bridge to the walls and gate of the city. Another thousand similarly frivolous youths, rushing together across the ford and the bridge with loud shouting and rage, joined them in support, refusing to listen to Peter their leader who, along with all sensible men, was forbidding what they were doing and ordering peace to be made. In this most serious disagreement of the quarrelling troops the whole army, except those two thousand men, stayed back with Peter, who was forbidding this mutiny, and they gave absolutely no assistance to them. The Bulgars, seeing this division among the people and that these two thousand could easily be overcome, burst out from two gates, risking arrows and lances and serious injury, and thus they checked them with great force and they put them all to flight. Fifty of them fell from the bridge and sank beneath the waters and were drowned. Three hundred on the other side of the bridge began to flee towards unfamiliar shallows;

undis perierunt. Tandem qui in altera parte fluuii ab hac insania reuocati cum Petro in uiridario<sup>a</sup> remanserant, uidentes quia sui tam<sup>r</sup> seuo martyrio consumebantur, non ultra potuerunt se continere ab auxilio, sed induti<sup>s</sup> loricis et galeis nolente uolente Petro ad ipsum pontem<sup>t</sup> conuolant. In quo crudeliter hinc et hinc bellum exoritur,<sup>n</sup> in sagittis, gladiis et<sup>v</sup> lanceis. Sed a Bulgaris uadis<sup>m</sup> et ponte preuento nequaquam transire potuerunt, sed fortiter in fugam remissi sunt. Petrus uisa hac suorum contritione et fuga, legationem per quendam Bulgarum, qui uiam secum decreuerat in Ierusalem duci prefato misit, quatenus colloquium<sup>x</sup> cum eo<sup>v</sup> paulisper habere dignaretur,<sup>y</sup> et pacem in Dei nomine utrimque<sup>z</sup> componerent. Quod<sup>a</sup> actum est.

- 281 12. Pace hac diuulgata in populo Petri et turbine sedato, quousque omnia redirent in concordiam, pedestris<sup>a</sup> uulgus rebellis<sup>b</sup> et incorrigibilis,<sup>c</sup> currus et plaustra reparans et onerans<sup>d</sup> uiam instabat.<sup>e</sup> Quibus Petrus, Folkerus,<sup>f39</sup> Reinoldus interdicentes, donec uiderent si colloquium procederet in concordiam, nequaquam insensatos et rebelles ab incepto auertere potuerunt. Ciues autem uidentes quia Petrus et maiores exercitus obstaculo uie euntibus erant, et plaustris et<sup>g</sup> curribus obstabant, arbitrati sunt quoniam cum uulgo fugam aptassent. Quapropter a porta urbis exilientes, cum militibus ducis insecuti sunt eos in manu forti, et<sup>h</sup> ad duo<sup>h</sup> miliaria<sup>i</sup> grauis occisio et captiuatio facta est ab hiis retardati exercitus. Plaustrum quoque super quod erat scrinium Petri plenum innumerabilis auri et argenti captum et retentum est, et ad Nizh una cum captiuatis reductum, et in erario ducis repositum, cetera spolia militibus diuisa sunt. Viri sine numero cesi sunt, pueri cum matribus abducti, mulieres nupte et innupte, quarum ignoratur numerus. Petrus uero et omnis manus illius que euadere potuit, per opacum et<sup>j</sup> spaciosum<sup>k</sup> nemus, pars per abrupta montium et<sup>l</sup> deserta loca omnes<sup>m</sup> dispersi, ut oues a lupis fugam<sup>n</sup> maturabant.<sup>40</sup> Tandem Petrus, Reinoldus de Breis, Walterus

<sup>a</sup> uiridario *A*    <sup>r</sup> cum *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>s</sup> indutis *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>t</sup> potem *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>u</sup> oritur *A*    <sup>v</sup> om.  
*AH*    <sup>w</sup> uado *AH*    <sup>x</sup> secum *AH*    <sup>y</sup> dignetur *E*<sub>3</sub>*K*    <sup>z</sup> utrumque *A*    <sup>a</sup> *H*  
*adds et afier quod*

12    <sup>a</sup> pedestre *AH*    <sup>b</sup> rebelle *AH*    <sup>c</sup> incorrigibile *AH*    <sup>d</sup> honerans *E*<sub>3</sub>*K*  
<sup>e</sup> instabant *EH*    <sup>f</sup> Folcherus *A*, and *E* once later; Folgerus *K*    <sup>g</sup> ac *AH*  
<sup>h</sup> adhuc *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>i</sup> miliario *H*    <sup>j</sup> om. *E*<sub>3</sub>    <sup>k</sup> spaciosissimum *A*    <sup>l</sup> pars per *AH*  
<sup>m</sup> om. *AH*    <sup>n</sup> uiam *K*

<sup>39</sup> This Folcher is called Folcher of Orléans below, but Folcher of Chartres at his last appearance, his death in Asia Minor (*AA*, i. 21).

<sup>40</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* i. 137.

some of them were killed by weapons, others by water. At last those who had been held back from this madness and who had stayed with Peter in a plantation of trees on the other side of the river saw that their comrades were being massacred in such a savage martyrdom, and they could no longer keep themselves from helping them: they put on hauberks and swords, and whether Peter was willing or not they ran together to the bridge. At this point fighting broke out in a cruel manner on this side and that, with arrows, swords, and lances. But as the Bulgars were in front of the ford and the bridge the pilgrims could not cross over by any means, but were vigorously put to flight. Peter, when he saw the destruction and flight of his men, sent a message to the duke through a certain Bulgar who had resolved to go with him on the road to Jerusalem, asking that he might deign to have a conference with Peter for a short time, and that they might arrange peace on both sides in the name of God. This was done.

12. When news of the peace talks had been spread among Peter's people and the storm had subsided till everything might return to a state of harmony, the rebellious and incorrigible crowd on foot were retrieving and loading the carts and waggons and pressing to continue the journey. Peter, Folcher,<sup>39</sup> and Reinold were forbidding them to do this until they could see if the conference would result in peace, but they were altogether unable to prevent the rebellious and foolish men from their undertaking. The citizens, though, seeing that Peter and the more adult part of his army were blocking the way of those who were going and were in the way of the waggons and carts, decided that they had prepared for flight with the rabble. Because of this they rushed out of the gate of the town with the duke's soldiers and pursued them with vigour, and for up to two miles these men inflicted great slaughter and took many captives from the army that had been held back. Also a waggon on which was Peter's chest full of countless gold and silver was captured and held, and was taken back to Niš at the same time as the prisoners and put in the duke's treasury, while the rest of the booty was divided among the soldiers. Men without number were killed, boys carried off with their mothers, women married and unmarried, of whom the number is not known. Peter, indeed, and all his band who were able to escape did so, through very thick and extensive woodland, some scattering over the steep slopes of the mountains and wilderness; they all scattered, as sheep hasten from wolves.<sup>40</sup> At length, after this escape, Peter,

filius Waleranni de Bretoil, Godefridus Burel, Folkerus Aureliensis, omnes hii cum quingentis solummodo post hanc fugam, in uertice cuiusdam montis casu conuenerunt. Nec enim de quadraginta milibus plures remansisse uisi sunt. Tunc uero Petrus considerans quia gens et exercitus eius grauiter inminutus est, anxie in diuersa meditatur,<sup>o</sup> et uehementi suspirio dolet dissipatas legiones, et tot milia suorum cecidisse, Bulgarorum autem solummodo unum perisse, miratus si adhuc quispiam de quadraginta milibus profugis ac dispersis uiueret. Vnde ex ipsius sententia et iussione,<sup>p</sup> hii<sup>q</sup> qui secum in montis<sup>r</sup> cacumine fugientes constiterant, signis et cornibus perstrepunt, ut peregrini quacumque dispersi essent per montes et siluas et<sup>r</sup> loca deserta, audito signo Petri suorumque in unum reuertentes coadunarentur, et iter quod ceperant iterarent. Nec primum dies inclinata fuit, quam audito signo ad septem milia collecti sunt. Sic adunati et a dispersione reuersi, uiam iterato insistunt, et ad ciuitatem quandam rebus uacuum et ciuibus applicuerunt, ubi castra figentes, socios profugos ac dispersos operti sunt. Sed minime alimenta in locis desertis reperire aut inuestigare potuerunt, nimiam inibi tolerantes penuriam, quia plaustra et currus, frumentum, ordeum carnesque ferentes ad edendum supra duo milia amiserant, neminem uendentem aut aliquid offerentem inuenientes. In Iulio itaque mense hec aduersa illis contigerant, quando hac in regione frumenta et segetes mature<sup>r</sup> iam ad messem flauescunt. Angustiato siquidem<sup>a</sup> | fame populo, uisum est uiris consilio cautissimis, ut segetes maturas repertas in campestribus deserte et uacue ciuitatis igne torrerent et torrida grana<sup>v</sup> excuterent, quibus populus ieunus sustentari posset. Hoc etenim sustentaculo annone tribus diebus uixit populus, quousque profugi ac dispersi ad triginta milia readunati sunt, preter decem milia que perierant.

13. Interea nuncii ducis ad domnum imperatorem Constantinopolis precesserunt qui sibi uniuersa "in malo" de actibus et infortunio Petri retulerunt, qualiter Vngarios Maleuille occiderit, et quomodo ad ciuitatem Nizh ueniens, pro benefactis mala ciuibus reddiderit, sed non tamen hoc impune presumpserit. Imperator hec audiens, Petro

<sup>o</sup> meditabatur A      <sup>p</sup> missione E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>q</sup> hic E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>r</sup> montes E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>s</sup> ac AH  
<sup>r</sup> maturo E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>a</sup> itaque H      <sup>v</sup> om. A

Reinold of Broyes, Walter son of Waleran of Breteuil, Godfrey Burel, Folcher of Orléans—all of these, with only fifty men, met by chance on the top of a certain mountain, and no more than these few of the forty thousand seemed to have survived. Then indeed Peter, contemplating the serious weakening of his people and his army, was reflecting anxiously on different things and lamenting with loud sighs the scattered legions and the thousands of his men who had fallen, while moreover only one of the Bulgars had died, and he wondered if any one of the forty thousand who had fled and been scattered was still alive. So he spoke and gave instructions, and accordingly those fugitives who had halted with him on top of the mountain made a great noise with signals and horns so that the pilgrims, wherever they were scattered over the mountains and forests and wilderness, might hear the signal from Peter and their fellows and turn back to be collected into one, to continue the journey they had undertaken. Nor had the day sunk to a close before about seven thousand heard the signal and assembled. Brought together thus, and turned back from their scattered ways, they set about their journey once more. They approached a certain city which had been evacuated by its citizens, where they pitched camp and awaited their comrades who had fled and been scattered. But they were able to find or search out very little food in the wilderness and suffered a very great famine there, because they had lost over two thousand waggons and carts which were carrying corn, barley, and meat for food, and they found no one selling or offering anything. It was in the month of July that these misfortunes had befallen them, when in this region the corn and ripe crops had already turned golden for the harvest. Since the people were distressed by hunger it seemed a good idea to the most prudent counsellors that the ripe crops found on the plains around the deserted and empty city might be roasted with fire and the roasted grains shaken out to sustain the hungry people. And indeed the people lived for three days on this small sustenance of corn, until those who had fled and been scattered were gathered together again to the number of thirty thousand, all except the ten thousand who had died.

13. Meanwhile Duke Nichita's messengers had gone on ahead to the lord emperor of Constantinople and they reported to him all the evil facts concerning the deeds and misfortunes of Peter: the way he had killed the Hungarians at Zemun and how, arriving at the city of Niš, he had returned evil deeds for the kindness of the citizens, not, however, without reprisals. When the emperor heard these things, he

legatos dirigit. Qui Petrum relicta uacua et deserta ciuitate in urbem Sterniz cum omni comitatu suo profectum reppererunt, ex edicto imperatoris, hec illi nuncia ferentes: 'Petre, domno imperatori graues de te tuisque querimonie allate sunt, eo quod in regno illius predam et seditionem tuus fecerit exercitus. Quapropter ex imperio ipsius tibi indicitur, ne ultra tres dies moram facias in aliqua regni sui ciuitate, donec urbem Constantinopolim ingrediaris. Ciuitatibus autem omnibus per quas transiturus es, ex imperatoria iussione precipimus, ut pacifice tibi omnia tuisque uendant, et quia Christianus es, Christianique tui consocii, non ultra iter tuum impediunt. Et quicquid in superbia et furore satellites tui aduersus ducem Nichitam deliquerunt, prorsus tibi remittit. Scit enim quia<sup>b</sup> pro hac iniuria grauiter penas exsoluistis.' Petrus audita hac domni imperatoris legatione pacifica, non modicum gausus, et pre gaudio lacrimatus, gratias Deo retulit, qui post nimiam et seueram correptionem, nec inmeritam, sibi suisque modo dedit gratiam in conspectu tam magnifici et nominatissimi imperatoris.

14. Igitur libenter mandatis illius obediens, a Sterniz ciuitate processit, et ad urbem Phinepopolim<sup>a</sup> cum omni comitatu suo secessit.<sup>b</sup> Ibi uniuerso casu et infortunio suo recitato in audientia omnium ciuium Grecorum, plurima bysantiorum, argenti, equorum et mulorum<sup>c</sup> munera suscepit, pro nomine Iesu et timore Dei, omnibus super eum misericordia motis. Dein<sup>d</sup> post terciam lucem hylaris et letus in largitione<sup>e</sup> rerum necessariarum migrans, Andro-  
283 nopolym secessit. Vbi | duobus solummodo diebus hospitio remoratus extra muros urbis, tercia luce exorta<sup>f</sup> inde recessit. Nam secunda legatio imperatoris sollicitabat eum, ut Constantinopolym maturaret iter, quia feruebat imperator desiderio uidendi eundem Petrum propter famam quam de illo audierat. Vt autem uentum est Constantinopolym, exercitus Petri iussus est procul a ciuitate hospitari, quibus emendi licentia pleniter concessa est.

15. Petrus uero statura pusillus, sed sermone et corde magnus, in presentiam imperatoris cum solo Folkero introducitur a legatis ipsius imperatoris, ut<sup>a</sup> uideret si esset sicut fama de illo erat.<sup>b</sup> Petrus uero

<sup>b</sup> quod H

14 <sup>a</sup> Finepopolim K <sup>b</sup> processit K <sup>c</sup> multorum E<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup> Deinde E<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>e</sup> largicine E<sub>3</sub> <sup>f</sup> om. A

15 <sup>a</sup> uti AH <sup>b</sup> audierat A

sent envoys direct to Peter. They discovered that he had left the empty and deserted city and set out with all his company for the town of Sofiya, and they carried these messages to him in accordance with the emperor's orders: 'Peter, very serious complaints concerning you and your men have been brought to the lord emperor, because your army has pillaged and made discord in his territory. Therefore it is his imperial decree that you may not stay more than three days in any town of his empire until you enter the city of Constantinople. However, we are instructing all the cities through which you will pass that they should sell all things peacefully to you and your men on the emperor's orders, and because you are a Christian and your companions are Christians they should hinder your journey no further. And however much your followers have offended by their pride and rage against Duke Nichita, the emperor forgives you straight away, for he knows that you have paid heavy penalties for this wrongdoing.' When Peter heard this peaceful message from the lord emperor he was not a little glad and, weeping with joy, he gave thanks to God who, after so great and severe reproach, not undeserved, had now given him and his men grace in the eyes of so magnificent and renowned an emperor.

14. Therefore, willingly obeying the emperor's instructions, Peter went on from the town of Sofiya and withdrew to the city of Philippopolis with his whole company. There, for all the Greek citizens to hear, he told the story of his adventures and misfortunes, and he received very many gifts of bezants, silver, horses and mules, in the name of Jesus and in the fear of God, because all were moved by pity for him. Then, after the third dawn, departing cheerfully and rejoicing in the largesse of provisions, he withdrew to Adrianople. There he stayed only two days in quarters outside the walls of the city, and moved on at the third dawn. For a second message from the emperor asked him to hasten his journey to Constantinople because the emperor eagerly desired to see this same Peter, because of the news he had heard about him. However, as Peter's army arrived in Constantinople it was ordered to lodge far from the town, and a licence to buy was granted fully.

15. So Peter, who was insignificant in stature but great in speech and heart, was brought into the emperor's presence by his envoys, accompanied only by Folcher, so that the emperor might see if he was as the rumours about him claimed. Peter entered and greeted the

introiens, imperatorem confidenter in nomine Domini<sup>c</sup> Iesu Christi salutat, et quia in ipsius Christi amore et gratia ad uisitandum sanctum eius sepulchrum ex patria sua secesserit recitat per singula, et aduersitates quas iam<sup>d</sup> in breui pertulerit<sup>e</sup> commemorat. Viros potentissimos, comites, duces nobilissimos se post modicum subsecutores denunciat, qui causa uisendi<sup>f</sup> dominicum sepulchrum ardentissimo desiderio pariter uiam insistere Ierusalem decreuerunt.<sup>g</sup> Imperator autem uiso Petro, et animi illius intentione ex ipsius uerbis cognita, quid uelit, aut quid de suo cupiat requirit. Qui ut <sup>h</sup>elemosinam de manu eius<sup>h</sup> misericorditer accipiat precatur, unde sustentationem uite cum suis habeat, asserens quanta et quam innumerabilia bona ex imprudentia et rebellione suorum amiserit. Imperator hac Petri humilitate audita, motus misericordia, ducentos bysantios aureos sibi dari iussit, de moneta uero que dicitur tartaron modium unum exercitui illius erogauit.<sup>41</sup> Post hec Petrus a colloquio et palatio imperatoris regressus, et benigne ab eo commendatus, solummodo quinque diebus requieuit in campis <sup>i</sup>et predio<sup>i</sup> Constantinopolis, ubi simul Walterus Senzauchor sua locauit tentoria, socii facti ab ipso die et deinceps, admixtis copiis, armis, et uniuersis usui necessariis. Deinde diebus quinque completis, tentoria sua amouentes,<sup>j</sup> brachium maris Sancti Georgii nauigio et auxilio imperatoris superant, et terminos Capadocie intrantes, per montana ingressi sunt Nicomediam,<sup>k 42</sup> ibidem pernctantes. Et post hec ad portum qui uocatur Ciuitot<sup>43</sup> castrametati sunt. Illuc ex precepto imperatoris assidue mercatores admoueant<sup>m</sup> naues onustas cibariis, uini, frumenti, olei<sup>n</sup> et ordeï, caseorumque<sup>o</sup> habundantia, uendentes omnia peregrinis in equitate et mensura. | In hac itaque necessariorum plenitudine gaudentibus et corpora fessa curantibus<sup>44</sup> assunt nuncii Christianissimi imperatoris, qui Petro <sup>p</sup>omnique exercitui<sup>p</sup> eius interdixerunt iter uersus montana Nicee urbis,<sup>45</sup> propter insidias et incursus Turcorum, donec amplior numerus affuturorum Christianorum illis accresceret. Petrus uero hos audiens, legationi

<sup>c</sup> A adds Nostri after Domini <sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> pertulerat A <sup>f</sup> uidendi E<sub>3</sub>; H has uidendi altered to uisendi <sup>g</sup> decreuerint A <sup>h</sup> h om. H <sup>i</sup> om. A <sup>j</sup> amouentes E<sub>3</sub> <sup>k</sup> Nichomediam HK <sup>l</sup> que AE<sub>3</sub>K <sup>m</sup> amoueant E<sub>3</sub> <sup>n</sup> om. K <sup>o</sup> caseoque E<sub>3</sub> <sup>p</sup> p omnique exercitu E<sub>3</sub>; exercituique H

<sup>41</sup> The 'tetartaron' was a small flat coin made of copper introduced by Alexios I Komnenos as part of his currency reform of 1092. The recency of its introduction explains why both Albert and Fulcher of Chartres (FC, p. 189) find it necessary to describe it: P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London, 1982), pp. 11, 219.

<sup>42</sup> Modern İzmit (prov. Kocaeli, Turkey). Albert's geography is faulty: Bithynia is the

emperor confidently in the name of Lord Jesus Christ, and he related in detail how he had left his homeland in the love and service of that same Christ, and he reminded the emperor in a few words of the misfortunes he had already endured. He announced that very powerful men would be following after a short while: counts and very noble dukes who, like him, had decided to make the journey to Jerusalem, fired by desire to see the Lord's Sepulchre. Moreover, when the emperor had seen Peter, and knew from his words the purpose he had in mind, he asked what he wanted, or what he desired of him. Peter begged that he might receive alms from the emperor's merciful hand, so that he and his men would have something to sustain life, and he declared how many and what an immeasurable quantity of goods he had lost because of the folly and rebelliousness of his men. The emperor was moved by pity when he heard Peter's humility, and ordered two hundred golden bezants to be given to him; indeed he paid out a measure of money to Peter's army from his coinage called the tetartaron.<sup>41</sup> After this Peter returned from his conference and the emperor's palace, having been graciously approved by him, and he stayed only five days on the plains and estates of Constantinople. Walter Sansavoir had pitched his tents there at the same time and they became allies from that same day, and from then on their resources were pooled, weapons and all the things necessary for their use. Then at the end of the fifth day they took down their tents and crossed the Straits of St George with the vessels and support of the emperor, and, entering the lands of Cappadocia, they went in through the mountains to Nicomedia,<sup>42</sup> spending the night in that place. And after this they pitched camp at the port which is called Civitot.<sup>43</sup> In accordance with the emperor's orders merchants busily brought ships loaded with provisions, plenty of wine, corn, oil, and barley and cheeses, selling everything to the pilgrims fairly and in good measure. While they were rejoicing in the abundance of victuals and caring for their exhausted bodies,<sup>44</sup> messengers of the most Christian emperor arrived who forbade Peter and all his army to travel towards the mountainous regions of the city of Nicaea,<sup>45</sup> because of ambushes and attacks from the Turks, until their numbers were greater, swollen by the addition of the Christians who were coming. Peter listened to area between Constantinople and Nicomedia. Cappadocia is in central Asia Minor; Albert appears to use the name generally for Asia Minor or Anatolia.

<sup>41</sup> Modern Hersek (prov. Kocaeli, Turkey).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* viii. 607 and *Georgics* iv. 187.

<sup>45</sup> Modern İznik (prov. Bursa, Turkey).

et consilio imperatoris adqueuit, et uniuersus populus Christianorum. Et curriculo duorum mensium illic in pace et leticia epulati, moram fecerunt, secure ab omni hostili impetu dormientes.

16. Post duos itaque menses, lasciui et effrenes facti pre otio, et inestimabili copia ciborum, uocem Petri non audierunt, sed contra uoluntatem illius in terram Nicee urbis et regni<sup>a</sup> Solimanni ducis Turcorum<sup>46</sup> per montana ingressi sunt, depredati armenta, boues et oues, hyrcos, greges Grecorum Turcis famulantium, et ad socios deferentes. Petrus hec intuens,<sup>b</sup> tristi animo accepit, sciens quia non impune ferrent. Vnde sepius ammonuit, ne ulterius predam hanc iuxta consilium imperatoris contingerent. Sed frustra insipienti<sup>c</sup> et rebbelli<sup>c</sup> populo locutus est. Hiis ita<sup>d</sup> prospere succedentibus, et nullam adhuc preda<sup>e</sup> excussionem metuentibus, uisum est animosis et uentosis iuuenibus, quatenus assumpta manu de exercitu predam in pratis et pascuis ante muros ciuitatis Nicee in aspectu<sup>f</sup> Turcorum raperent et abducerent. Quapropter ad septem milia peditum conglobati, cum equitibus tantum trecentis loricatis, in uexillorum suorum eleuatione et tumultu nimio profecti, septingentos boues cum ceteris pecoribus a pratis Nicee urbis abduxerunt, et ad tabernacula Petri remeantes, plenum et pingue fecerunt conuiuium. Plurimum uero gregis uendiderunt Grecis, et nautis imperatori subditis. Videntes autem Theutonici quia Romanis Francigenis res<sup>g</sup> prospere successit, et sine impedimento cum preda sua<sup>h</sup> tociens reuersi sunt, accensi et ipsi rapinarum auaricia ad tria milia in unum conferuntur peditum, equites ducenti tantum, et in signis ostreis et purpureis, semitam per eadem montana ingressi, ad castellum quoddam Solimanni uiri magnifici, ducis ac principis Turcorum, peruenerunt, ubi montana terminantur et silua distans a Nicea spacio trium miliariorum. Aggressi sunt omni uirtute armorum et bellico fremitu prefatum castellum, quousque habitatores illius expugnatos perculserunt in ore gladii, Grecis Christianis solummodo parcentes. Ceteri omnes in ipso presidio inuenti aut cesi, aut eiecti

16 <sup>a</sup> regi *E*<sub>3</sub>

<sup>b</sup> audiens *H*

<sup>c</sup> *om.* *A*

<sup>d</sup> itaque *A*

<sup>e</sup> preclarum *E*<sub>3</sub>

<sup>f</sup> conspectu *AH*

<sup>g</sup> pes *E*<sub>3</sub>

<sup>h</sup> *om.* *A*

<sup>46</sup> Qilij Arslan I, sultan of Rüm 1092–1107, was the son of Suleyman (i.e. 'ibn Sulaymān') and so was called 'Solomon' by the Westerners.

them and agreed with the messages and advice of the emperor, as did the whole body of Christians. And they delayed there, enjoying themselves in peace and joy for two months, sleeping in safety from any enemy attack.

16. Therefore after two months, made licentious and unruly by inactivity and the immeasurable supplies of food, they did not listen to Peter's voice, but against his will they went in through the mountainous regions to the land of the city of Nicaea and the territory of Suleyman, the duke of the Turks.<sup>46</sup> They plundered the herds of cattle, oxen, and sheep, flocks of goats which belonged to Greek subjects of the Turks, and carried them back to their comrades. Peter perceived these things with a sad heart, knowing that they would not plunder without retaliation. And so he often warned them not to seize any more of this booty, according to the emperor's advice. But he spoke to his foolish and rebellious people in vain. While these things were going well for them, and they did not yet fear that their spoils would be wrested away from them, it seemed a good idea to the spirited and conceited young men to form a detachment of the army and to find out how far they could go in seizing and carrying off booty in the meadows and pastures before the walls of the town of Nicaea in full view of the Turks. So about seven thousand foot soldiers gathered together, with as many as three hundred armoured horsemen, and set out with a raising of their banners and excessive tumult, and carried off seven hundred oxen with the other herds from the meadows of Nicaea, and returned to Peter's tents, where they made a great and rich banquet. Indeed they sold the greater part of the cattle to the Greeks and to sailors who served the emperor. Moreover, seeing that the affair succeeded well for the French and the Romans and that they returned so many times with their booty without any hindrance, the Germans were themselves fired with greed for pillage; they gathered together about three thousand foot soldiers, but only two hundred horsemen, and with purple and red standards they followed a footpath through those same mountains and arrived at a certain castle belonging to Suleyman—who was a powerful man, duke and prince of the Turks—situated where the mountains and forest come to an end, three miles away from Nicaea. They attacked this castle with all strength of arms and a warlike noise until they had overcome its inhabitants and put them to the sword, sparing only the Greek Christians. All the rest who were found in that same fortification were

sunt. Expugnato itaque presidio, et habitatoribus illius expulsis, in habundantia alimentorum illic reperta<sup>i</sup> letati sunt. Et uictoria hac  
 285 io|cundati,<sup>j</sup> consilium inuicem dederunt, ut in presidio hoc remanentes, terras Solimanni et principatum eius facile in uirtute sua obtinerent, predas et escas undique comportarent, et secure Solimannum debellarent, quousque magnorum principum promissus<sup>k</sup> appropinquaret exercitus.

17. Solimannus autem dux et princeps<sup>a</sup> Turcorum, audito aduentu Christianorum preda uero et rapinis suorum, quindecim milia Turcorum<sup>b</sup> ab omni Romania<sup>47</sup> et regno Corrozana<sup>c</sup> 48 contraxit, uiros belli<sup>d</sup> peritissimos in arcu corneo et osseo, et sagittarios agillimos. Quibus congregatis, post duos dies uictorie Theutonicorum, ad urbem Niceam reuertitur de terra longinqua cum adunatione ualidissima, ubi amplior 'ira et dolor illi auctus<sup>e</sup> est ex fama Alemannorum et inuasionem presidii quod amiserat, et strage et<sup>f</sup> eiectione<sup>g</sup> uirorum suorum. Dehinc<sup>h</sup> tercie diei sole orto, Solimannus cum omni comitatu suo castrametatus<sup>i</sup> a Nicea presidio<sup>j</sup> quod Theutonici inuaserant applicuit, quod signiferi illius, in uirtute sagittariorum fortiter assilientes, Theutonicis in menibus atrociter resistentes, sagittis crudeliter infigunt ac fatigant, quousque ad defensionem ultra stare non ualentes, a muro et menibus inmoderato grandine sagittarum retrusi sunt, infra presidium protectionem a iaculis nudi et angustii querentes. Turci uero, uidentes quia Alemannos a muris et menibus represserant, <sup>k</sup>trans muros<sup>k</sup> et menia conscendere parant. Sed Alemanni qui infra presidium erant, uite solliciti et studiosi, penetrare uolentibus lanceas opponebant, alii gladiis et bipennibus in faciem illis resistebant, quousque<sup>l</sup> non ultra conscendere ausi sunt. Turci<sup>m</sup> igitur<sup>n</sup> hac sagittarum inpugnatione et nimio grandine Alemannos absterre non ualentes, comportauerunt omnia lignorum genera ad

<sup>i</sup> repertorum A      <sup>j</sup> iocundat E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>k</sup> promissus E<sub>3</sub>

17    <sup>a</sup> H adds exercitus after princeps      <sup>b</sup> om. H      <sup>c</sup> Corrizan A; Corizan E<sub>3</sub>K but see book ii      <sup>d</sup> bello A      <sup>e</sup> et dolor et ira illi aucta A      <sup>f</sup> ac AH      <sup>g</sup> deiectione A  
<sup>h</sup> Dein H      <sup>i</sup> K adds est after castrametatus      <sup>j</sup> presidium E<sub>3</sub>K      <sup>k</sup> transmutis E<sub>3</sub>  
<sup>l</sup> qui usque E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>m</sup> E<sub>3</sub> adds Tunc before Turci      <sup>n</sup> autem A

<sup>47</sup> 'Rūm', in Latin 'Romania', was used to refer to Turkish possessions which had formerly been part of the Byzantine empire.

<sup>48</sup> In modern Iran. Khurasan had been one of the first lands to be conquered by the Saljūq Turks after their migration from their original homeland, and continued to form the most easterly part of the Saljūq empire. Albert may have used the name to emphasize

either slain or cast out. Thus the fortress was overcome and its inhabitants driven out, and the pilgrims were happy with the plentiful supply of food found there. Rejoicing in this victory, one after another they gave their advice, that if they remained in this fortress they would easily use their forces to take the lands of Suleyman and his chiefs, they would bring together spoils and food from all around, and safely wage war on Suleyman until the expected army of the great princes could approach.

17. However, when Suleyman, the duke and prince of the Turks, heard about the arrival of the Christians and indeed the plundering and looting of his property, he assembled fifteen thousand Turks from all Rûm<sup>47</sup> and the kingdom of Khurasan,<sup>48</sup> men of war who were very experienced with the horn and bone bow and were very mobile archers. When these were assembled, two days after the victory of the Germans, he returned to the city of Nicaea from his distant land with a very strong united force. In Nicaea both his grief and his anger, already great, were increased by the news about the Swabians and their attack on the fortress which he had lost, and the slaughter and casting out of his men. Thereupon, after sunrise on the third day Suleyman, who had pitched camp with all his company, approached from Nicaea the fortress which the Germans had attacked. His standard-bearers, boldly attacking the fortress with the strength of the archers, cruelly shot arrows at the Germans who were resisting fiercely on the walls, and harassed them until they were no longer able to stand up and defend and they were thrust back from the wall and ramparts by an immeasurable hail of arrows, naked and unarmed, seeking protection from the darts within the fortification. The Turks, however, seeing that they had pushed back the Swabians from the walls and ramparts, made ready to climb across the walls and ramparts. But the Swabians who were inside the fortification, anxious and eager to stay alive, were holding their spears before them against those who wished to enter; others were resisting to their faces with swords and battleaxes until they dared no longer ascend. The Turks, therefore, found they were not strong enough to frighten the Swabians away by this assault and such a hail of arrows, so they brought together all kinds of wood to the fortress's very gate. These

the vastness of the Turkish possessions. See A. V. Murray, 'Coroscan: Homeland of the Saracens in the *chansons de geste* and the historiography of the crusades', in Hans van Dik and Willem Noomen, eds., *Aspects de l'épopée romane: Mentalités – Idéologies – Inter-textualités* (Groningen, 1995), pp. 177–84.

ipsam ianuam presidii. Que igne submisso combusta est, et plurima edificia que erant in arce, donec flamma et calore inualescente, alii exusti sunt, alii<sup>o</sup> a muris salutem sperantes<sup>49</sup> desiliunt. Sed Turci qui a foris<sup>p</sup> erant, exeuntes et fugientes ense trucidabant, alios uultu et corpore iuuenili uenustos circiter ducentos abduxerunt captiuos; ceteri omnes gladio et sagitta consumpti sunt.<sup>50</sup>

286 18. Hac grauissima<sup>a</sup> ultione Solimanno cum suis et<sup>b</sup> cum Alemannis captiuis regresso, fama tam crudelissime necis Theutonicorum perlata est in castris Petri. Vnde animi et corda cunctorum uehementi consternata<sup>c</sup> sunt dolore, super interitu confratrum suorum. Hoc igitur<sup>d</sup> infortunio suorum moti, sepius consiliis inter se<sup>e</sup> utuntur, utrum recenter in ultionem illorum exurgerent, an Petrum operirentur.<sup>f</sup> Ante hos enim dies Petrus Constantinopolym ad imperatorem migrauerat, pro exercitu suo rogaturus ut illis<sup>g</sup> uenditionem necessariorum alleuiaret. Consilium autem inter se habentibus, Walterus Senzauior omnino se in ultionem fratrum ire contradixit, donec euentus rei planius innotesceret, et Petri presentia adesset, cuius consilio omnia acturi essent. Hoc Walteri consilio sedatus est populus,<sup>h</sup> octo diebus prestolans Petri aduentum. Sed nequaquam adhuc potuit ab imperatore redeundi licentiam habere. Octaua<sup>i</sup> dehinc die Turci uiri militares et arte belli illustres surrexerunt ab urbe Nicea, numero centum, regionem et urbes in montanis sitas perlustrantes, scire et intelligere uolentes de preda et rapinis quas Galli abduxerant. Ibi ipsa die plurimos peregrinorum hac et illac uagantes repertos<sup>j</sup> diuersis in<sup>k</sup> locis, interdum decem, interdum quindecim aut eo amplius decollasse perhibentur. Hoc denique rumore in castris Petri rursum<sup>l</sup> uentilato, scilicet Turcos adesse, et suos circumuagos decollasse, omnino credere recusant tam longe eos a Nicea descendisse. Sed tamen aliqui consilium dederunt ut eos persequerentur,<sup>m</sup> si adhuc in finibus illis reperiri possent.

<sup>o</sup> aliis A      <sup>p</sup> afforis A

18    <sup>a</sup> graui AH      <sup>b</sup> re E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>c</sup> consternati H      <sup>d</sup> ergo A      <sup>e</sup> om. K  
<sup>f</sup> opperirentur H      <sup>g</sup> eis K      <sup>h</sup> A adds omnis before populus      <sup>i</sup> Octauo AH  
<sup>j</sup> om. AH      <sup>k</sup> om. K      <sup>l</sup> rursus H      <sup>m</sup> sequerentur K

burned when the fire was put under them, and so did many buildings which were in the castle, until the flames and heat grew strong, and some were burnt up; others, hoping for safety,<sup>49</sup> leapt down from the walls. But the Turks who were outside were cutting down with swords those who were coming out and running away; about two hundred others who were beautiful in face and youthful body they took away as prisoners; all the rest were destroyed by swords<sup>50</sup> and arrows.

18. After this very severe vengeance Suleyman retreated with his men and with his Swabian prisoners, and news of the most cruel slaughter of Germans was carried into Peter's camp, whereupon the souls and hearts of all were violently overwhelmed by grief for the destruction of their comrades. Being troubled by this misfortune of their fellows, they held frequent conferences among themselves, debating whether they should rise up immediately to avenge them or wait for Peter. For before these days Peter had moved to Constantinople to see the emperor on behalf of his army and to ask him to make easier the sale of necessities to his men. However, while they were holding a council among themselves Walter Sansavoir forbade them utterly to go in vengeance of their brothers until the outcome of the affair was more fully known, and Peter was present in person, whose advice they would take about all things. The people were quietened by this advice from Walter for eight days while they waited for Peter to arrive. But he could not as yet in any way obtain from the emperor permission to return. On the eighth day after this some Turks, military men and famed in the art of war, a hundred in number, marched out from the city of Nicaea and went right through the area and the cities situated in the mountain regions, wishing to learn and find out about the spoils and plunder which the Gauls had taken. There on the same day they are said to have beheaded several pilgrims who were wandering here and there in scattered places, sometimes ten, sometimes fifteen, or more than that. When this rumour was set about in Peter's camp, that is, that the Turks were at hand and had beheaded some of their fellows who were wandering about, the pilgrims utterly refused to believe that the Turks had come down so far from Nicaea. But nevertheless some gave their advice that they should pursue them, to see if they could still be found in that territory.

<sup>49</sup> 'salutem sperantes' is a phrase common in classical literature: *HL* v. 234.

<sup>50</sup> Jer. 16: 4, etc.

19. Interea ueritate comperta, exoritur tumultus in populo et unanimiter pedites conueniunt, Reinoldum<sup>a</sup> de Breis, Walterum Senzauihir, Walterum quoque de Bretol, Folkerum Aureliensem, qui erant primores exercitus Petri, quatenus ad uindictam fratrum consurgerent, aduersus Turcorum audaciam. Sed hii prorsus ituros se negant, donec Petri presentiam et consilium haberent. Godefridus autem Burel, magister peditum, illorum responsis auditis, timidos et minime  
 287 in bello | ualere tam egregios equites asserens, sepius sermone aspero improperabat uiris hiis, qui Turcos persequi in ultione<sup>b</sup> fratrum ceteros socios prohibebant.<sup>c</sup> E contra primores legionis contumelias et impropria illius suorumque sequacium, ultra ferre non ualentes, ira et indignatione grauiter moti, ituros se pollicenter aduersus Turcorum uires et insidias, etiam si mori illos<sup>d</sup> contingat in prelio. Nec mora surgente <sup>e</sup>prima aurora diei Mercurii,<sup>e</sup> per uniuersa castra iubentur armari uniuersi equites et pedites, et signis cornicinum intonare et ad bellum congregari. Soli inermes et infirmi cum femineo sexu innumerabili<sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>in castris<sup>g</sup> relictis sunt. Armati uero et uniuersi congregati ad uiginti quinque milia peditum, et quingentos equites loricatos, <sup>h</sup>uiam insistent ad urbem Niceam,<sup>i</sup> ut ducem Solimannum et ceteros Turcos bello lacescentes,<sup>51</sup> in ultionem confratrum<sup>j</sup> cum eis prelium committerent. In sex itaque acies diuisi et ordinati et quibusque uexillis attitulati, in dextro et sinistro incedebant. Vix trans<sup>k</sup> tria miliaria a portu et statione Ciuitot processerant absente et omnia ignorante Petro, per predictam siluam et montana, in uociferatione et tumultu uehementi gloriantes et intonantes, et ecce Solimannus cum omni comitatu suo intolerabili eandem siluam ex fronte altera intrauerat a Nicena<sup>l</sup> urbe descendens, ut repentino impetu Gallos in castris incurreret, et nescios ac inprouisos in ore gladii<sup>52</sup> uniuersos consumeret et<sup>m</sup> deleret. Hic audito aduentu et uehementi strepitu Christianorum, miratur nimium quidnam tumultus is uoluerit. Nam latebant eum uniuersa que Christiani decreuerant. Statimque peregrinos adesse intelligens suos sic alloquitur: 'Ecce Franci ad quos tendebamus assunt. Certum autem sit uobis, quia

19    <sup>a</sup> Rainoldum K    <sup>b</sup> ultionem AH    <sup>c</sup> prohiberent H    <sup>d</sup> illis A  
 ' ' primo diluculo quarte diei AH    <sup>f</sup> innumerabiles AH    <sup>g g</sup> om. A    <sup>h</sup> C begins  
 here    <sup>i</sup> Nicenam K    <sup>j</sup> fratrum K    <sup>k</sup> ad A; om. CH    <sup>l</sup> Nicea ACH  
<sup>m</sup> atque ACH

<sup>51</sup> Vergil *Aeneid* xi. 842.

<sup>52</sup> Biblical, e.g. Exod. 17: 13.

19. Meanwhile, when the truth came out, a tumult arose among the people, and the foot soldiers unanimously addressed Reinold of Broyes, Walter Sansavoir, the other Walter (of Breteuil), and Folcher of Orléans, who were foremost in Peter's army, demanding to rise against the insolence of the Turks to avenge their brothers. But the leaders refused to set out directly, until they had Peter's presence and advice. However, Godfrey Burel, master of the foot soldiers, heard their replies and claimed that these distinguished knights were cowards and very little good in war; he persistently taunted with bitter speech the men who forbade the rest of the company to pursue the Turks to avenge their brothers. In opposition, the leaders of the great army could not hold out against the insults and taunts of that man and his followers, and, being greatly stirred by anger and indignation, they vowed to set out against the forces of the Turks and their ambushes, even if it was their fate to die in battle. Without delay, at the first sign of daybreak on the Wednesday, throughout the whole camp the knights and foot soldiers were ordered to arm and the trumpeters to sound the signal blasts, and all to gather together for war. Only those without weapons and the sick were left behind in the camp, with countless of the female sex. Armed, then, and all assembled, as many as twenty-five thousand foot soldiers and five hundred knights in armour set out on the way to the town of Nicaea in order to provoke Duke Suleyman and the rest of the Turks to war<sup>51</sup> and to join battle with them to avenge their brother soldiers. Therefore, when they were divided and organized into six divisions, and assigned to different banners, they marched on right and left. With Peter absent and knowing nothing about all this, they had scarcely gone three miles from the port and post of Civitot, through the aforesaid forest and mountainous regions, boasting and shouting in a clamour and mighty tumult, when there, suddenly, was Suleyman with all his irresistible company: he had entered the same wood from the other side, coming down from the town of Nicaea, so that he would meet the Gauls in their camp with a sudden attack and put them all to the sword,<sup>52</sup> unknowing and unprepared as they were, and annihilate them. Suleyman, who had heard the approach and mighty noise of the Christians, wondered a great deal what this clamour meant, for everything the Christians had decided upon was unknown to him. Immediately he realized the pilgrims were there, he spoke thus to his men: 'Behold, the Franks against whom we were advancing are at hand. Moreover, you can be sure of one thing,

aduersum nos pugnare<sup>n</sup> ueniunt. Sed quantocius a silua et montanis<sup>o</sup> recedamus in apertam camporum planiciem, ubi libere cum eis prelia conseramus, et nullum inuenire possint refugium.' Quod ita ad uocem Solimanni <sup>b</sup>sine mora<sup>b</sup> actum est, et in silentio magno a siluis et montanis egressi sunt.

20. Francigene autem Solimanni ignorantes aduentum, a silua et montanis in clamore et alta uociferatione procedebant, tunc primum Solimanni acies mediis campis<sup>a</sup> intuentes, et eos ad prelium operientes. Quibus uisis, inuicem se confortare in nomine Domini ceperunt, duasque premittunt acies que quingentos equites habebant. Solimannus uero duas acies premissas intuitus,<sup>b</sup> sine tardatione frena laxat equi, laxantque sui, et inaudita atque incomparabili<sup>c</sup> uociferatione reddunt attonitos ac stupefactos milites catholicos. Dehinc  
288 sagittarum | grandine per medias irruunt acies,<sup>53</sup> que grauiter adtrite et dissipate a subsequenti multitudine sua diuise sunt. Audita hac armorum concussione et uociferantium Turcorum crudeli insecutione, postremi exercitus qui nondum a silua processerant in unum conglobantur in angusta semita per quam uenerant, ad resistendum et prohibendam semite angustiam et<sup>d</sup> montana. Predictae uero acies, per quas Turci a societate diuisas irruerant, ad siluam et montana reditum<sup>e</sup> non habentes, uersus Niceam iter arripiunt. De qua extimplo reuersi, fortiter inclamantes, per medios Turcos reuolant, et sese tam equites quam pedites inuicem commonentes, ducentos milites Turcorum in momento peremerunt.<sup>f</sup> Turci autem uidentes quia uirtus equitum preualebat in contritione suorum, equos eorum sagittis transmissis uulnerant, et sic in pedibus fortissimos Christi athletas<sup>g</sup> reddunt.

21. Ibi Walterus Senzauihir trans loricam et precordia septem sagittis infixus<sup>a</sup> occubuit. Reinoldus de Breis, Folkerus Carnotensis<sup>54</sup> uiri nominatissimi in terra sua, simili martyrio <sup>b</sup>ab hostibus<sup>b</sup> consumpti ceciderunt, sed non sine magna strage Turcorum. Walterus uero de

<sup>n</sup> pugnaturi ACH      <sup>a</sup> A adds a before montanis      <sup>b b</sup> om. H

20    <sup>a</sup> A adds in before campis      <sup>b</sup> intuens H      <sup>c</sup> intolerabili H      <sup>d</sup> per A  
<sup>e</sup> reditus ACH      <sup>f</sup> perimerunt E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>g</sup> adletas AE<sub>3</sub>H

21    <sup>a</sup> transfixus A      <sup>b b</sup> om. A

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* iv. 84, etc.

that they come to fight against us. But let us retreat as quickly as possible from the forest and the mountainous regions onto the open and level plain, where we may freely join battle with them and they will not be able to find any place of refuge.' This was all carried out without delay as Suleyman had said, and in complete silence they left the forest and mountainous regions.

20. The French, however, knowing nothing about Suleyman's arrival, were marching from the forests and mountainous regions with a clamour and loud shouting. Then for the first time they saw Suleyman's battle array in the middle of the plains and waiting for battle. When they saw them they began to comfort each other in the name of the Lord, and they sent forward two divisions which contained the five hundred knights. Suleyman saw the two divisions advancing and without waiting he loosened his horse's reins and his men did the same, and with an unbelievable and indescribable shout they astounded and stupefied the Christian soldiers. Thereupon, with a hail of arrows the Turks attacked the middle of the divisions,<sup>53</sup> which were seriously weakened and scattered and were cut off from the mass of people following. When they heard this clashing of weapons and the cruel pursuit of the shouting Turks, those at the rear of the army who had not yet come out of the forest gathered all together on the narrow path by which they had come, to stand firm and bar the narrow part of the path through the mountainous regions. But the divisions mentioned above, through whose divided ranks the Turks had made a concerted attack, had no way of returning to the forest and mountainous regions, so they seized upon the road towards Nicaea. They quickly turned back from this, shouting loudly, and rushed back through the middle of the Turks and, with horsemen and footsoldiers alike encouraging one another, they destroyed two hundred Turkish soldiers in a moment. The Turks, however, seeing that the strength of the cavalry was prevailing to the grief of their own men, had wounded their horses by shooting them with arrows, and in this way they reduced Christ's strong champions to fighting on foot.

21. There died Walter Sansavoir, pierced by seven arrows through his hauberk and breast. Reinold of Broyes and Folcher of Orléans,<sup>54</sup> who were very famous men in their own lands, died, destroyed in the same martyrdom, but not without a great massacre of Turks. But Walter of

<sup>54</sup> Albert has 'Carnotensis' here, but see above, i. 12. William of Tyre has 'Aurelianensis' (WT, p. 152).

Bretil filius Waleranni, et Godefridus Burel magister peditum, inter uepres et fructa fuga elapsi, per angustam semitam qua tota manus subtracta a prelio et in unum collecta habebatur reuersi sunt. Quorum fuga ac desolatione cognita, uniuersi in fugam uersi sunt, accelerantes iter uersus Ciuitot<sup>e</sup> eadem uia qua uenerant parum se defendentes ab hostibus. Turci itaque gaudentes prospero successu uictorie, detruncabant miseram manum peregrinorum, quos spacio trium miliariorum cedendo usque in tentoria Petri persecuti sunt. Tentoria uero illorum<sup>d</sup> intrantes quosquos repererunt<sup>e</sup> languidos ac debiles, clericos, monachos,<sup>f</sup> mulieres grandaeuas, pueros sugentes, <sup>g</sup>omnem uero<sup>g</sup> etatem gladio extinxerunt. Solummodo puellas teneras et moniales,<sup>h</sup> quarum facies et forma oculis eorum placere uidebatur, iuuenesque inberbes et uultu uenustos abduxerunt, pecuniam, uestes, mulos, equos, et omnia preciosiora cum ipsis tentoriis Niceam asportauerunt. Est autem supra<sup>i</sup> litus maris, iuxta predictum Ciuitot, presidium quoddam antiquum et desertum, ad quod tria milia peregrinorum fugam arripientes ingressi sunt dirutum presidium pro spe defensionis. Sed portas et obstacula nulla reperientes, clipeos pro porta sicut  
 289 anxii et auxilio destituti, cum ingenti mole | saxorum ostio aduoluerunt, lanceis tantum, et arcu ligneo, et missilibus saxis uiriliter pro uite necessitate se defendentes ab hostibus. Turci uero, uidentes parum se proficere in cede inclusorum, undique cinxerunt presidium, quod erat sine tecto, sagittas in altum intorquentes, ut ab ethere reuertentes, in uerticem et in corpora inclusorum corruentes, misellos extinguerunt, ceterique hoc uiso in deditionem cogerentur. Plurimi sic lesi et extincti illic<sup>j</sup> fuisse referuntur. Sed crudeliorem ab impiis penam metuentes, non armis, non ui exire coacti sunt.

22. Iam sol mediam diem peregerat, quando hec tria milia presidium ingressi<sup>a</sup> a Turcis obsessi sunt. Sed fortiter pro uite necessitate se defendentes, nullo tamen<sup>b</sup> ingenio, aut in ipsius noctis umbra ab hoc presidio potuerunt diuelli, donec nuncius quidam Grecus fidelis et catholicus noctu nauigio mare transiens Petro in ciuitate regia reperto omnia pericula illorum retulit, et ceterorum casum et

<sup>e</sup> Ciuitoth *E<sub>3</sub>K*      <sup>d</sup> *om. A*      <sup>e</sup> reppererunt *H*      <sup>f</sup> *om. A*      <sup>g</sup> *omnemque*  
*ACH*      <sup>h</sup> *muniales A*      <sup>i</sup> *iuxta A*      <sup>j</sup> *illinc A*

22      <sup>a</sup> *ingressa ACH*      <sup>b</sup> *om. A*

Breteuil, son of Waleran, and Godfrey Burel, the chief of foot soldiers, had slipped away in flight among the thorn bushes and thickets and they returned along a narrow path, where they found all the troop which had withdrawn from the battle gathered together. When the soldiers knew of the flight of these two and their desertion, they all turned and fled, hurrying towards Civitot on the road by which they had come, and not protecting themselves adequately from the enemy. The Turks, therefore, rejoicing at the favourable outcome of their victory, slaughtered the wretched band of pilgrims, and they pursued them for a distance of three miles, to Peter's encampment, to kill them. Going into the pilgrim camp they found those who were there, the feeble and crippled, clerics, monks, aged women, boys at the breast, and put them all to the sword, regardless of age. They took away only young girls and nuns, whose faces and figures seemed to be pleasing to their eyes, and beardless and attractive young men. They carried off to Nicaea money, garments, mules, horses, and anything of any value, even the tents themselves. There is, however, upon the seashore, near the aforesaid Civitot, a certain ancient and abandoned fortress; three thousand of the fleeing pilgrims took flight and entered the ruins in the hope of defending themselves. But they found it had no gates or barriers, so, such was their desperation and despair of aid, they used their shields in place of gates, with an enormous pile of rocks rolled in the entrance, defending their very lives manfully from the enemy only with spears and wooden bows, and by throwing rocks. The Turks, seeing that the slaughter of the men inside was not proceeding very well, surrounded the fortress on all sides, and as it had no roof they shot arrows high in the air so that they turned and fell onto the heads and bodies of those inside and killed the poor wretches; the others who saw this were forced to surrender. Many were brought back there who had thus been wounded and killed, but fearing cruel punishment by the infidels they could not be compelled to go out, either by arms or for fear of their lives.

22. Already the sun had passed midday when these three thousand who had gone into the fortress were besieged by the Turks. They were defending their lives bravely, and they could be dislodged from this stronghold by no stratagem, not even in the shadow of night itself, until a messenger, who was a loyal Greek and a Christian, sailed across the sea by night and sought out Peter in the royal city, and reported to him all the dangers these men were in, and the ill fortune

consumptionem. Petrus<sup>c</sup> audito<sup>d</sup> periculo suorum et infortunio consumptorum, lugens et dolens imperatorem humiliter deprecatur, quatenus misellis peregrinis paucis tot milium<sup>e</sup> reliquiis in nomine Iesu Christi subueniat, et non a tantis carnificibus desolatos et anxios<sup>f</sup> consumi patiatur. Imperator audito Petro de casu et obsidione suorum misericordia motus est, et undique Turcopolis<sup>55</sup> accitis, et cunctis nationibus regni sui, precepit sub omni festinatione trans brachium maris fugitiuis et obsessis Christianis subuenire, et Turcos ab obsidione expugnatos<sup>g</sup> effugare. Turci autem imperatoris edicto comperto, media<sup>h</sup> nocte cum captiuis Christianis et spoliis plurimis a presidio mouerunt, et sic inclusi et obsessi peregrini milites<sup>i</sup> ab impiis<sup>j</sup> liberati sunt.<sup>k</sup>

23. Non multo temporis interuallo post Petri transitum, quidam presbiter Godescalculus nomine,<sup>56</sup> Theutonicus natione, incola fluminis Rheni,<sup>a</sup> eiusdem uie in Ierusalem amore et desiderio succensus ex Petri ammonitione plurimorum corda ex diuersis nationibus ad instandam pariter uiam suo excitauit sermone, et ex diuersis regionibus Lotharingie, Francie orientalis, Bawarii, Alemannie, supra quindecim contraxit milia, tam militaris quam pedestris uulgi, qui pecunia inef|fabili cum ceteris rebus necessariis collecta iter suum pacifice usque in regnum Vngarie continuasse perhibentur. Ad portam uero Meseburg,<sup>b 57</sup> et eius presidium gratia regis Kalamanni uenientes, honorifice introducti sunt. Quibus etiam concessa est licentia emendi<sup>c</sup> uite necessaria, et pax utrinque indicta ex precepto regis, ne qua seditio a tanto oriretur exercitu. Sed dum per aliquot dies moram illic facerent, et uagari cepissent, Bawarii uero et Sueui gens animosa et ceteri fatui modum potandi excederent, pacem indictam uiolant, Vngaris uinum, ordeum, et cetera necessaria paulatim auferentes, ad ultimum oues et boues per agros rapientes

<sup>c</sup> A adds uero after Petrus      <sup>d</sup> agnito ACH      <sup>e</sup> militum E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>f</sup> anxios K  
<sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> in ipsa E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>i</sup> om. A      <sup>j</sup> ipsis E<sub>3</sub>      <sup>k</sup> E<sub>3</sub> ends; E begins

23      <sup>a</sup> Reni CH      <sup>b</sup> Meseburg C      <sup>c</sup> A adds et uendendi after emendi

<sup>55</sup> The Turcoples were imperial auxiliary cavalry troops, presumably originally ethnic Turks, which may explain why Albert is prejudiced against them (see AA, viii. 32). Both he and Raymond of Aguilers (RA, p. 55) describe them as offspring of Christian mothers and Turkish fathers, brought up among Turks (see AA, v. 3). There is a discussion by A. G. C. Savvides, 'Late Byzantine and Western historiographers on Turkish mercenaries in Greek and Latin armies: The Turcoples/Tourkopoloï', in R. Beaton and C. Rouché, eds., *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 122–36.

and destruction of the rest. Peter, having heard of the danger to his men and the tragedy of the slain, mourning and grieving begged the emperor humbly in the name of Jesus Christ to help the few poor pilgrims who were left out of so many thousands, and not to allow them to be destroyed, deserted and desperate, by so many executioners. When the emperor heard Peter's account of the calamity and the siege of his men he was moved by pity, and he summoned his Turcoples<sup>55</sup> from all around, and all the nations under his rule, and ordered them to go with all haste across the straits to assist the Christians who had fled and were besieged, and there to overcome and put to flight the Turks from the siege. However, knowledge of the emperor's command came to the Turks, and in the middle of the night they moved away from the fortress, taking with them the Christians they had captured and a great deal of booty, and thus the imprisoned and besieged pilgrim soldiers were freed from the infidels.

23. Not long after Peter's crossing a certain priest called Gottschalk,<sup>56</sup> German by birth and an inhabitant of the Rhineland, was inspired by love and desire for the same journey to Jerusalem because of a sermon of Peter's. With his oratory he aroused the hearts of many from different nations to press forward on the road together, and he drew together over fifteen thousand from different regions of Lotharingia, eastern France, Bavaria, and Swabia, a crowd with as many knights as common foot soldiers who, as they had collected an indescribable quantity of money and other necessary supplies, were allowed to continue their journey peacefully into the kingdom of Hungary. Indeed, they were brought with honour to the gate of Mosony,<sup>57</sup> and by King Coloman's favour to his fortress. They were even granted a licence to buy and sell necessary supplies, and peace was proclaimed on both sides according to the king's instructions, lest a dispute might arise from such a large army. But when they were delayed there for some days, they began to wander, and the Bavarians and Swabians, a bold race, and the rest of the soldiers foolishly drank too much; they violated the proclaimed peace, little by little stealing wine, barley, and other necessities from the Hungarians, finally seizing sheep and cattle in the fields and killing them; they destroyed

<sup>56</sup> Ekkehard of Aura calls Gottschalk a 'false servant of God' (*Hierosolymita*, p. 20), but his more hostile account is essentially in agreement with Albert's.

<sup>57</sup> Mosonmagyaróvár (co. Győr-Moson-Sopron, Hungary) is the modern Hungarian name; its former German name was Wieselburg.

occiderunt, resistentes quoque et excutere uolentes peremerunt.<sup>d</sup> Cetera plurima flagitia que omnia referre nequimus<sup>e</sup> perpetrarunt, sicut gens rusticano more insulsa, indisciplinata et indomita. Iuuenem enim quendam Vngarum, ut aiunt qui presentes fuerunt, pro uilissima contentione palo per secreta nature transfixerunt in fori platea. Cuius rei et ceterarum iniuriarum querimonia usque ad aures regis suorumque principum perlata est.

24. Hac rex infamia inquietatus, omnique<sup>a</sup> domu<sup>b</sup> illius turbata, precepit satellitibus suis se armare, et signo totam Vngariam in ultionem huius facinoris ceterarumque contumeliarum commoueri, et nulli peregrinorum parcere, eo quod fedam rem perpetrassent. Mox exercitus Godescalci tam crudele mandatum regis ad internitionem eorum intelligentes, signis insonuerunt<sup>c</sup> per uniuersas societates, et in campo Belegraue secus oratorium sancti Martini conglobati sunt.<sup>58</sup> Nec mora, regia uirtus totius regni Vngarie in armis affuit, ut populum conglobatum disturbaret. Sed fortiter resistentes sicut anxios, et uite sollicitos, in lanceis, gladiis et sagittis Theutonicos reppererunt, quapropter et ipsi minus eos aggredi ausi sunt. Vt ergo uiderunt quia illis res erat pro anima, et non sine inestimabili dampno cum Gallis committere possent, blande eis in dolo locuti sunt in hunc modum: 'Peruenit querimonia ad domnum<sup>d</sup> regem de iniuriis quas regno suo<sup>e</sup> intulistis. Sed arbitratur uos non omnes huius facinoris reos, eo quod plurimi inter | uos sensati habeantur, et non minus uos molestauerit pax uiolata, et fede iniurie quam ipsum<sup>f</sup> regem et suos. Vnde si domno regi satisfacere uultis et principes terre placare, oportet et necesse est ut omnia arma uestra in manu<sup>g</sup> domni regis reddatis, et ex consilio nostro pacificos uos exhibeatis, in deditionem uero regis cum omni pecunia quam habetis intrantes, iram eius mitigetis, et sic gratiam in oculis eius inueniatis.'<sup>59</sup> Sin autem aliud egeritis, nec unus quidem uestrum ante faciem eius

<sup>d</sup> perimerunt E      <sup>e</sup> nequiuimus A

24    <sup>a</sup> totaque ACH    <sup>b</sup> domo ACH    <sup>c</sup> insonuerunt H    <sup>d</sup> H adds nostrum after domnum    <sup>e</sup> eius A    <sup>f</sup> A adds domnum after ipsum    <sup>g</sup> manum ACH

<sup>58</sup> The reference to Belgrade must be a mistake. The battle was almost certainly fought at Pannonhalma (co. Győr-Ménfőcsanak, Hungary), where the Benedictines had built their first abbey in Hungary, dedicated to St Martin, just a hundred years before these events: G. Kriszt, *Medieval Churches of Hungary* (Budapest, 1990), p. 14. William (p. 154) does not mention the chapel of St Martin, but places the battle at 'Bellagrava' 'in the heart of the kingdom' ('in umbilico'). It has been suggested that the 'campus' here and the 'plancies'

those who stood up to them and wanted to drive them out. The others committed several crimes, all of which we cannot report, like a people foolish in their boorish habits, unruly and wild. For, as those say who were present, they stabbed a certain young Hungarian in the market street with a stake through his private parts, because of a most contemptible dispute. A complaint about this affair and the other outrages was carried to the ears of the king and his princes.

24. The king was disturbed by this scandal, and all his household was thrown into confusion, so he ordered that his attendants should arm themselves and that the signal should be given to the whole of Hungary to stir to battle in vengeance of this crime and the other insults, and not one of the pilgrims was to be spared because they had carried out this vile deed. Gottschalk's army soon found out about the king's savage edict that they be slaughtered, and they sounded signals throughout all their company and gathered together on the plain of Belgrade beside St Martin's oratory.<sup>58</sup> Without delay the royal forces of the whole kingdom of Hungary were armed to destroy the assembled peoples. But they found that the Germans were fighting back strongly with spears, swords, and arrows, as if they were desperate and fighting for their lives. Because of this the royal troops were no more keen than they were to advance. Since they saw that the affair was a matter of life and death for the Gauls and they would not be able to join battle without incalculable losses, they spoke flatteringly to them as a trick, in this way: 'A complaint was made to our lord king about the outrages which you have committed in his kingdom. But he thinks you are not all guilty of this crime, because there are some sensible ones among you, and the violated treaty and vile outrages have troubled you no less than the lord king himself and his men. Therefore, if you want to make amends to the lord king and placate the princes of this country, it is necessary and unavoidable that you give up all your weapons into the hands of the lord king, and show that you mean peace in accordance with our advice; if, indeed, you surrender to the king with all the money you possess you may calm his anger and thus find favour in his eyes.'<sup>59</sup> However if you do otherwise, not a single one of you will be able to

below refer to the town square, but it is hard to believe that the king would allow the Germans into the town at this point, or that the sort of fight described could have been accommodated in town: B. Kugler, 'Peter der Eremit und Albert von Aachen', *Historische Zeitschrift*, xlv (1880), 22-42, at p. 31.

<sup>59</sup> Gen. 18: 3; 33: 10; Num. 11: 15.

suorumque <sup>h</sup>stare aut <sup>h</sup>uiuere poterit, quia contumeliam et calumniam nimiam in regno eius exercuistis.<sup>g</sup> Godescalcus igitur et ceteri uiri sensati hoc audientes, et fidem puram ex hiis credentes uerbis, et quia Vngari Christiane erant professionis, uniuerso cetui consilium dederunt, quatenus iuxta hunc sermonem ad satisfaciendum regi arma redderent, et sic omnia in pacem et concordiam redirent. Adquieuerunt uniuersi huic consilio, ac loricas, galeas, omnia arma, totamque pecuniam, stipendium uie sue scilicet<sup>i</sup> in Ierusalem, in manus magistratus regis reddiderunt, ac humiles et tremefacti colla sua regi subdiderunt, totius misericordie et humanitatis certi erga regem consequende. Ministri uero regis et milites uniuersa arma palatio regis in conclauis intulerunt, pecuniam et cetera preciosa,<sup>j</sup> que tantus congegesserat<sup>k</sup> exercitus, in erarium regis intulerunt.<sup>l</sup> Sic armis uniuersorum in conclauis repositis, omnem fidem et clementiam quam polliciti sunt regem in populo habiturum mentiti sunt, quin potius crudeli strage irruentes in eos inermes ac nudos detruncabant, et cedem immanissimam in eos exercebant, adeo ut, sicut hii pro uero affirmant qui presentes uix euaserunt, extinctis et occisis corporibus et sanguine tota planicies Belegraue occuparetur, et pauci ab hoc martyrio liberarentur.

25. Eodem anno estatis tempore inchoante, quo Petrus et Godescalcus congregato exercitu precesserunt, post modum similiter ex diuersis regnis et terris, scilicet e<sup>a</sup> regno Francie, Anglie, Flandrie, Lotharingie, gens copiosa et innumerabilis Christianorum diuini igne amoris flagrans, et crucis signo suscepto, undique incessanter per turmas suas confluebant, cum omni suppellectili et substantia rerum et instrumentis armorum quibus Ierusalem proficiscentes indigebant. Hiis itaque per turmas ex diuersis regnis et ciuitatibus in unum collectis, sed nequaquam ab illicitis et fornicariis commixtionibus auersis, inmoderata erat commessatio cum mulieribus et puellis, sub eiusdem leuitatis intentione egressis, assidua delectatio, et in omni temeritate sub huius uie occasione gloriatio.

<sup>h</sup> <sup>k</sup> om. H    <sup>i</sup> om. A    <sup>j</sup> preciosiora H    <sup>k</sup> congegessit A    <sup>l</sup> deputauerunt ACH

stand before him and his men or continue to live, because you have insulted him and broken faith so badly in his kingdom.' Gottschalk, therefore, and the other sensible men, who heard this and believed the words were spoken in good faith, and because the Hungarians were professed Christians, gave their advice to the whole assembly that in accordance with the speech they should give up their weapons to make amends to the king, and thus all things would return to a state of peace and goodwill. Everyone agreed to this advice and gave up hauberks, helmets, all their weapons, and the whole of the money (that is, their means of support on the journey to Jerusalem) into the hands of the king's officials, and, humble and shaking with fear, they bowed their heads before the king, certain of gaining the king's complete mercy and kindness. The king's ministers and soldiers brought all the weapons into a room in the king's palace; the money and other valuables, as much as the army had accumulated, they put into the royal treasury. When everyone's weapons had been stowed away thus in the room, all the good faith and mercy which the Hungarians had promised the king would have for the people turned out to have been lies: quite the opposite, they rushed upon them in a cruel massacre, decapitating them, unarmed and weaponless as they were; they inflicted a most savage slaughter upon them, so much so—and those who were present and escaped with difficulty swear this is true—that the whole plain of Belgrade was covered with dead and slaughtered bodies and blood, and few were spared this martyrdom.

25. The same year, at the beginning of summer, after Peter and Gottschalk had led the way with the army they had assembled, presently another such host was flocking together in bands from different kingdoms and lands, including, of course, France, England, Flanders, and Lotharingia, a great and countless host of Christians, burning with the fire of divine love and having taken the sign of the cross, carrying all their household utensils and worldly goods and articles of weaponry which they needed on the journey to Jerusalem. Crowds of them had been gathered into one from the different kingdoms and states, but as they did not in any way turn from fornication and unlawful relationships there was excessive revelling, continual delight with women and girls who had set out for the very purpose of frivolity, and boasting most rashly about the opportunity offered by this journey.

292 26. Vnde nescio si uel Dei iudicio aut aliquo animi errore spiritu crudelitatis aduersus Iudeorum surrexerunt populum, per quascumque ciuitates dispersos, et crudelissimam in eos exercuerunt necem, et precipue in regno Lotharingie, asserentes id esse principium expeditionis sue, et obsequii contra hostes fidei Christiane.<sup>60</sup> Hec strages Iudeorum primum in ciuitate Coloniensi a ciuibus acta<sup>a</sup> est.<sup>61</sup> Qui subito irruentes in modicam manum illorum, plurimos graui uulnere detruncauerunt, domos et synagogas illorum<sup>b</sup> subuerterunt, plurimum pecunie illorum inter se diuidentes. Hac igitur crudelitate uisa, circiter ducenti in silentio noctis<sup>62</sup> Nussiam nauigio fugam inierunt. Quos peregrini et cruce signati<sup>63</sup> comperientes, nec unum quidem reliquerunt uiuum, sed simili multatos strage rebus omnibus spoliauerunt.<sup>64</sup>

27. Nec mora post hec uiam insistentes, sicut deuouerant, in multitudine graui<sup>a</sup> in ciuitatem Moguntie<sup>a</sup> peruenerunt.<sup>65</sup> Vbi comes Emecho<sup>66</sup> uir nobilis et in hac regione potentissimus, cum nimia Theutonicorum manu prestolabatur aduentum peregrinorum de diuersis locis regia uia illuc confluentium. Iudei uero ciuitatis huius intelligentes necem suorum confratrum, nec manus tantorum posse<sup>b</sup> euadere, ad episcopum Ruothardum<sup>c</sup> spe salutis confugiunt, thesauros infinitos in custodiam et fidem illius reponentes, multum de protectione eius<sup>d</sup> quia eiusdem ciuitatis erat episcopus confidentes.<sup>67</sup> Hic autem summus sacerdos ciuitatis pecuniam inauditam ab eis

26    <sup>a</sup> facta A            <sup>b</sup> eorum A

27    <sup>a</sup> in ciuitatem Mogontie C; Mogontiam H            <sup>b</sup> ACH add se before posse  
       <sup>c</sup> Rùthardum CH            <sup>d</sup> illius A

<sup>60</sup> The attacks on the Rhineland Jews are passed over by William of Tyre in a couple of sentences (WT, p. 156). Frutolf's account is brief and unsympathetic to the Jews but agrees in essentials with Albert's (Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 108). For considerably more detail one must turn to the Hebrew accounts. A full discussion of these, and of the situation of the Jews in general, may be found in R. Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (London, 1987). Chazan prints as an appendix (pp. 223–97) translations of the two original Hebrew chronicles: the shorter (S) and longer (L). These are the source of many of the notes which follow. See also J. Cohen, 'The Hebrew crusade chronicles in their Christian cultural context', in A. Haverkamp, ed., *Juden und Christen zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Sigmaringen, 1999), pp. 17–34.

<sup>61</sup> According to the Hebrew account L (Chazan, *European Jewry*, p. 273) attacks had already taken place at Speyer, Worms, and Mainz. S says letters of warning were received from French communities (p. 225). L gives the date: 29 May 1096.

<sup>62</sup> A classical phrase, e.g. Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 7: 26.

<sup>63</sup> This appears to be the first recorded use of 'crucesignatus' as a noun: although there are one or two equally early uses in an adjectival sense, the substantive term only became widespread at the end of the 12th c.

26. I do not know if it was because of a judgement of God or because of some delusion in their minds, but the pilgrims rose in a spirit of cruelty against the Jews who were scattered throughout all the cities, and they inflicted a most cruel slaughter on them, especially in the kingdom of Lotharingia, claiming that this was the beginning of their crusade and service against the enemies of Christianity.<sup>60</sup> This massacre of the Jews was first carried out in the city of Cologne by the citizens.<sup>61</sup> They suddenly attacked a small band of Jews, they decapitated many and inflicted serious wounds, they overthrew their homes and synagogues, dividing a substantial sum of money among themselves. When the Jews saw this cruelty, about two hundred started to flee by boat to Neuss at dead of night.<sup>62</sup> The pilgrims and crusaders<sup>63</sup> discovered these men and did not leave a single one alive, but after they had been punished with the same sort of massacre they robbed them of all their possessions.<sup>64</sup>

27. Not long after these events the pilgrims were continuing their journey, as they had vowed, and they arrived in a great crowd at the city of Mainz.<sup>65</sup> Here Count Emicho,<sup>66</sup> a noble man and very powerful in this region, was waiting with a very great band of Germans for the arrival of the pilgrims who were coming together there by the royal road from different parts. The Jews of this city, hearing about the slaughter of their brothers and realizing that they could not escape the hands of so many, took refuge with the bishop, Ruthard, in the hope of safety, placing priceless treasures in his care and his trust, and putting great faith in his protection because he was the bishop of that same city.<sup>67</sup> He, moreover, as the most important priest in the city, put away carefully the incredible quantity of money

<sup>64</sup> According to L the killing at Neuss was on 24 June: Chazan, *European Jewry*, p. 275.

<sup>65</sup> The Hebrew accounts offer a more detailed chronology: Speyer 3 May (S, p. 227; L, p. 244); Worms 5 May (S, pp. 228–32; L, p. 245), then Mainz (S, pp. 232–3; L, p. 245). They are not necessarily more trustworthy, though: L names Godfrey as one of the leaders of the oppressors (p. 247).

<sup>66</sup> Count Emicho has traditionally been identified as Count of Leiningen on the evidence of the very late German source known as the chronicle of Zimmern, but more recently it has been argued convincingly that he was Emicho of Flonheim (Kreis Alzey-Worms, Germany) on the middle Rhine. See *Die Chronik der Grafen von Zimmern: Handschriften 580 und 581 der Fürstlich Fürstenbergischen Bibliothek Donaueschingen*, ed. H. Decker-Hauff (Stuttgart, 1964–), i. 75; I. Toussaint, *Die Grafen von Leiningen: Studien zur leiningischen Genealogie und Territorialgeschichte bis zur Teilung von 1317/18* (Sigmaringen, 1982), cited in Murray, 'Army of Godfrey of Bouillon', pp. 320–1; H. Möhring, 'Graf Emicho und die Judenverfolgungen von 1096', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, lvi (1992), 97–111.

<sup>67</sup> Ruthard II of Mainz (1089–1109). Archbishop Ruthard's good faith is attested also by the Jewish writer of L: see Chazan, *European Jewry*, pp. 90–3.

acceptam<sup>e</sup> caute reposuit, Iudeos in spaciosissimo domus sue solio a facie comitis Emechonis et eius sequacium constituit, ut illic in tutissimo<sup>f</sup> et<sup>g</sup> firmissimo habitaculo salui ac sani remanerent. Verum Emecho et cetera manus habito consilio, orto sole diei, in sagittis et lanceis Iudeos in solio assiliunt, quos fractis seris et<sup>h</sup> ianuis, expugnatos ad | septingentos peremerunt, frustra resistentes contra tot milium uires et assultus. Mulieres pariter trucidauerunt, pueros teneros cuiusque etatis et sexus in ore gladii percusserunt. Iudei uero uidentes Christianos hostes in se suosque paruulos insurgere, et nulli etati parcere, ipsi quoque in se suosque confratres natosque, mulieres, matres et sorores irruerunt, et mutua cede se peremerunt. Matres pueris lactentibus, quod dictu nefas est, guttura ferro secabant, alios transforabant, uolentes potius sic propriis manibus perire, quam incircumcisorum armis extingui.<sup>68</sup>

28. Hac Iudeorum cede tam crudeliter peracta, paucisque elapsis, et paucis timore potius mortis quam amore Christiane professionis baptizatis,<sup>69</sup> cum plurimis illorum spoliis, comes Emecho, Clareboldus,<sup>70</sup> Thomas,<sup>71</sup> et omnis illa intolerabilis<sup>a</sup> societas uirorum ac mulierum, uiam Ierusalem continuauerunt, tendentes uersus regnum Vngarie ubi transitus regis uia uniuersis peregrinis minime negari solebat. Sed hiis ad presidium regis<sup>b</sup> Meseburch uenientibus quod fluuius Danubii<sup>c</sup> et Lintax paludibus firmat, pons et porta presidii clausa reperitur ex precepto regis Vngarie, quia timor magnus inuaserat uniuersos Vngaros pro cede quam exercuerant in confratres eorum. Et adhuc feteabant occisorum corpora, cum tantus subsecutus est exercitus. Erant enim ducenta milia peditum et equitum, sed equitum uix ad tria milia computabatur numerus. Clausa itaque ianua, et uniuersis transitu per regnum negato, locauerunt castra per camporum planiciem, et nuncios regi dirigentes, <sup>d</sup>et pacem<sup>d</sup>

<sup>e</sup> receptam A      <sup>f</sup> C adds loco after tutissimo      <sup>g</sup> ac A      <sup>h</sup> ac A

28      <sup>a</sup> innumerabilis A      <sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> fluuii C      <sup>d d</sup> pacemque ACH

<sup>68</sup> The attacks did not end here. L also refers to Trier, Metz, Regensburg, and Prague (ibid., p. 287).

<sup>69</sup> The forcible baptism of the Jews is described by Cosmas of Prague: *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, ed. B. Bretholz (Berlin, 1923), pp. 164–6. Cosmas stresses that it was against canon law.

<sup>70</sup> Clarembald of Vendeuil (dép. Aisne, France). He is also found in *ChA* as 'Clarembaus de Venduef' (i. 69).

<sup>71</sup> Thomas of Marle, or La Fère, lord of Coucy, count of Amiens; killed 1130 in a

which he received from them, and he settled the Jews in the very large hall of his home, out of sight of Count Emicho and his followers, so that they might remain there safe and sound in a totally secure and well fortified dwelling place. But Emicho and the rest of his troop consulted together, and at daybreak they attacked the Jews in the palace with arrows and spears, broke bolts and doors, and overcame and killed about seven hundred of the Jews as they tried in vain to withstand the strength and attack of so many thousands. They slaughtered the women in just the same way, and cut down with their swords young children, whatever their age and sex. The Jews, indeed, seeing how the Christian enemy were rising up against them and their little children and were sparing none of any age, even turned upon themselves and their companions, on children, women, mothers and sisters, and they all killed each other. Mothers with children at the breast—how horrible to relate—would cut their throats with knives, would stab others, preferring that they should die thus at their hands, rather than be killed by the weapons of the uncircumcised.<sup>68</sup>

28. After this very cruel massacre of the Jews had taken place, and a few had escaped, and a few had been baptized rather through fear of death than for love of the Christian religion,<sup>69</sup> Count Emicho, Clarembald,<sup>70</sup> Thomas,<sup>71</sup> and all that irresistible association of men and women continued the journey to Jerusalem with a large amount of booty, going in the direction of the kingdom of Hungary, where the royal highway was normally open to all pilgrims. But when they came to the king's fortress at Mosony, which is defended by the river Danube and the Leitha with its marshes, they found the bridge and gate of the fortress closed on the orders of the king of Hungary, because a great fear had possessed all the Hungarians on account of the slaughter which they had inflicted on their brothers. And when their great army followed close behind, the corpses of those killed were still stinking. There were two hundred thousand foot soldiers and cavalry, but the cavalry numbered hardly three thousand. Since, therefore, the gate was closed, and passage through the kingdom was denied to them all, they set up camp all over the level ground of the plains, and when they sent envoys to the king and asked for peace

punitive expedition conducted against him by Louis VI of France. Thomas features in *ChA* as 'Thumas de le Fere' (*ChA*, i. 69), but he was also a major hero of the *Chanson de Jérusalem*. See *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. Thorp.

querentes, minime in prece sua et<sup>e</sup> promissione auditi sunt.<sup>72</sup> Hinc Emecho, Thomas, Clareboldus, uiri militari actione illustres, cum cautiorebus ineunt consilium ut regis terras ex hac parte adiacentes<sup>f</sup> uastarent, nec hinc recederent, donec trans paludem et fluuium Lintax pons locaretur, per quem muro presidii aliqua arte propinquantes<sup>g</sup> transforarent, ut uel sic transitus in uirtute suorum<sup>h</sup> pateret. Qui diebus multis a medio mense Iunii ante presidium residentes, et pontem componentes, sepius inclusos expugnabant. Defensores uero presidii fortiter resistebant,<sup>i</sup> hinc et hinc iacula intorquentes,<sup>j</sup> et plurimam stragem utrinque facientes.<sup>k</sup> Interdum hii arce erumpentes, in uirtute loricorum grauiter Gallos trans<sup>l</sup> flumen et pontem urgebant; interdum Galli preuallentes Vngaros bello et uulnere aggrauatos<sup>m</sup> usque in presidium remittebant. | Vespere<sup>n</sup> autem quodam circa nonam Thomas, Clareboldus, Will-  
 294 elmus,<sup>o73</sup> cum trecentis lorica et galea indutis, et equo doctis militibus, descenderunt ad insidias ubi transitus Vngarorum<sup>p</sup> nauigio sepius fiebat ad tuendam terram, si forte cum illis conflagere et bellum committere oportunitas daretur,<sup>q</sup> aut armenta illorum inuenta depredari possent. Illis ergo hac in spe descendentibus septingenti milites regis ad explorandum exercitum Christianorum occurrerunt in equis et armis militaribus. Qui uidentes se nequaquam ab eis posse effugere, subito Gallorum turmas incurrerunt. Et prelia committentes, superati et uulnerati<sup>r</sup> grauiter adtriti sunt, fugam per nota loca facientes, et suam in terram tristes et<sup>s</sup> dolentes nauigio reuertentes. In hac conflictione Willelmus principem exercitus Vngarorum, et collateralem regis congressus, uirum illustrem et niueis crinibus renitentem, decollauit. Ex hac uictoria uniuerse legiones totam noctem illam in leticia uigilem duxerunt, et multos Vngarorum captiuos habuerunt.

29. Post huiusmodi plurimas congressiones et cotidianas<sup>a</sup> strages per longum temporis spacium, exercitus tedio uictus, et escarum

<sup>e</sup> ex A      <sup>f</sup> iacentes H      <sup>g</sup> appropinquantes AH      <sup>h</sup> sua H      <sup>i</sup> resistentes H  
<sup>j</sup> intorquebant H      <sup>k</sup> faciebant H      <sup>l</sup> citra AC; circa H      <sup>m</sup> pregrauatos A  
<sup>n</sup> Die ACH      <sup>o</sup> Willelmus AH; Wilhelmus C      <sup>p</sup> Ungariorum E      <sup>q</sup> daret E  
<sup>r</sup> A adds et after uulnerati      <sup>s</sup> ac ACH

29      <sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>72</sup> The Hebrew chronicle L has a confused account of the king of Hungary's attack on Emicho (Chazan, *European Jewry*, pp. 296-7).

their prayers and promises were not heard.<sup>72</sup> For this reason Emicho, Thomas, and Clarembald, men who were distinguished for soldierly deeds, came to a decision with the more careful of their companions, that they should lay waste the king's lands which adjoined this region, and should not withdraw from here until a bridge could be placed across the marsh and the river Leitha, over which they would penetrate, approaching the wall of the fortress by some artifice, so that even thus the way across Hungary would be opened up by the strength of their army. They stayed in front of the fortress for many days after the middle of June and put a bridge together, and they used often to fight with those they were besieging. The defenders of the fortress fought back bravely, hurling javelins from this point and that and inflicting considerable losses on both sides. Now and then the defenders burst out from the stronghold and by the strength of their armed men they would force the Gauls back violently across the river and bridge; now and then the Gauls would prevail and would send the Hungarians back into the fortress, battle-weary and wounded. However, one evening at about the ninth hour, Thomas, Clarembald, and William,<sup>73</sup> with three hundred men clad in hauberks and helmets who were skilled cavalymen, went down to a vantage point where the Hungarians very frequently passed by in boats to keep a watch on the lie of the land, to see if they could perhaps come to blows with them, and in case an opportunity offered to wage war, or herds of their cattle might be found to carry off. As those men were going down with this in mind they were met by seven hundred knights of the king who were reconnoitring the army of the Christians on horseback and fully armed. The Hungarians, seeing that they could in no way flee from them, suddenly attacked the troops of Gauls. And, joining battle, they were overcome and wounded and seriously diminished, taking flight through places well known to them and returning by boat to their own land, sorrowing and grieving. In this conflict William beheaded the chief of the Hungarian army, who was a member of the king's council, a distinguished man with dazzling snow-white hair. Because of this victory all the legions spent the whole of that night in rejoicing, and they had many of the Hungarians as prisoners.

29. After many such encounters and daily massacres over a long period of time the army was overcome by weariness and weakened by

<sup>73</sup> William 'the Carpenter', viscount of Melun (dépt. Seine-et-Marne, France). In *ChA* he is 'Li carpentiers Guilelme' (*ChA*, i. 69).

defectione adtenuatus, die constituto in uirtute loricorum trans pontem quem<sup>b</sup> firmauerant alii conferuntur, alii per paludes diffusi presidium Meseburch fortiter aggrediuntur. Et applicitis ingeniis, in duobus locis muros perforant, Vngaros non parce angustant, donec fere omnibus in crastino si persisterent aperiretur. Rex autem Kalamannus et omnis comitatus eius mature equos ascenderunt parati ad fugam uersus regnum Russie,<sup>c</sup> si tantam uim Gallorum superato presidio terram ingredi uiderent. Pontes enim longa uetustate dirutos reparauerant, per quos transire possent paludes et fluuios in terram Russie si necessitate cogerentur. Sed dum fere omnia prospere<sup>d</sup> successissent Christianis, et muros grandi foramine penetrassent, nescio quo casu aut infortunio tantus timor uniuersum inuasit exercitum, ut in fugam pariter redderentur, et<sup>e</sup> quasi oues a lupis irruentibus<sup>74</sup> dispersi et concussi hac et illac diffugium querentes, sociorum obliuiscerentur. Vngari<sup>f</sup> uidentes tam subito fortes athletas deficere et fugam maturare in uirtute magna e portis cum rege exiliunt, sine tardatione fugientes persequuntur, plurimam cedem exercentes, et plurimos captiuantes, et<sup>g</sup> plerumque noctis in persecutione consumentes. Pedestris uulgi utriusque sexus, tanta facta est occisio, ut aque Danubii et Lintax in sanguineas mutarentur undas. Plurimi uero et numero incomputabiles per aquas liberari  
 295 sperantes pre timore inmi|nentis occisionis Danubii undis ceco ausu inferuntur, et aquis uehementibus suffocantur. Mirabile dictu!<sup>75</sup> Tanta fugitiuorum submersio facta est, ut tam spaciosi fluminis aque pre tot milium corporibus per aliquantum temporis uideri non possent. Emecho autem, Thomas, Clareboldus, Willelmus et ceteri<sup>h</sup> pauci quorum equi cursu adhuc ualebant, incolumes euaserunt, et aliqui qui in palustri herba<sup>i</sup> et fructetis<sup>j</sup> latuerunt, aut in opaca nocte fugere potuerunt. Emecho et aliqui<sup>j</sup> suorum uia qua uenerant reditum fugiendo tenuerunt, Thomas, Clareboldus et plures suorum uersus Carinthiam et Italiam fuga elapsi sunt. Hic manus Domini contra peregrinos esse creditur, qui nimis inmundiciis et

<sup>b</sup> quam A    <sup>c</sup> Ruscie ACH    <sup>d</sup> prospera A    <sup>e</sup> ut H    <sup>f</sup> A adds uero after Vngari    <sup>g</sup> ac ACH    <sup>h</sup> alii ACH    <sup>i</sup> fructetisque ACH    <sup>j</sup> quidam ACH

<sup>74</sup> John 10: 12.

<sup>75</sup> 'Mirabile dictu' was a phrase much used in classical literature: *HL* iii. 367-8.

lack of food. On an agreed day some men in armour engaged in battle across the bridge they had constructed, others who were scattered through the marshes boldly attacked the fortress of Mosony. After they had positioned siege engines they penetrated the walls in two places, they pressed the Hungarians very hard, until entry was opened up for nearly all if only they could persist until the following day. However, King Coloman and all his company mounted their horses promptly, ready to flee towards the kingdom of Russia if they saw the very great force of the Gauls invading their land after taking the fortress. For they had repaired some bridges which had been demolished a very long time before, and by way of these they would be able to cross the marshes and rivers into the land of Russia if they were forced by necessity. But though almost everything had turned out favourably for the Christians and they had broken through the walls causing a great breach, I do not know by what chance or misfortune, a great fear took possession of the entire army so that they were put to flight in the same way, and they were scattered and alarmed like sheep when attacked by wolves,<sup>74</sup> seeking refuge this way and that way and forgetting their comrades. The Hungarians, seeing the bold champions deserting so suddenly and making haste to flee, sallied forth in great strength from the gates with their king; without wasting any time they pursued the fleeing Gauls hotly, inflicting very many deaths and capturing very many, and spending most of the night in revenge. There was so great a massacre of the crowd who were on foot, of both sexes, that the waters of the Danube and Leitha were changed into blood-red torrents. Many, indeed, an uncountable number, who were hoping because of their fear of impending slaughter to escape by taking to the water, were carried forward by the waves of the Danube in their blind attempt, and were choked by the violent waters. It is amazing to relate:<sup>75</sup> so many of the fugitives were drowned that the waters of that very wide river could not be seen for a considerable time because there were so many thousands of bodies. Emicho, however, Thomas, Clarembald, William, and a few of the others whose horses were fit to run the distance had escaped unharmed, along with some who had hidden in the grass and bushes of the marshes, or who had been able to flee in the darkness of night. Emicho and certain of his men made for the return road to escape by the way they had come; Thomas, Clarembald, and several of their men slipped away in flight towards Carinthia and Italy. In this the hand of God is believed to have been against the pilgrims, who had

fornicario concubitu in conspectu eius peccauerunt, et exules Iudeos licet Christo contrarios, pecunie auaricia magis quam pro iusticia Dei graui cede mactauerant, cum iustus iudex Deus sit, et neminem inuitum aut coactum ad iugum fidei Catholice iubeat uenire.

30. Fuit et aliud scelus detestabile in hac congregatione pedestris populi stulti et uesane leuitatis, quod Deo odibile et omnibus fidelibus incredibile esse<sup>a</sup> non dubitatur. Anserem quandam diuino asserebant spiritu afflatam, et capellam non minus eodem repletam,<sup>b</sup> et has sibi duces huius uie sancte fecerant in Ierusalem, quas et nimium uenerabantur, ac bestiali more hiis intendentes plurime copie ex tota animi intentione uerum id esse credebant affirmantes.<sup>76</sup> Quod absit a fidelium cordibus ut Dominus Iesus a brutis et insensatis animalibus sepulchrum sui sanctissimi corporis uisitari uelit, et hec fieri duces Christianorum<sup>c</sup> animarum quas precioso sanguine suo ab idolorum spurciciis reuocatas redimere dignatus est, cum celos ascensurus, duces, rectores et doctores populi sui sanctissimos et Deo dignos potius presules et abbates preordinauerit, quam bruta et insensata animalia. Sed quid mirum si modernis temporibus huiusmodi<sup>d</sup> abhominations, et tam feda scelera inter aliquas societates tot milium inuenta sunt,<sup>e</sup> que Dominus Deus<sup>f</sup> in caput eorum reddiderit, cum temporibus Moysi et Iosue et ceterorum seruorum Dei in medio iustorum inuenta est<sup>g</sup> iniquitas, et ab eo qui est Deus ultionum<sup>77</sup> uirga sue maiestatis correpta et purificata?<sup>h</sup>

30    <sup>a</sup> fore ACH    <sup>b</sup> impletam A    <sup>c</sup> Christianarum ACH    <sup>d</sup> huiusmodi H  
<sup>e</sup> sint A    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> sit ACH    <sup>h</sup> After purificata? AH add Explicit liber primus;  
 C adds Finit liber primus

<sup>76</sup> The story of the goose is reported more fully by Guibert of Nogent, who says the goose accompanied a little woman and even approached the altar at the church in Cambrai. The woman died in Lotharinga: Guibert says she would have done better to have feasted on the goose before she set out (GN, p. 331). The tale is confirmed by the Jewish chronicles S and L (Chazan, *European Jewry*, pp. 233 and 249).

sinned in his eyes by excessive impurities and fornicating unions, and had punished the exiled Jews (who are admittedly hostile to Christ) with a great massacre, rather from greed for their money than for divine justice, since God is a just judge and commands no one to come to the yoke of the Catholic faith against his will or under compulsion.

30. There was also another abominable wickedness in this gathering of people on foot, who were stupid and insanely irresponsible, which, it cannot be doubted, is hateful to God and unbelievable to all the faithful. They claimed that a certain goose was inspired by the Holy Ghost, and a she-goat filled no less with the same, and they had made these their leaders for this holy journey to Jerusalem; they even worshipped them excessively, and as the beasts directed their courses for them in their animal way many of the troops believed wholeheartedly, claiming it was the truth.<sup>76</sup> For never let the hearts of the faithful believe that the Lord Jesus is willing for the tomb of his most holy body to be visited by stupid and irrational animals, and for these to be the leaders of Christian souls, those souls which he had rescued, which he had deigned to ransom with his own precious blood from the filthiness of idols; since when he was ascending into the heavens he appointed as leaders, guides, and teachers of his people men who were very holy and worthy of God, rather than stupid and irrational animals. But what wonder if in these modern times such abominations and such foul sins are found in so many thousands among some peoples: for these were the Lord's repayment to them, when wickedness was discovered in the midst of the just in the times of Moses and Joshua and of the other servants of God, and from him who is the God of vengeance<sup>77</sup> the rod of his majesty is swift and purifying?

<sup>77</sup> Ps. 93 (94): 1.

## LIBER SECVNDVS

299 1. Igitur post discessum Petri Heremite eiusque exercitus grauissimum casum, dehinc modico interuallo post crudelem stragem <sup>a</sup>exercitus Godescalci presbyteri, <sup>a</sup> post infortunium uero <sup>b</sup>Hartmanni comitis Alemannie, <sup>1</sup> Emechonis ceterorumque fortium uirorum et principum de terra Gallie, scilicet Drogonis de Nahella, <sup>2</sup> Clareboldi de Vinduil, post contritionem sui exercitus crudeliter factam in regno Vngarie ad portam Meseburch: Godefridus dux regni <sup>c</sup>Lotharingie <sup>3</sup> uir nobilissimus fraterque eius uterinus Baldwinus, <sup>d</sup> <sup>4</sup> Warnerus de Greis cognatus ipsius ducis, <sup>5</sup> Baldwinus pariter de Burg, <sup>e</sup> <sup>6</sup> Reinardus <sup>f</sup> comes de Tul, <sup>g</sup> <sup>7</sup> Petrus quoque frater eius, <sup>h</sup> <sup>8</sup> Dodo <sup>i</sup> de Cons, <sup>9</sup> Heinricus <sup>j</sup> de Asca, <sup>k</sup> ac frater illius Godefridus, <sup>10</sup> fortissimi milites,

1 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> Godescalci presbyteri et eius exercitus *H* <sup>b</sup> *om. A* <sup>c</sup> *om. H* <sup>d</sup> *different MSS have at different times Balduinus and/or Baldewinus; Baldwinus is the most usual spelling in E and C* <sup>e</sup> *Bruch A; Burch E here, but Burg below; CH have Burg below* <sup>f</sup> *Reinerus A; Reinhardus C* <sup>g</sup> *Toul E; Tül H* <sup>h</sup> *ipsius AC* <sup>i</sup> *Dudo C; Dūdo H* <sup>j</sup> *Henricus A* <sup>k</sup> *Ascha AC, but C has Asca below; E has Asca here but Assca below*

<sup>1</sup> Hartmann, son of Hupold III, count of Dillingen in Swabia (Kr. Dillingen, Germany). In 1095 Hartmann founded the monastery of Neresheim; its first abbot, Ernest, is known to have gone on the first crusade. Although his name is not mentioned in book i, Hartmann apparently accompanied the expedition of Emicho, this being his 'misfortune'. He died in 1121. See A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History 1099-1125* (Occasional Publications of the Linacre Unit for Prosopographical Research, iv; Oxford, 2000), pp. 208-9, and id., 'Army of Godfrey of Bouillon', p. 321: here Murray points out that Hartmann's is the only name in the late German source *The Chronicle of Zimmern*, which can be confirmed from other sources. *Die Chronik der Grafen von Zimmern* (i. 79); Bernold of St Blasien, *Chronicon*, MGH SS v. 466, where he is cited as one of six leaders of the crusade.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a relation of Ralph, lord of Soissons (départ. Somme, France) and his son Ivo II, lord of Nesle and count of Soissons. Another son of Ralph was called Drogo, but he is known to have been in France between 1115 and 1157, while the crusading Drogo is attested in Palestine up to 1126: *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, 1097-1291*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893; *Additamentum* 1904), nos. 76a and 115; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 191. Drogo is also a hero of the *ChA* (*passim*), and features in the Latin epic of Gilo of Paris: *The Historia Vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris*, ed. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (OMT, 1997), pp. 148-9, 190-3.

<sup>3</sup> Godfrey, the future ruler of Jerusalem, is the hero of Albert's narrative. He was born c. 1060, the second son of Eustace II, count of Boulogne, and Ida of Bouillon, daughter of Godfrey the Bearded, duke of Lower Lotharingia and count of Verdun. In spite of being the second son, Godfrey succeeded to the duchy of Lower Lotharingia in 1087 as heir to his maternal uncle, Godfrey the Hunchback. There is no more satisfactory biography of Godfrey than J. C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington,

## BOOK TWO

1. Therefore after Peter the Hermit's departure and the very great disaster which befell his army; and then a short while after the cruel massacre of the army led by Gottschalk the priest; indeed, after the misfortune of Hartmann a count from Swabia,<sup>1</sup> of Emicho and the other brave men and princes from the land of Gaul, namely Drogo of Nesle,<sup>2</sup> Clarembald of Vendeuil; after the obliteration of his army which was cruelly carried out in the kingdom of Hungary at the gate of Mosony: after all this, Godfrey duke of the realm of Lotharingia,<sup>3</sup> a most noble man, and his brother Baldwin, who shared the same mother,<sup>4</sup> Warner of Grez a relative of that same duke,<sup>5</sup> Baldwin of Bourcq likewise,<sup>6</sup> Rainald count of Toul,<sup>7</sup> Peter his brother also,<sup>8</sup> Dodo of Cons,<sup>9</sup> Henry of Esch and his brother Godfrey,<sup>10</sup> very brave

Ind., 1947), but Godfrey's preparations for departure in 1096 are described in detail by Murray, 'Army of Godfrey of Bouillon', pp. 325-7.

<sup>4</sup> The eldest brother, Eustace III, travelled with Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy. Baldwin departed with Godfrey, accompanied by his wife and household. 'Frater uterinus' would usually mean a half-brother, but Eustace, Godfrey, and Baldwin had the same mother and father. Eustace is referred to as 'frater meus uterinus' in AA vii. 2, and the phrase is used hypothetically in AA x. 56. Evidently Albert wished to distinguish brothers by birth from brothers-in-arms.

<sup>5</sup> Warner, count of Grez-Doiceau (prov. Brabant Wallon, Belgium). He is mentioned once in the *ChA* (line 1163) and in cartularies in west and east, notably RR nos. 80, 134, 291. He died shortly after Godfrey in 1100 (vii. 21 below). See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 234-5.

<sup>6</sup> Baldwin's surname derives from Bourcq (départ. Ardennes, France). He was the son of Count Hugh I of Rethel and Melisende of Montlhéry, and Godfrey's kinsman. He was to succeed Godfrey's brother Baldwin both as count of Edessa (1100) and king of Jerusalem (1118); d. 1131 (Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 185-6).

<sup>7</sup> Rainald III, episcopal count of Toul (départ. Meurthe-et-Moselle, France) in Upper Lotharingia. He and Peter (see following note) were sons of Frederick, count of Astenois, and Gertrude, daughter of Count Rainald II of Toul, and kinsmen of Godfrey. Their participation in the crusade is confirmed by Laurence of Liège: *MGH SS* x, p. 494 (and see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 221).

<sup>8</sup> Peter, count of Astenois (Champagne), also known as 'Petrus de Dunperrun' from Dampierre-le-Château (départ. Marne, France), younger brother of Rainald (Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 219).

<sup>9</sup> Dodo, lord of Cons-la-Grandville (départ. Meurthe-et-Moselle, France) in the Ardennes. It is known from charter evidence that his wife Hadwida accompanied him on crusade: *Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert en Ardenne*, ed. G. Kurth, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1903), i. 80-2, 89 (Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 191-2).

<sup>10</sup> The brothers belonged to the family which held the castle of Esch-sur-Sûre (G-D Luxembourg) in the Ardennes (Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 205, 209).

ac principes clarissimi, eodem anno medio mensis Augusti, uiam recto itinere Ierusalem<sup>1</sup> facientes,<sup>11</sup> in terram Hosterrich<sup>m</sup> ad ciuitatem Tollenburch,<sup>n 12</sup> ubi fluuius Lintax regnum Gallie terminat et diuidit hospitio resederunt, curriculo trium ebdomadaram mensis Septembris, ut audirent et intelligerent, qua occasione uel<sup>o</sup> exorta seditione peregrinorum exercitus paulo ante hos dies perierit, et a proposito eundi in Ierusalem cum suis principibus et ductoribus auersus fuerit, <sup>p</sup>et iam<sup>p</sup> eis in obuiam desperatus redierit.

300 2. Tandem post plurimum mali rumoris, quid primum, quid cautius et consultius agerent ad explorandam rem et crudelitatem Vngarorum quam egerant<sup>a</sup> aduersus Christianos confratres dum sepius tractarent, uisum est omnibus utile consilium, ut neminem ex nominatissimis et capitaneis uiris ad inquisitionem tam nefandi homicidii et sceleris premitterent, preter Godefridum de Asca, eo quod notus esset Kalamanno regi terre, ante multum tempus huius uie in<sup>b</sup> legationem ducis Godefridi missus ad eundem regem Vngarorum. Alios uero duodecim electos ex familia ipsius ducis, Baldricum, Stabelonem,<sup>c 13</sup> et quorum nomina latent, una cum illo direxerunt, ut legationem tantorum principum in<sup>d</sup> hoc modo aperirent: 'Regi Vngarorum Kalamanno, Godefridus dux Lotharingiorum et ceteri comprimores Gallie salutem et omne bonum in Christo. Mirantur domni et principes nostri cum Christiane professionis sitis, cur tam crudeli martyrio exercitum Dei uiuentis interemistis, terram uero et regnum pertransire interdixistis, et uariis calumniis eos affecistis. Quapropter nunc timore et dubietate concussi, Tollenburch moram facere decreuerunt, donec ex ore regis intelligant, cur tam crudele facinus a Christianis Christianorum persecutoribus commissum sit.'<sup>14</sup>

3. Respondit rex uniuerso cetui suorum audiente: 'Non Christianorum persecutores sumus, sed quicquid illis crudelitatis ostendimus, aut in illorum interitu commisimus, nimia necessitate compulsi fecimus.

<sup>1</sup> *H* adds in before Ierusalem      <sup>m</sup> Osterrich *A*; Hosterrich *C*      <sup>n</sup> Tollenburg *A*; Toolenburg *C*; *E* has Tullenburch, Tollenburg below, and *H* Tüllenburch      <sup>o</sup> *om. ACH*  
<sup>p</sup> <sup>p</sup> iamque *ACH*

2      <sup>a</sup> fecerant *H*      <sup>b</sup> *om. H*      <sup>c</sup> Stabellonem *H*      <sup>d</sup> *om. ACH*

<sup>11</sup> Pope Urban himself had set the date for departure, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 15 Aug. 1096: see his letter to the faithful of Flanders in Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 136-7.

<sup>12</sup> Tulln (Niederösterreich, Austria) is some 25 miles west of Vienna on the river Danube. As the residence of the Babenberg dynasty 1042-1113, Tulln was effectively the capital of Austria at the time of the expedition.

knights and very illustrious princes, were making the journey by the direct route to Jerusalem in the middle of August of the same year.<sup>11</sup> They stayed in quarters near the city of Tulln in the land of Austria,<sup>12</sup> where the river Leitha marks the boundary and divides the kingdom of Gaul. They stayed for three weeks of September, so that they might listen and find out for what reason or how the insurrection had arisen in which, a little while before, the army of pilgrims had been destroyed and was turned aside from its plan of going to Jerusalem with its princes and leaders, and was now coming back towards them in despair.

2. At last, after a lot of destructive talk as to what they should do first, and what would be a safe and wise way to investigate the truth of the affair and the cruelty the Hungarians had shown towards their fellow Christians when they had dealt with them on many occasions, it seemed to everyone a sensible plan that they should not send in advance any of the most renowned and chief men for an enquiry into the abominable murder and wickedness, except Godfrey of Esch, because he was known to Coloman, the king of the country, having been sent a long while before this journey on an embassy from Duke Godfrey to this same king of Hungary. They sent along with him twelve others chosen from the duke's household, Baldric, Stabelo,<sup>13</sup> and others whose names are not known, to disclose the mission of so many nobles in this way: 'To King Coloman of Hungary Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, and the other nobles of Gaul send greetings and every token of goodwill in Christ. Our lords and princes wonder why, since you are of the Christian faith, you have destroyed the army of the living God with such a cruel martyrdom, and you have in fact forbidden them to pass through your land and kingdom, and have afflicted them with various false accusations. Because of this they are now shaken by fear and doubt, and they have decided to delay at Tulln until they learn from the mouth of the king why so cruel a deed was perpetrated by Christians persecuting Christians.'<sup>14</sup>

3. The king replied with all his assembled men listening, 'We are not persecutors of Christians, but whatever cruelty we have displayed towards them, or death we have inflicted on them, we carried out

<sup>13</sup> Baldric is later identified as Godfrey's seneschal and Stabelo as his chamberlain.

<sup>14</sup> This letter is reproduced (from the *RHC Occ* edition of Albert) in *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, ed. G. Györfly, 2 vols. (Budapest, 1992), i. 319, where it is characterized as 'fictum', although it may have been based on knowledge of a real letter.

Cum enim primo exercitui uestro quem Petrus Heremita conduxit<sup>a</sup> omnia bona accommodarem<sup>us</sup>, emendi licentia concessa in mensura et pondere equitatis, et pacifice illis per terram Vngarie transitum constitueremus, malum pro bono nobis reddiderunt,<sup>15</sup> non solum<sup>b</sup> in auro et argento, equis et mulis, et pecore<sup>c</sup> regionis nostre<sup>d</sup> auferentes, sed et ciuitates et<sup>e</sup> castella nostra euertentes, hominesque nostros ad quatuor milia mortificantes, rebus et<sup>f</sup> uestibus expoliau<sup>er</sup>unt. Post has a comitatu Petri nobis<sup>g</sup> tam intolerabiles<sup>h</sup> et iniuste illatas iniurias, subsequens exercitus Godescalci, et nunc recenter adtrit<sup>us</sup>, quem in fugam conuersum obu<sup>is</sup> habuistis, castellum ac munitionem regni  
 301 nostri Meseburch<sup>i</sup> obsederunt, in | superbia et potentia uirtutis sue<sup>16</sup> ad nos intrare uolentes, ut nos punirent et exterminarent, de quibus Deo auxiliante uix defensi sumus.' Rex autem, ut hec respondit, iussit eosdem legatos ducis honorifice in palatio suo hospitari, in loco qui dicitur Pannonia,<sup>17</sup> ubi per dies octo omnia illis necessaria in ipsa regis mensa affluenter<sup>j</sup> ministrata sunt. Post dies uero octo rex super legatione ducis consilio primatum suorum accepto, remisit legatos cum legatis<sup>k</sup> de domo sua<sup>k</sup> ut duci et primis exercitus in hoc modo responsa regis portarent: 'Rex Kalamannus duci Godefrido, et omnibus conchristianis salutem et dilectionem sine simulatione.<sup>18</sup> Audiui-  
 mus de te quia uir et princeps potens tua sis in terra, et fidelis inuentus ab uniuersis qui te nouerunt, et idcirco te semper diligens ex sola bona fama, nunc te uidere et agnoscere optaui, et exinde consilium accepi ut descendas ad nos et<sup>l</sup> castellum nostrum Cyperon, sine opinione alicuius periculi, et utraque ripa paludis residentes, tutum colloquium teneamus de omnibus que a nobis requiris, et quorum nos reos arbitraris.'<sup>19</sup>

4. Hoc regis nuncio audito, dux uniuerso cet<sup>u</sup> relicto, ex consilio maiorum, trecentis<sup>20</sup> tantum militibus assumptis ad regem profectus est<sup>a</sup> in<sup>b</sup> loco presignato,<sup>b</sup> et utrinque hinc et hinc omisso comitatu

3    <sup>a</sup> contraxit ACH    <sup>b</sup> None of the MSS follows solum by an accusative noun, though one is demanded by auferentes    <sup>c</sup> pecora AC    <sup>d</sup> nostra CH    <sup>e</sup> atque ACH  
<sup>f</sup> ac ACH    <sup>g</sup> om. A    <sup>h</sup> innumerabiles H    <sup>i</sup> Mesenburch E    <sup>j</sup> om. A  
<sup>k</sup> domus sue A    <sup>l</sup> ad A; in H

4    <sup>a</sup> om. A    <sup>b</sup> locum presignatum A

<sup>15</sup> Biblical, e.g. Gen. 44: 4.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Eph. 6: 10.

<sup>17</sup> 'Pannonia' may refer to the whole of Hungary at this time, but here probably the religious centre Pannonhalma.

<sup>18</sup> Rom. 12: 9.

<sup>19</sup> Győrffy also describes this letter (correctly, no doubt) as 'fictum', and he reproduces William of Tyre's version, which is couched in less direct, more diplomatic terms (*Diplomata*, i. 320-1; WT, pp. 163-4).

because we were compelled by an overwhelming necessity. For in the first place when we prepared all good things for your army which Peter the Hermit assembled, a licence was granted to buy goods in fair weight and measure, and we organized a peaceful passage for them through the land of Hungary. They returned evil to us for good;<sup>15</sup> not only stealing gold and silver, horses and mules and herds from our territory, but even destroying our cities and castles and killing about four thousand of our men; they plundered possessions and clothes. After Peter's company unjustly committed these quite intolerable outrages against us, Gottschalk's army followed, and the one that was destroyed, which was put to flight and which you met, laid siege to the castle and fortification of our realm at Mosony, wanting in their pride and in the tyranny of their strength<sup>16</sup> to enter our domain to punish and drive us out, from whom with God's help we were only just protected.' However, while the king was replying these things, he ordered those same envoys of the duke to be entertained with honour in his own palace in a place called Pannonhalma,<sup>17</sup> where everything they needed was served to them lavishly at the king's very table for eight days. After those eight days the king, who had taken counsel with his nobles about the duke's embassy, sent back the envoys with envoys from his own court to carry the king's replies to the duke and the army commanders in this manner: 'King Coloman sends greetings and unfeigned love<sup>18</sup> to Duke Godfrey and all his fellow Christians. We have heard this about you: that you are a powerful man and prince in your land, and found to be trustworthy by all who have known you, and because you are always careful of your good reputation I have now chosen to see and acknowledge you, and accordingly I have come to a decision, that you may come down to us at our castle of Sopron with no thought of any danger, and if our armies stay on either side of the marsh we may safely hold a conference about all the things you have asked us about, and of which you suppose us guilty.'<sup>19</sup>

4. After he had heard this message from the king the duke left all his assembled company, in accordance with the advice of his senior colleagues and, taking with him only three hundred soldiers,<sup>20</sup> he set

<sup>20</sup> There is no way of knowing whether this figure is accurate, or whether Albert made it up. Godfrey may have selected 300, or Albert reported that number, because it was the number selected by God for Gideon to lead against the Midianites (Judg. 7). In general Albert's numbers are no more reliable than any other medieval writer's.

suorum, dux, solummodo Warnero de Greis uiro nobilissimo et propinquo eius Reinardo de Tul et Petro euocatis, pontem qui paludi imminet ascendit, in quo regem reperiens 'benigne eum<sup>c</sup> salutauit, et humili deuotione osculatus est eum. Dehinc diuersa inter se<sup>d</sup> colloquia habuerunt<sup>e</sup> de concordia et reconciliatione Christianorum, quousque ratio hec pacis et dilectionis adeo firmiter processit, ut se dux fidei illius<sup>f</sup> credens, duodecim ex trecentis susciperet cum quibus cum rege in Pannoniam et terram Vngarorum descendit, fratrem uero Baldwinum relictum Tollenburch populum regere ac procurare remisso exercitu trecentorum constituit. Dux itaque Pannoniam ingressus honorifice ab ipso rege et primatibus suis susceptus est. Cui benigne et copiose omnia necessaria parata sunt de domo et mensa regis que tam egregium principem decebant. Dehinc rex per dies octo plurimum conuentum suorum habens, qui etiam ad uidendum tam nominatissimum principem confluerant, querebat  
 302 consilium | qua fide et fiducia saluo regno suo <sup>g</sup>et rebus<sup>g</sup> suorum tam copiosus exercitus fortiter armatus intromitteretur. Tandem reperi-  
 tum est consilium et duci declaratum, quoniam nisi darentur obsides uiri egregii et primores exercitus, nullus <sup>h</sup>sibi suisque<sup>h</sup> concederetur transitus, ne aliqua occasione assumpta, in uirtute tam innumerabilis gentis terram et regnum amitteret. Hiis auditis dux uoluntati regis in omnibus cessit, et obsides quos petebat dare non abnuuit, hac tamen conditione, ut ultra peregrinorum exercitus, tam presens quam futurus per terram eius transiret sine aliquo obstaculo, et pacifice mutuaret uite necessaria. Nec mora percussit rex foedus cum duce, percusserunt et uniuersi primores regni sui in iureiurando, non ultra peregrinis nocere transituris. Hiis ergo sic utrinque in uera fide firmatis, rex ex consilio suorum<sup>i</sup> requisiiuit Baldwinum fratrem ipsius ducis obsidem fieri, uxorem quoque<sup>21</sup> ac familiam eius. Quod dux sine ulla contradictione adimplere concessit. <sup>j</sup>Et statim<sup>j</sup> post dies octo missa legatione dux uniuersum precepit properare exercitum ad castellum Cyperon, ac tabernacula sua hac altera in ripa fluminis et paludis collocari.

<sup>c</sup> <sup>e</sup> benignissime ACH    <sup>d</sup> om. H    <sup>e</sup> habuere H    <sup>f</sup> eius H    <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> rebusque  
 ACH    <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> suis sibique H    <sup>i</sup> suo H    <sup>j</sup> <sup>j</sup> Statimque ACH

<sup>21</sup> Baldwin's wife Godechilde, or Godevere, was the daughter of the Norman lord Ralph of Tosny (Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 203).

out to see the king in the place that had been indicated, and, leaving his company of men on both sides here and there, the duke summoned only Warner of Grez, a very noble man, and his kinsman Rainald of Toul and Peter to go up with him across the bridge over the marsh. He found the king there and greeted him in a friendly way and kissed him with humble devotion. Then they held various conversations between them about friendship and the reconciliation of Christians, until this consideration of peace and love made such good progress that the duke was convinced of the king's good faith, and he took twelve from the three hundred with whom he had come into Pannonhalma and the land of Hungary to see the king; in fact he appointed his brother Baldwin, who had been left at Tulln, to rule and look after the people when the army of three hundred had been sent back. Therefore the duke entered Pannonhalma, and he was received with honour by the king himself and his nobles. Everything necessary was served to them with goodwill and in quantity from the court and table of the king, as was fitting for such an illustrious prince. Then for eight days the king held many meetings of his men, who had also flocked to see such a very renowned prince, seeking to find a plan by which such an innumerable army, heavily armed, could be allowed in trust and confidence into his country, and yet his kingdom and his people's possessions be safe. At last a plan was devised and was announced to the duke, that unless eminent men and leaders of the army were given as hostages, no passage would be granted to him and his men, so that the king would not lose his lands and kingdom, if some pretext arose, to the strength of such an infinite mass of people. When he heard this the duke acceded to the wishes of the king in all things, and did not refuse to give the hostages he sought, making the condition, however, that after this the army of pilgrims—in future as well as now—might pass through his land without any hindrance and obtain peacefully the necessities of life. Without delay, the king sealed a treaty with the duke, all the nobles of his kingdom sealed it also with a sworn oath not to harm the pilgrims further as they passed through. So, with all these matters settled thus on both sides in good faith, the king, on the advice of his men, asked that Baldwin, the duke's own brother, should be a hostage, and his wife as well,<sup>21</sup> and all his household. Without any argument the duke agreed to satisfy this condition. And at once, eight days after the embassy was sent, the duke ordered the whole army to hasten to the castle of Sopron, and their tents to be pitched on this other bank of the river and marsh.

5. Ad hanc denique<sup>a</sup> ducis legationem cepit nimium hilarescere exercitus et gauisi sunt uniuersi qui antea ex diutina ducis absentia hesitabant, existimantes eum in falsa fide traditum et extinctum. Sed nunc quasi de graui somno expergefacti surrexerunt, et iuxta ducis mandatum uenientes in ripa fluminis et paludis castrametati sunt. Collocatis itaque tentoriis, dux de regno Vngarie reductus et suis restitutus est, referens quantam ei rex curam et honorem exhibuerit, et omnia que cum rege et primatibus illius pactus sit, et quia frater eius Baldwinus a rege in obsidem cum uxore ac<sup>b</sup> familia requisitus sit, donec populus cum silentio et pace pertranseat, alioquin nullam sibi dari licentiam transeundi. Et post pauca statim ammonuit fratrem suum Baldwinum ut obses fieret pro populo, sicut decretum erat. Qui uehementer cepit reniti et contradicere, donec dux hesitatione illius turbatus, constituit ut ille curam exercitus Dei gereret, et ipse pro fratribus obses fieri non dubitaret. Tandem Baldwinus omni mentis sue fluctuatione exclusa, concessit obses fieri, et exilio pro salute fratrum suorum transferri.

- 303 6. Igitur tam preclaro principe iam obside facto, et rege una cum illo in Pannoniam regresso, uniuersus exercitus ex iussu et consensu regis per pontem trans paludem intromissus est, et ad fluuium Hantax<sup>a</sup> 22 castrametatus est. Castris uero positis, et uniuersis hospitio sedatis, Godefridus dux precones per singulas domos et<sup>b</sup> tentoria acclamare constituit, sub iudicio mortis, ne quicquam contingerent, aut uiolenter in regno Vngarie raperent, et nullam seditionem commouerent, sed omnia equo precio mutuarentur. Similiter et rex per uniuersum regnum acclamare precepit, ut omnem copiam rerum necessariarum reperiret<sup>c</sup> exercitus, in pane, uino, frumento et ordeo, in bestiis agri, in uolatilibus celi.<sup>23</sup> <sup>d</sup>Ac iussum<sup>d</sup> est sub iudicio uite, ne iniusta uenditione Vngari grauarent exercitum, aut conturbarent, sed potius omnia uenalia illis alleuiarent. Sic et sic per singulos dies in <sup>e</sup>silentio et<sup>e</sup> pace, in<sup>f</sup> mensura equa et iusta uenditione, dux et populus

5 <sup>a</sup> om. H <sup>b</sup> et AH

6 <sup>a</sup> Hantac E <sup>b</sup> ac ACH <sup>c</sup> repperiret E <sup>d</sup> Iussumque ACH <sup>e</sup> om. A  
<sup>f</sup> et A

<sup>22</sup> Not identified.

<sup>23</sup> Jer. 16: 4.

5. Then at the arrival of the duke's embassy his army began to be exceedingly cheerful, and they all rejoiced who were formerly uncertain because of the duke's long absence, thinking that he had been betrayed in mistaken trust and killed. But now they arose as if they were awoken from a deep sleep, and in accordance with the duke's command they came to the bank of the river and marsh and set up camp. When the tents were pitched, therefore, the duke returned from the kingdom of Hungary and was restored to his men, reporting how much care and honour the king had displayed towards him, and all the things he had agreed with the king and his nobles, and that his brother Baldwin had been requested by the king as hostage along with his wife and household, until the people had passed right through the land in quiet and peace; otherwise they would not be given permission to cross. And after a little he reminded his brother Baldwin at once that he was to be hostage for the people as had been decreed. But Baldwin began to resist and argue violently until the duke, worried by his irresolution, decided that Baldwin should assume the care of God's army, and he himself would not hesitate to become hostage in his brother's place. At last Baldwin put all the wavering out of his mind and consented to become a hostage and to be sent across into exile for the safety of his brothers.

6. Therefore, now that so illustrious a prince had become a hostage and the king had returned with him into Pannonhalma, all the army were allowed in over the bridge across the marsh in accordance with the command and consent of the king, and they set up camp on the river Hantax.<sup>22</sup> When the camp had been established, and everyone settled down in their quarters, Duke Godfrey appointed heralds to announce throughout each and every household and tent that no one, under pain of death, should touch anything, or carry off anything by violence in the kingdom of Hungary, or cause any insurrection, but should purchase everything at a fair price. In the same way the king also ordered it to be announced throughout the whole kingdom that the army might procure a plentiful supply of necessities: bread, wine, corn and barley, beasts of the field, birds of the sky.<sup>23</sup> And it was ordained, on pain of death, that the Hungarians should not burden the army by selling at an unjust price, or upset them, but rather they should offer all things for sale to them on lenient terms. So it was that the duke and the people crossed the kingdom of Hungary, every day in peace and quiet, buying in fair and just measure, and they arrived

regnum Vngarie pertransiens, Drowa<sup>§ 24</sup> fluuium peruenerunt, ubi congerie lignorum composita, et plurima uiminum copulatione facta, eundem<sup>h</sup> fluuium traiecerunt, assidue rege cum ualidissima manu equitum a sinistris gradiente una cum Baldwino et ceteris obsidibus, quousque ad locum qui dicitur Francauilla<sup>25</sup> peruentum est. Illic per tres dies remorati, uite necessaria, et quibus indigebat exercitus precio mutantes, cum omnibus Maleuillam descenderunt, in litore Sowa diebus quinque pernoctantes.<sup>26</sup> Illic duci ceterisque primis exercitus innotuit, quoniam intolerabilis uirtus milicie imperatoris Constantinopolis affuisset, ad prohibendam peregrinis uiam per regnum Bulgarie. Quapropter dux et uniuersi consilium inierunt, ut partem exercitus in armis trans flumen premitterent ad reprimendos hostes milites imperatoris, quousque<sup>i</sup> populus enauigaret. Non amplius enim quam tres naues illic reperte sunt, cum quibus mille equites loricati ad preoccupandum litus transmissi sunt. Cetera multitudo copulatione lignorum et uiminum fluminis alueum superauerunt.

- 304 7. Vix enauigauit populus et eorum principes, et ecce rex cum omni apparatu suo, et fratre ducis Baldwino eiusque uxore et cunctis obsidibus affuit, quos ibidem in manu ducis restituit, ac dehinc nimia dilectione commendato duce fratreque eius in donis plurimis et osculo pacis in terram regni sui reuersus est. Dux uero et omnis comitatus illius altera in ripa constituti in uilla Belegraue Bulgarorum hospitio<sup>d</sup> pernoctauerunt, quam Petrus et illius exercitus non longe ante depredati combusserant. Mane autem facto, dux et exercitus illius exurgentes, siluas immensas et inauditas regni Bulgarorum ingressi sunt, ubi legati imperatoris illis occurrerunt, in hec uerba nuncia deferentes:<sup>b</sup> 'Alexis<sup>c</sup> imperator Constantinopolis regni Grecorum duci Godefrido suisque sequacibus integram dilectionem. Rogo te, dux Christianissime, quatenus regnum et terras meas quas ingressus es gentem tuam uastare et depredari non patiaris, sed emendi necessaria<sup>d</sup> licentiam obtineas, et sic omnia sufficienter ex nostro imperio emenda et uendenda tui reperient.'<sup>e</sup> Hanc itaque imperatoris beniuolentiam dux intelligens, in omnibus se imperatoris

<sup>§</sup> *H adds ad before Drowa*

<sup>h</sup> *idem E*

<sup>i</sup> *quoadusque A*

7 <sup>a</sup> *om. A* <sup>b</sup> *ferentes A*

<sup>c</sup> *Alexius ACH*

<sup>d</sup> *om. H*

<sup>e</sup> *reperiant AH;*

*repperiant C; repperient E*

<sup>24</sup> The river Drau or Drava flows into the Danube east of Osijek (Croatia).

<sup>25</sup> Modern Slankamen, north-west of Belgrade (Serbia).

at the river Drava,<sup>24</sup> where they made a heap of wood and joined together many reeds and got across the river, with the king continually marching on their left side with a strong troop of cavalry, together with Baldwin and the other hostages, until they arrived at the place which is called Francavilla.<sup>25</sup> They stayed there for three days, and purchased the necessities of life and what the army needed at a fair price, then they went on down to Zemun with the whole army, spending five nights on the bank of the Sava.<sup>26</sup> There it became known to the duke and the other leaders of the army that the irresistible might of the imperial army of Constantinople was present to deny the pilgrims the way through the kingdom of Bulgaria. Because of this the duke and everyone formed a plan, that they should send a part of the army in advance across the river bearing arms, to keep back the enemy soldiers of the emperor until the people were clear. For no more than three ships were discovered there, in which a thousand armoured soldiers were sent across to take possession of the bank. The remaining multitude crossed over the river bed by joining together wood and vines.

7. Scarcely had the people and their princes got clear, when they saw the king in all his state, with the duke's brother Baldwin and his wife and all the hostages, which he restored to the duke in that same place, and then he returned into his own kingdom, having commended the duke and his brother with very great love, which he showed by many gifts and the kiss of peace. The duke and all his company settled on the other bank and stayed all night in the Bulgarian town of Belgrade, which Peter and his army had plundered and burnt not long before. When morning came, however, the duke and his army rose and entered the vast and strange forests of the Bulgarian kingdom, where legates of the emperor met them, bringing messages in these words: 'Alexios, the emperor of Constantinople in the kingdom of Greece, sends his entire love to Duke Godfrey and his followers. I ask you, most Christian duke, not to allow your people to lay waste and plunder my kingdom and territories which you have entered, but to obtain a licence to buy necessities, and then everything will be provided from our empire for your men to buy and sell in sufficient quantity.' When the duke learnt of the emperor's goodwill, he promised to obey the emperor's commands in all things. Therefore

<sup>26</sup> This is the correct name for the river Albert called the Morava in book i. The Sava flows into the Danube near Belgrade.

parere pollicetur mandatis. Vnde uniuersis indictum est, ne deinceps quicquam aliqua iniusta ui contingant, preter pabula equorum. Sic uero pacifice ex rogatu imperatoris pertranseuntes peruenerunt Nizh<sup>f</sup> presidium ipsius, ubi mira affluentia cibariorum in frumento, ordeo, uino et oleo <sup>g</sup>et plurima<sup>g</sup> uenatione ex imperatoris dono duci oblata est, ceteris licentia uendendi et emendi concessa. <sup>h</sup>Illic siquidem per dies quatuor in omni opulentia et iocunditate recreati sunt.<sup>h</sup> Post hec Sterniz dux cum omni exercitu profectus est, ubi non minori pinguedine donorum imperatoris sibi satisfactum est. Dehinc post aliquot dies<sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup>discedens, ad Phinepopolim ciuitatem preclaram descendens,<sup>j</sup> illic similiter ex imperatoris dono omnem habundantiam necessariorum habuit, per dies octo. Vbi nuncia illi allata sunt quoniam imperator Hugonem Magnum<sup>27</sup> fratrem regis Francie, Drogonem et Clareboldum in uinculis et carcere tenuisset.<sup>28</sup>

8. Hoc audito dux imperatori legationem misit, quatenus hos principes terre sue quos tenebat captiuos libertati restitueret, alioquin se fidem et amicitiam | illi seruare non posse. Baldwinus Hainaucorum comes<sup>29</sup> et Heinricus de Asca intellecta ducis legatione ad imperatorem destinata, primo diluculo duce ignorante uiam anticipauerunt in Constantinopolim, ut legatos preuenientes, ab imperatore ampliora dona consequerentur. Dux uero hec<sup>a</sup> grauiter accepit, sed tamen iram dissimulans Andronopolim profectus est, ubi quodam flumine natatu equorum superato, tentoriis positus pernoctauit. Pons denique qui trans flumen per mediam ciuitatem porrigitur sibi et suis ab incolis interdicatur. Dehinc exurgentes et Salabriam<sup>30</sup> properantes, tentoria posuerunt per amena loca pratorum. Vbi reuersi nuncii ducis ab imperatore, retulerunt quoniam captiuos principes minime reddidisset. Vnde<sup>b</sup> dux et omnis societas in ira<sup>c</sup> exarserunt, et illi ultra

<sup>f</sup> Niz AEH    <sup>g g</sup> plurimaque ACH    <sup>h h</sup> om. A    <sup>i</sup> om. E    <sup>j j</sup> descendens Phinepopolim ciuitatem preclaram A

8    <sup>a</sup> om. H    <sup>b</sup> Inde H    <sup>c</sup> iram ACH

<sup>27</sup> Hugh of Vermandois, brother of Philip, king of France. (Philip was excommunicate at the time so there was no question of his taking the cross.) Hugh's cognomen seems not to have been earned, but a corruption or mistranslation of 'mainsné' (or 'moins né'), meaning 'the Younger': *Histoire Anonyme de la Première Croisade*, ed. L. Bréhier (Paris, 1924), p. 14 n. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* i. 54. It is unlikely that Hugh was literally under such restraint, and the messages or rumours which reached Godfrey may well have exaggerated his plight. According to the *Gesta Francorum* Hugh had been detained by the governor of Durazzo (Dürres, Albania) and was sent 'caute' (which Hill, *GF*, p. 6, translates as 'under guard') to the emperor in Constantinople; while Fulcher says he was detained 'non omnino liber' or 'not entirely free'. Anna Komnene has a circumstantial and unflattering description of

it was proclaimed to all that they should not seize anything at all by unjust force, unless it was fodder for the horses. So in fact they crossed through peacefully in accordance with the emperor's request, and arrived at his own fortress of Niš, where a wonderful abundance of food was offered as the emperor's gift to the duke: corn, barley, wine and oil, and many game animals; to the rest a licence to buy and sell was granted. The army rested there for four days in great plenty and enjoyment. After this the duke set out with all his army for Sofiya, where he was satisfied by no less a wealth of gifts from the emperor. Then after some days he left and went down to Philippopolis, a splendid city, and there in the same way for eight days he had a plentiful supply of all necessities as a gift from the emperor. Messages were brought to him there that the emperor held Hugh the Great,<sup>27</sup> the king of France's brother, and Drogo and Clarembald in prison and in chains.<sup>28</sup>

8. When the duke heard this he sent an embassy to the emperor, requesting him to restore to freedom these princes of his land whom the emperor was holding prisoner, otherwise he would forfeit the duke's trust and friendship. Baldwin, count of Hainaut,<sup>29</sup> and Henry of Esch, knowing the duke's embassy which was intended for the emperor, set out in advance of it at first light on the road to Constantinople, without the duke's knowledge, so that they would arrive before the envoys and would get more gifts from the emperor. The duke received this news with displeasure, but yet, concealing his anger, he set out for Adrianople where, after they had crossed a certain river by swimming their horses, and pitched their tents, he spent the night. Then a bridge which stretches across the river through the middle of the city was barred to him and his men by the inhabitants. So they moved on quickly to Salabria<sup>30</sup> and pitched their tents in delightful places in meadowland. Here the duke's messengers came back from the emperor; they reported that he had not yet made any move to give up the captive princes. This made the duke and all

Hugh's arrogant behaviour; according to her he was shipwrecked on the Dalmatian coast, received in Durazzo and detained, 'not without supervision, but certainly free', and then escorted to Constantinople, where he swore to become the emperor's man: *Anne Comnène, Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937-76), ii. 213-15 (hereafter AC); trans. E. R. A. Sewter as *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (Harmondsworth, 1969), pp. 313-15.

<sup>29</sup> Baldwin II of Mons, count of Hainaut. Baldwin and his successors claimed Flanders, which may explain why he preferred to travel with Godfrey rather than his neighbour Robert of Flanders; see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 186-7.

<sup>30</sup> Silivri, on the Sea of Marmora near Constantinople (prov. Istanbul, Turkey).

fidem et foedus pacis<sup>d</sup> seruare noluerunt. 'Et statim<sup>e</sup> ex precepto ducis omnis terra illa in predam data est peregrinis et aduenis militibus, qui per dies octo illic moram facientes, totam regionem hanc depopulati sunt.

9. Imperator autem intelligens regionem grauiter depopulari, Rodolphum<sup>a</sup> Peeldelau, Rotgerum<sup>b</sup> filium Dageberti<sup>c</sup> 31 uiros disertissimos de terra et cognatione Francigenarum duci misit, rogans ut a preda regni sui et uastatione cessaret exercitus, et captiuos quos petebat redderet sine dilatione. Dux uero cum ceteris primoribus inito consilio adqueiuit legationi imperatoris, et amouens castra, preda interdicta, secessit ad ipsam urbem Constantinopolim, cum uniuerso comitatu peregrinorum, ubi fixis tentoriis hospitati sunt in manu robusta et intolerabili, loriceis et omni bellica armatura muniti. Et ecce in occursum Hugo, Drogo,<sup>d</sup> Willelmus<sup>e</sup> Carpentarius et Clareboldus laxati ab imperatore duci affuerunt, gaudentes illius aduentu, et sue multitudinis, in<sup>f</sup> amplexus ducis et ceterorum plurimo osculo corruentes. Similiter et predicti legati imperatoris duci occurrerunt, rogantes eum ut intraret palatium imperatoris, cum aliquibus primis de exercitu, ut audiret uerbum regis; cetera multitudo extra muros ciuitatis<sup>g</sup> remaneret.

306 10. Vix hanc legationem dux accepit, et ecce quidam aduene de terra Francorum | occulte in castris duci affuerunt, qui plurimum eum<sup>a</sup> ammonuerunt,<sup>b</sup> ut caueret uersutias et uenenatas uestes ipsius imperatoris ac<sup>c</sup> uerba dolosa, et nequaquam ad eum<sup>d</sup> intraret, aliqua blanda promissione, sed extra muros sedens omnia que sibi offerret secure susciperet. Dux igitur sic premonitus ab aduenis et Grecorum deceptiones edoctus, ad imperatorem minime introiuit. Quapropter imperator indignatione uehementi motus aduersus ducem et omnem eius exercitum, uendendi et emendi licentiam illis interdixit. Baldwinus uero frater ducis, agnita hac imperatoris indignatione et uidens populi indigentiam<sup>e</sup> et nimiam<sup>e</sup> defectionem necessariorum, egit cum duce<sup>f</sup> et ceteris magnificis<sup>f</sup> exercitus, quatenus rursus<sup>g</sup> per regionem<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>e</sup> Statimque ACH

9    <sup>a</sup> Rodulfum A; Rûdolfum CH. A has Rodulfus, Hrodulfus below; C has Rodolfus; H has Rodulfus and Rudolfus; N has Rodolfus and Rudolphus    <sup>b</sup> Rûtgerum CH—likewise AN below    <sup>c</sup> Dagoberti A    <sup>d</sup> Drogo H here, Drûgo below    <sup>e</sup> Willelmus C; Willelmus H; N has Willelmus below    <sup>f</sup> H adds et before in    <sup>g</sup> om. A

10    <sup>a</sup> illum A    <sup>b</sup> monuerunt ACH    <sup>c</sup> et A    <sup>d</sup> illum A    <sup>e</sup> nimiamque ACH    <sup>f</sup> ceterisque primoribus A    <sup>g</sup> rursus AE    <sup>h</sup> regiones H

his company furiously angry, and they refused to give the emperor trust and friendship any longer. And at once the duke instructed that all the land was to be handed over for the pilgrims and foreign soldiers to plunder; they delayed there for eight days and devastated all this region.

9. When the emperor heard that the region had been severely devastated, he sent to the duke Rodolph Peeldelau and Roger son of Dagobert,<sup>31</sup> men who were very eloquent and of the country and race of the Franks, asking that the army should cease from looting his kingdom and laying it waste, and should return without delay the prisoners he was asking for. The duke, indeed, having formed a plan with the rest of the leaders, agreed to the imperial legation; he forbade looting and moved camp, withdrawing to the city of Constantinople itself with the whole company of pilgrims: there they pitched tents, lodging in a strong and irresistible band, armed with hauberks and every weapon of war. And there they found Hugh, Drogo, William the Carpenter, and Clarembald, who had been freed by the emperor and came to meet the duke, rejoicing at his arrival and that of his large company, and falling with many kisses into the embraces of the duke and the rest. In the same way, too, the aforesaid imperial legates hurried to the duke, asking him to enter the emperor's palace with some of the foremost in his army, to hear the word of the king; the rest of the multitude should stay outside the city walls.

10. Hardly had the duke received this legation when certain strangers from the land of the Franks arrived secretly in the duke's camp, and they warned him very seriously to beware the tricks and poisoned garments of the emperor, and his deceitful words, and under no circumstances to go into his presence, no matter what coaxing promises he gave, but to sit outside the walls and, in safety, mistrust everything he offered to them. The duke, therefore, warned by the strangers in this way and well schooled in the Greeks' deceptions, did not go into the emperor's presence at all. On this account the emperor felt a violent indignation against the duke and all his army, and forbade them a licence to buy and sell. When Baldwin, the duke's brother, became aware of the emperor's indignation and saw the people in need and the very great lack of supplies, he proposed to the

<sup>31</sup> Evidently two Franks in the emperor's service, but little more is known about them. 'Roger, son of Dagobert' and 'Hubert, son of Raoul' witnessed the treaty of Devol, 1108, as members of the imperial court (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 138-9; trans. Sewter, p. 434).

et terram<sup>i</sup> Grecorum predas contraherent, escas comportarent, donec imperator hiis calumniis coactus, rursum<sup>j</sup> licentiam emendi<sup>k</sup> et uendendi<sup>k</sup> concederet. Imperator ergo, uidens terre regni sui predas et mala ingruere, licentiam uendendi et emendi omnibus iterauit. Erat enim<sup>l</sup> Natalis Domini.<sup>32</sup> <sup>m</sup>Et ideo<sup>m</sup> in tam sollempni tempore et diebus pacis et<sup>n</sup> gaudii, uisum est uniuersis bonum et laudabile et acceptum coram Deo, utrimque concordiam renouari inter domum imperatoris et ducem ac uniuersos prepotentes exercitus. Et sic pace composita, continuerunt manus ab omni preda et iniuria. Et hiis<sup>o</sup> quatuor diebus sanctis in omni quiete et iocunditate resederunt ante menia urbis Constantinopolis.

11. Post quatuor uero dies legatio imperatoris processit ad ducem, quatenus castra moueret eius causa et precibus et intra palatia que in litore brachii maris sita erant, cum exercitu suo hospitaretur, propter medios algores niuis et hiemis qui pluuiali tempore incumbabant,<sup>a</sup> ne tentoria eorum madefacta et adtrita perirent.<sup>b</sup> Cessit tandem dux et ceteri comprimores imperatoris uoluntati, et amotis tentoriis per palatia et turratas domos, que spacium<sup>c</sup> triginta miliariorum in litore maris comprehendunt, hospitati sunt cum omni exercitu Christianorum. Ab ea die et deinceps omnem plenitudinem cibariorum et rerum necessariorum ex imperatoris iussu reppererunt<sup>d</sup> et emerunt. Post paululum dehinc rursum<sup>e</sup> imperatoris legatio duci affuit, que eum ammonuit ad eum ingredi et eius uerba intelligere. Quod dux omnino rennuit, premonitus ab aduenis ciuibus de uersutia illius, sed uiros egregios illi direxit nuncios, Cononem<sup>f</sup> comitem de Monte Acuto,<sup>33</sup> Baldwinum de Burg, Godefridum de | Asca, ut excusarent eum, et in hoc modo loquerentur: 'Godefridus dux imperatori magnifico fidem et obsequium. Libenter et optato ad te ingrederer,

<sup>i</sup> terras ACH<sup>j</sup> rursus ACH<sup>k k</sup> uendendique CH<sup>l</sup> om. H<sup>m</sup> Ideoque AC; Deoque H<sup>n</sup> ac C<sup>o</sup> His ergo ACH11 <sup>a</sup> imminabant H<sup>b</sup> interirent A; deperirent CH<sup>c</sup> A adds per before spacium<sup>d</sup> reppererunt C<sup>e</sup> rursus ACH<sup>f</sup> Cānonem CH

<sup>32</sup> Albert and Anna Komnene are irreconcilable on the point of dating, for Anna says this took place at Easter. Thus one has to choose whether to believe the Byzantine princess, who was there at the time but wrote only some forty years later, or the Rhineland historian, writing close to the time but at second hand. Various ingenious solutions to the problem have been proposed, including that Albert intended the Lord's incarnation, i.e. the feast of the Annunciation, 25 Mar. (AC, ed. Leib, ii. 222; trans. Sewter, p. 320). Modern

duke and the rest of the nobles in the army that they should once again start looting through the region and land of the Greeks, carrying off food, until the emperor was forced by these acts of malice to grant again the licence to buy and sell. The emperor, therefore, seeing the looting of the lands of his empire and the evils that assailed them, renewed for them all the licence to buy and sell. For it was Christmas.<sup>32</sup> That is why, in this solemn time and these days of peace and rejoicing, it seemed good and praiseworthy to all parties, and fitting in the presence of God, for friendship to be renewed on both sides, between the emperor's household and the duke and all the powerful men in the army. And so peace was made; they restrained themselves from all looting and outrage. And for these four holy days they settled in complete peace and enjoyment before the city walls of Constantinople.

II. After the four days a legation from the emperor presented itself to the duke, asking him to move his camp, for the emperor's sake and at his wishes, and he would be quartered with his army within the palaces which were situated on the shore of the straits, because of the common chills of snow and wintry weather which were a problem in the rainy season, and so that their tents would not become soaked and worn out, and perish. At length the duke and the rest of his fellow nobles yielded to the will of the emperor, and after the tents were moved to the palaces and turreted dwellings, which stretched for a distance of thirty miles along the seashore, they were quartered with the whole army of Christians. From that day onwards they procured and bought every abundance of rations and vital provisions. A short while afterwards an imperial legation once more came to the duke, which advised him to come to the emperor and listen to what he had to say. The duke altogether refused to do this, having been warned by the strangers about the emperor's cunning, but he sent distinguished men to him as messengers—Cono, count of Montaigu,<sup>33</sup> Baldwin of Bourcq, Godfrey of Esch—to make his excuses and to speak in this way: 'Duke Godfrey sends loyalty and obedience to the great emperor. Freely and by choice I would come to you and contemplate

Byzantinists accept Albert's dating; see H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1988), p. 45 and n. 23.

<sup>33</sup> The eldest son of Gozelo, count of Behogne. Montaigu (prov. Luxembourg, Belgium) was a castle on the left bank of the river Ourthe near Marcourt in the Ardennes. Cono was accompanied on crusade by his sons Gozelo and Lambert. See also OV, v. 110, 166-8; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 189-91.

honores et diuitias domus tue considerarem, sed terruerunt me plurima mala que auribus meis de te innotuerunt,<sup>g</sup> nescio tamen si uel inuidia aut odio tui hec adinuenta<sup>h</sup> et uulgata sint.<sup>i</sup> Rex siquidem hec audiens plurimum de omnibus se excusauit, dicens numquam oportere ducem uel aliquem de societate<sup>j</sup> quicquam fallacie<sup>k</sup> de eo timere aut credere, sed cum suosque quasi filium et amicum<sup>l</sup> seruare et honorare. Regressi autem nuncii ducis, omnia que bene promissa et fideliter ex ore imperatoris audierant in bonum retulerunt. Verum dux adhuc minime mellifluis promissis illius credens, prorsus colloquium eius<sup>m</sup> refutauit, et sic inter hec nuncia hinc et hinc quindecim dies euoluti sunt.

12. Imperator itaque<sup>a</sup> cognoscens ducis constantiam, et ad suam presentiam inuitari<sup>b</sup> non posse, iterato moleste accepit, et ordeum et pisces ad uendendum subtraxit, deinde panis alimentum, ut uel sic dux coactus imperatoris presentiam non recusaret. Sed nec sic imperatore proficiente ut ducis animum emolliret, quadam die ex instinctu ipsius imperatoris quingenti Turcopoli, nauibus inuecti, per brachium maris, armati arcu et pharetra, matutinos milites ducis sagittis infixerunt, alios mortificatos, alios sauciatos, a litore<sup>c</sup> arcentes, ne illic emere ex<sup>d</sup> solito alimenta liceret. Continuo hec crudelis fama in solio ducis allata est. Qui ilico iussit cornua strepere,<sup>e</sup> populum uniuersum armari, et ante ipsam urbem Constantinopolim redire,<sup>f</sup> et tentoria<sup>g</sup> relocari. Ad hanc ducis iussionem signo dato cornicinum eruperunt uniuersi ad arma, et palatia et turres, in quibus hospitio manserant, alia incendio uastauerunt, alia comminuerunt, dampnum irrecuperabile Constantinopolitanis<sup>g</sup> inferentes.

308 13. Exorta denique iam<sup>a</sup> in palatio fama tam uehementis incendii et exterminii, dux nimium expauit, metuens ne flamma edificiorum et strepitu moti exercitus per|cepto pontem per quem transierant a ciuitate Constantinopoli ad palatiorum mansiones subito in manu robusta preoccuparent milites et sagittarii imperatoris. <sup>b</sup>Et ideo<sup>b</sup> sine mora premisit Baldwinum fratrem suum cum quingentis loricatis

<sup>g</sup> intonuerunt A      <sup>h</sup> inaduenta H      <sup>i</sup> sunt H      <sup>j</sup> A adds eius after societate  
<sup>k</sup> om. A      <sup>l</sup> amicos ACH      <sup>m</sup> illius A

12    <sup>a</sup> autem A      <sup>b</sup> A adds eum before inuitari      <sup>c</sup> A adds maris after litore  
<sup>d</sup> om. C      <sup>e</sup> perstreperere ACH      <sup>f</sup> tentoriaque ACH      <sup>g</sup> Constantinopolis H

13    <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> Ideoque ACH

the honours and riches of your court, but I am afraid because of many evil things I have heard about you: nevertheless, I do not know if these things have been invented and broadcast because of envy or hatred towards you.' When the emperor heard this he absolved himself from most of the charges, saying that the duke (or indeed any of his company) should never fear him or believe any lie about him, but he should serve and honour him and his men as if he were a son and a friend. The duke's messengers returned and recounted all that they had heard the emperor promise for their advantage, solemnly and faithfully from his own lips. But actually the duke still did not believe the emperor's honeyed promises: he absolutely refused to converse with him, and thus between these messages going to and fro fifteen days passed.

12. The emperor, therefore, recognizing that the duke was obdurate, and that he could not summon him to his presence, received the news with renewed annoyance, and removed barley and fish from sale, then bread to eat, so that the duke would be forced in this way to agree to see the emperor. But not so: one day, while the emperor was still trying to soften the duke's resistance, five hundred Turcopoles, at the instigation of the emperor himself, sailed in through the straits early in the morning armed with bows and quivers, and they shot the duke's soldiers with arrows. Some were killed and some were wounded, and they were kept away from the seashore so that they might not be permitted to buy food there as they were accustomed to do. Immediately this cruel news was carried to the duke's court. He instantly ordered trumpets to sound, the whole people to arm and to return before the city of Constantinople itself and pitch tents again. Upon this order from the duke the trumpeters gave the signal and everyone burst out to take up weapons, and they laid waste some of the palaces and towers—in which they had stayed as guests—with fire, others they smashed to pieces, bringing about irreparable damage to the people of Constantinople.

13. Then presently a rumour started in the palace about this violent fire and destruction. The duke was terrified, fearing lest the emperor's soldiers and archers, having noticed the flames of the buildings and the sound of the army on the move, might suddenly seize with a strong army the bridge over which they had crossed from the city of Constantinople to the palace buildings. And for this reason he sent his brother Baldwin in advance with five hundred armoured knights to

equitibus ad obtinendum pontem, ne aliqua uis imperatoris precurrens illum corrumperet, ac sic peregrinis transitus et reditus ultra negaretur. Baldwinus igitur uix medio ponte constiterat, et ecce a dextris et sinistris Turcopoli milites imperatoris, nauigio inuecti, circumquaque intranseuntes sagittis irruunt, et fortiter inpugnant. Quibus Baldwinus e ponte resistere nullam habens copiam, sagittas illorum effugere properauit, et sic<sup>c</sup> superato ponte uelociter in aliam partem pontis sicco litore se contulit, pontem obtinens et obseruans uersus menia domine ac<sup>d</sup> magistre ciuitatis, quousque totus per pontem migraret exercitus. Dux uero a tergo cum suis custodiam agebat. Interea a portis<sup>e</sup> urbis uersus Sanctum Argentum<sup>34</sup> infinita manus Turcopolorum et totius generis militum prosiliit in sagittis et uaria armatura ad expugnandum Baldwinum et uniuersum Christiane gentis comitatum. Sed Baldwinus immobilis et insuperabilis ab omni illorum assultu in loco constituto perstitit, donec a mane usque ad uesperum<sup>f</sup> populo trans pontem ante urbis menia relato, et castris positis hospitato, eosdem Turcopolos a portis egressos, et populum inpugnantem<sup>g</sup> cum quingentis loricatis fortiter incurrit, et utrimque grauiter commisso prelio plurimi hinc et hinc ceciderunt, plurimi equi Francorum sagittis interierunt. Sed ad ultimum Baldwinus preualens, milites hos imperatoris grauatos ac fugitiuos in portas remisit, campum et uictoriam potenter obtinuit. Verum Turcopoli et milites imperatoris indignantes se uictos in bello et<sup>h</sup> fugitiuos iterato et crebrius a portis eruperunt, ad lacescendum et expugnandum exercitum, quousque dux adueniens, quia nox erat omnia pace composuit, commonens fratrem cum uniuersis in castra redire, et a pugna hac in noctis umbra manus et arma continere. Similiter imperator metuens amplius et ualidius hanc belli tempestatem ingruere et uespere umbroso suos deficere et perire, pacem et ipse fieri imperauit,<sup>i</sup> letatus, ducem suos a bello pacare uoluisse.

<sup>c</sup> A adds sui after sic    <sup>d</sup> et A    <sup>e</sup> porta A    <sup>f</sup> uespere A    <sup>g</sup> A adds fortiter before inpugnantem; inpugnantes ACH    <sup>h</sup> om. ACH    <sup>i</sup> imperat H

<sup>34</sup> The *Historia belli sacri* (RHC Occ iii. 178) is the only other Latin source to refer to this place: the author says that Bohemond was quartered by the emperor 'extra civitatem in Sancto Argenteo'. Anna Komnene (AC, ed. Leib, ii. 221; trans. Sewter, p. 319) refers to a

occupy the bridge, so that no imperial force which hurried on before would break it up and in that way prevent the pilgrims from crossing and returning beyond it. Baldwin, therefore, had scarcely taken up his position in the middle of the bridge, when Turcopole soldiers of the emperor appeared, sailing in from right and left, and, as they crossed, the Turcoples attacked with arrows and fought bravely on every side. Baldwin did not have the force to withstand them from the bridge, so he made haste to flee their arrows, and having passed over the crown of the bridge, he quickly took himself to the other part of the bridge on dry land, so that he occupied it and kept watch towards the walls of the lordly and masterful city until the whole army could be transported across the bridge. The duke kept guard to the rear with his men. Meanwhile an endless band of Turcoples and of every sort of soldiers burst out from the gates of the city in the direction of St Argent,<sup>34</sup> using arrows and different weapons with the object of conquering Baldwin and the entire company of Christian peoples. But Baldwin stood fast in the agreed place, immovable and unconquerable in the face of their every attack, until from dawn until dusk the people had been taken back across the bridge in front of the city walls, and those who were rescued were lodged in the camp that had been pitched. He bravely attacked those same Turcoples with his five hundred armed men as they came out of the gates and boldly fought the people, and on all sides battle was fought violently; many fell on both sides; many of the Franks' horses died of arrow wounds. But in the end Baldwin prevailed; he sent these imperial soldiers back inside the gates, oppressed and put to flight, and he gained the plain and the victory convincingly. Truly the Turcoples and imperial soldiers, who were angry at being defeated in war and put to flight, sallied forth from the gates again and again and in ever greater numbers to challenge and overcome the army, until the duke arrived, and because it was night he reconciled everyone in peace, reminding his brother to return to the camp with everyone else and to restrain the troops and weapons from this battle in the darkness of night. In the same way the emperor himself, fearing any longer and in greater strength to press on with this storm of war, and that his men were deserting and dying in the dusk, was glad that the duke wanted to keep his men from warfare, and he also ordered that there should be peace.

Silver Lake ('Arguron Limnen'), which would seem to be the same place, and hence this incident took place near the palace of the Blachernae.

309 14. Crastina uero luce exorta, ex precepto ducis exurgens populus, terram et regnum imperatoris perlustrans, curriculo dierum sex grauiter depredatus est, ut uel sic saltem<sup>a</sup> imperatoris suorumque superbia humiliari uideretur. Quo cognito imperator tristari et dolere cepit, quoniam terra et regnum<sup>b</sup> sic dissiparetur. Qui statim accepto consilio, duci legationem misit, quatenus predam et incendium prohiberet, et in omnibus illi satisfaceret, in hec uerba loquens: 'Cessent<sup>c</sup> inter nos et uos inimicitie, et dux ad me ingrediatur, fiduciam et obsides sine aliqua dubietate a me recipiens quod incolumis ueniat et redeat, certus de omni honore et gloria quam sibi suisque facere poterimus.' Quod benigne dux annuit, si tales darentur obsides, quibus credere posset de uita et salute sua, et sic proculdubio<sup>d</sup> ad eum<sup>d</sup> descendens, libenter sibi uiua uoce et ore ad os loqueretur. Vix post hanc<sup>e</sup> ducis responsionem, legati imperatoris recesserant, et ecce quidam alii legati ad eundem ducem uenientes ex parte Boemundi<sup>35</sup> salutauerunt eum, sic loquentes: 'Rogat te Boemundus princeps ditissimus Sicilie et Calabrie, ut nequaquam cum imperatore in concordiam redeas, sed in ciuitates Bulgarorum Andronopolim et Phinepopolim redeas,<sup>f</sup> et tempus hiemale illic peragas, certus quoniam mense Martio inchoante, idem Boemundus cum uniuersis copiis in auxilium tibi est affuturus, ad expugnandum hunc imperatorem et illius regnum inuadendum.' Audita hac Boemundi legatione dux omne responsum econtra<sup>g</sup> fieri distulit, dum luce proxima exorta, ex consilio suorum, respondit se non causa questus aut pro destructione Christianorum a<sup>h</sup> terra et cognatione sua exisse, sed in Christi nomine uiam Ierusalem instituisse, 'et hanc<sup>i</sup> uelle perficere et adimplere consilio imperatoris, si eius gratiam et bonam uoluntatem recuperare et obseruare possit.<sup>j</sup> Hanc autem ducis intentionem et responsionem nuncii Boemundi intelligentes, benigne a duce commendati, in terram Apulie reuersi sunt, omnia sicut ex ore ducis didicerant<sup>k</sup> referentes.

14    <sup>a</sup> saltim *A*                    <sup>b</sup> *A* adds suum *afier* regnum                    <sup>c</sup> Essent *H*                    <sup>d d</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>e</sup> quam *E*                    <sup>f</sup> secedas *ACH*                    <sup>g</sup> contra *A*                    <sup>h</sup> de *A*                    <sup>i i</sup> hancque *ACH*  
<sup>j</sup> posset *A*                    <sup>k</sup> audierant *A*

<sup>35</sup> Bohemond was the eldest son of Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria 1059–85. In the early 1080s they waged war on Alexios along the Dalmatian coast with

14. At sunrise the next day the crowd rose up on the duke's orders and went right through the lands and kingdom of the emperor, plundering it severely for six days, so that in this way at least the arrogance of the emperor and his men should be seen to be brought low. When the emperor heard what was happening he began to be sad and to lament because his land and kingdom was thus being destroyed. He took counsel at once, then sent a legation to the duke asking that he forbid the plunder and arson and give him satisfaction in all matters, speaking in this way: 'Let the hostilities cease between us and you, and the duke come into my presence, receiving from me, with no misgivings, hostages and my assurance that he shall come and return unharmed, certain of all the honour and glory we can bestow on him and his men.' The duke graciously assented to this, on condition that hostages should be given who were men in whom he would be able to have confidence concerning his own life and safety, and thus he would go down without hesitation and speak to the emperor willingly with his own voice and face to face. Very soon after the duke made this reply, the emperor's legates returned, and certain other legates, who came to that same court from Bohemond's direction,<sup>35</sup> greeted the duke, speaking in this way: 'Bohemond, most wealthy prince of Sicily and Calabria, asks you not to return to friendship with the emperor in any way, but to withdraw into the Bulgarian cities of Adrianople and Philippopolis and to spend the winter months there, confident that at the beginning of March Bohemond himself will be there with all his forces to help you overcome this emperor and invade his domain.' When he had heard this legation from Bohemond the duke put off making any reply to it until the next sunrise when, after taking counsel with his men, he replied that he had not left his homeland and family for the sake of profit or for the destruction of Christians, but had embarked on the journey to Jerusalem in the name of Christ, and he wished to complete the journey and to fulfil the intentions of the emperor, if he could recover and keep his favour and goodwill. Bohemond's messengers understood the duke's meaning and his reply, and they were courteously commended by him, so then they returned to the land of Apulia to report everything just as they had learnt it from the lips of the duke.

considerable success, which explains why Alexios was extremely suspicious of Bohemond. The envoys mentioned here by Albert are not in any other source, but the incident is not at all out of character for Bohemond.

15. Imperator uero<sup>a</sup> Boemundi hanc nouam legationem et suggestio-  
nem intelligens, ducem eiusque amicos amplius de concordia sollici-  
310 tabat, quatenus si ei pla|cari uellet et terram eius pacifice pertransire,  
sibi uero facie ad faciem presentari in colloquio, dilectissimum filium  
suum Iohannem nomine<sup>36</sup> sibi obsidem daret, et omnia necessaria  
cum emendi licentia sibi suisque accommodaret. Hec imperatoris  
promissa decreta et firmata dux intelligens, ex consilio suorum castra  
amouit a muro ciuitatis, et iterum trans pontem hospitandi causa in  
brachio maris in muratis edificiis secessit, uniuersum exercitum  
ammonens ut pacifice<sup>b</sup> essent, et sine seditione necessaria emerent.  
Crastina uero luce exorta, Cononem comitem de Monte Acuto,  
Baldwinum de Burg, uiros nobilissimos ac<sup>c</sup> in omni uerbo disertissi-  
mos, iussit coram adesse, quos ad suscipiendum obsidem imperatoris  
filium confidenter direxit. Quod et<sup>d</sup> actum est. Adducto ergo<sup>e</sup> iam  
obside imperatoris filio, ac in potestate<sup>f</sup> ducis suorumque fidei  
custodia constituto, dux sine dilatione nauigio per brachium maris  
Constantinopolim aduectus est. Et assumptis egregiis uiris Warnero  
de Greis, Petro de Dunperrun<sup>g</sup> et ceteris principibus audacter curiam  
imperatoris ingressus facie ad faciem sibi astitit, ut audiret uerbum  
eius, et uiua uoce ei responderet super omnibus que requireret aut  
eum interpellaret. Baldwinus uero nequaquam tunc palatium<sup>h</sup> imper-  
atoris introiuit, sed in litore cum cetera<sup>i</sup> multitudine remansit.

16. Imperator autem tam honorifico duce uiso<sup>a</sup> et eius<sup>a</sup> sequacibus in  
splendore et ornatu preciosarum uestium tam ex ostro quam auri-  
frigio, et ex niueo opere harmelino, et ex mardrino grisioque et uario  
quibus Gallorum principes precipue utuntur, uehementer admiratus  
honorem ac decorem illorum, primum ducem in osculo benigne  
suscepit, dehinc uniuersos primates et collaterales illius eodem  
paciis osculo honorare non distulit. Sedebat autem imperator more  
suo potenter in throno regni sui, non duci, non alicui assurgens ad  
porrigenda oscula, sed flexis genibus dux incuruatus est, incuruati  
sunt et sui ad osculandum tam gloriosum<sup>b</sup> et potentissimum imper-  
atorem. Osculatis denique omnibus ex ordine, duci in hec uerba  
locutus est: 'Audiui de te quoniam miles et princeps potentissimus

15    <sup>a</sup> autem A    <sup>b</sup> pacifici H    <sup>c</sup> et H    <sup>d</sup> om. ACH    <sup>e</sup> igitur A  
<sup>f</sup> potestatem ACH    <sup>g</sup> Tunperrun A    <sup>h</sup> C adds in before palatium    <sup>i</sup> om. H

16    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> eiusque ACH    <sup>b</sup> gloriosissimum ACH

<sup>36</sup> The future emperor, John II Komnenos (1118-43).

15. But the emperor found out about this new legation from Bohemond and his suggestion, and he urged the duke and his comrades the more concerning a peace, saying that if he wished to please him and cross his land peacefully the duke should indeed present himself face to face in discussions; he, the emperor, would give his own very beloved son, John by name,<sup>36</sup> as hostage, and would grant to the duke and his men all necessary supplies, with a permit to buy. When the duke learnt that this promise of the emperor had been decreed and affirmed, after consulting his men he moved his camp away from the city wall and once again withdrew across the bridge in order to take up quarters on the straits in walled buildings, warning all his army to be peaceable and to buy supplies without quarrelling. At daybreak the next day he ordered Cono, count of Montaigu, and Baldwin of Bourcq, very noble men and experienced in every language, to come into his presence, and he instructed them to take into their protection fearlessly the emperor's son as hostage. This was done. Therefore the hostage, the emperor's son, was now brought to the camp and put with loyal care into the guardianship of the duke and his men, and the duke sailed without delay across the straits to Constantinople. Taking with him the illustrious men Warner of Grez, Peter of Dampierre, and the rest of the nobles, he entered boldly into the emperor's court and he stood face to face with him, so that he would hear his words and make a speech to him in reply about all the things he asked of him or he was annoyed about. Baldwin, however, did not enter the palace at all, but stayed on the shore with the rest of the great army.

16. The emperor, moreover, when he saw the duke who was so honourable, and his followers, in splendour and adorned with expensive clothing, lavishly fringed with both purple and gold, snow-white ermine, and grey and variegated marten fur, which the princes of Gaul use in particular, he wondered greatly at their beauty and ornament, and first he received the duke courteously with a kiss, then he was prompt to honour all the nobles and those the duke had brought with him with the same kiss of peace. However, the emperor was seated, as was his custom, looking powerful on the throne of his sovereignty, and he did not get up to offer kisses to the duke nor to anyone, but the duke bowed down with bended knee, and his men also bowed down to kiss the exceedingly glorious and powerful emperor. Then when everyone had been kissed according to rank he spoke to the duke in these words: 'I have heard about you that you

tua sis in terra, et uir prudentissimus ac perfecte fidei. Quapropter te in  
 311 filium adoptiuum suscipio, et uniuersa que possideo in tua potestate |  
 constituo, ut per te imperium meum et terra a facie presentis et  
 affuturi multitudinis liberari et<sup>c</sup> saluari possit.' Hiis pacificis et piis  
 imperatoris sermonibus dux placatus et illectus, non solum se ei in  
 filium, sicut mos est terre, sed etiam in uassallum iunctis manibus  
 reddidit, cum uniuersis primis qui tunc aderant, et postea subsecuti  
 sunt.<sup>37</sup> Nec mora aliqua ex erario imperatoris allata sunt dona  
 inestimabilia duci et cunctis qui conuenerant, tam in auro quam  
 argento et ostro diuersi generis, in mulis et equis, et in omni quod  
 preciosius habebat. Sic uero imperatore et<sup>d</sup> duce perfecte fidei et  
 amicitie uinculo insolubili innodatis, a tempore Dominice Natiuitatis,  
 38 quo hec concordia contigit, usque ante paucos dies Pentecostes,  
 per singulas ebdomadas, quatuor uiri aureis bysantiis<sup>39</sup> onerati cum  
 decem modiis monete tartaron de domo imperatoris duci mittebantur,  
 quibus milites sustentari possent. Mirabile dictu: uniuersa que ex dono  
 imperatoris dux militibus distruebat, in<sup>e</sup> mutatione alimentorum ad  
 erarium regis protinus redibant, et non solum hec, sed etiam ea que ab  
 uniuerso orbe illuc congegessit exercitus. Nec mirum: nam nullius preter  
 imperatoris merces, tam in uino et<sup>f</sup> oleo quam in frumento et<sup>g</sup> ordeo, <sup>h</sup>et  
 omni<sup>g</sup> esca, in toto uendebatur regno, et ideo regis erarium assidua  
 pecunia habundans, nulla datione uacuari potest.

17. Pace et concordia inter imperatorem et ducem hac conditione  
 firmata, qua diximus, dux in hospitium edificiorum in brachio maris  
 relatus, hactenus obsidem filium imperatoris honorifice remisit,  
 certus ultra de fide et amicitia ab imperatore suscepta. Altera  
 dehinc die acclamatum est ex iussu ducis per uniuersum cetum  
 Christiani exercitus, ut pax et honor imperatori et omnibus suis  
 deinceps exhiberetur, et iusticia seruaretur, in omni mensura uendi-  
 tionis et emptionis. Imperator similiter interdixit, in omni regno suo,  
 sub iudicio uite, ne quis noceret aut defraudaret quemquam de

<sup>c</sup> ac ACH<sup>d</sup> ac C<sup>e</sup> ex A<sup>f</sup> om. A<sup>g</sup> omique ACH

<sup>37</sup> The nature of the oaths demanded by Alexios of the crusader leaders has been the subject of much debate. Albert's understanding is unequivocal, and even though he does not refer here to the conquest of territory it is clear from later statements that Godfrey undertook to restore any conquests to the emperor. J. H. Pryor, in 'The oath of the leaders of the first crusade to Emperor Alexios I Comnenus', *Parergon*, NS II (1984), 111-41, argues that the crusader leaders swore oaths of fealty but did not pay homage, so they did not become the emperor's vassals.

<sup>38</sup> Evidently the season of Christmas broadly interpreted: see n. 32 above.

are a very powerful knight and prince in your land, and a very wise man and completely honest. Because of this I am taking you as my adopted son, and I am putting everything I possess in your power, so that my empire and land can be freed and saved through you from the present and future multitudes.' The duke was pleased and beguiled by the emperor's peaceful and affectionate words, and he not only gave himself to him as a son, as is the custom of that land, but even as a vassal with hands joined, along with all the nobles who were there then, and those who followed afterwards.<sup>37</sup> And without any delay priceless gifts were taken from the emperor's treasury for the duke and all who had gathered there, as much in gold as in silver and in purple of many kinds, in mules and horses, and everything which was valuable. Thus indeed the emperor and duke were fastened together by an unbreakable chain of complete trust and friendship, and from the time of the Lord's Nativity,<sup>38</sup> when this peace came about, until a few days before Pentecost, every week four men were sent from the emperor's palace to the duke, laden with gold bezants,<sup>39</sup> with ten measures of tetartaron coinage, with which the duke's soldiers could be maintained. It was a remarkable thing, though: everything which the duke distributed to the soldiers out of the emperor's gift went back straight away to the royal treasury in buying food, and not only this, but even the money which the army had collected there from the whole world. No wonder, for as with wine and oil, so with corn and barley and all the food in the whole kingdom, it was sold to no one's advantage except the emperor's, and that is why the royal treasury was perpetually overflowing with money and could not be emptied by the presentation of gifts.

17. When peace and friendship had been established between the emperor and duke on these terms, as we have told, and the duke had returned to lodge in the buildings on the straits, he sent back the emperor's son, until then held as hostage, in an honourable way, further assured of the trust and friendship he had received from the emperor. Then the next day it was proclaimed on the duke's orders throughout the whole assembly of the Christian army, that from then on peace and honour should be shown to the emperor and all his men, and justice should be observed in all matters of buying and selling. Similarly throughout his whole realm the emperor forbade anyone, on pain of death, to harm or cheat any of the army, but said

<sup>39</sup> 'Bezant' was the Westerners' name for a Byzantine gold coin, the 'hyperpyron': Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, p. 341.

exercitu, sed omnia equo pondere et mensura peregrinis uenderentur, precium uero alleuiaretur. Post hec quadragesimali tempore inchoante, imperator ducem ammonuit sue adesse presentie, 312 multum per amicitiam et fidem datam illum obtestans, et | deprecans, quatenus transfretaret et in terram Cappadocie tabernacula collocaret, propter edificia que populus incorrigibilis destruebat. Quod dux benigne annuit, ac traiecto flumine alio in litore in pratis Cappadocie ipse et uniuersus populus castris positus commorati sunt. Abhinc et deinceps paulatim peregrinis care omnia uendebantur, sed tamen munera imperatoris nequaquam duci imminuta sunt. Metuebat enim eum ualde. Dux uero penuriam uenditionis rerum necessariarum intuens, et populi clamorem moleste accipiens, imperatorem nauigio sepius conueniebat, de<sup>a</sup> grauitate uenditionis eum arguebat. Sed imperator quasi inscius, et id fieri nolens, rursus peregrinis omnia alleuiabat.

18. Interea dum hec a duce cum imperatore agerentur, et sanctum Pascha iam tribus septimanis euolutis processisset,<sup>40</sup> Boemundus decem milia habens equitum, et plurimas copias peditum, per Valonam<sup>a 41</sup> et Duraz,<sup>b 42</sup> et ceteras ciuitates regni<sup>c</sup> Bulgarorum descendens, in uirtute magna ante muros ciuitatis Constantinopolis astitit. Cui dux ex rogatu imperatoris cum uiginti primoribus de suo<sup>d</sup> assumptis exercitu occurrit, ut eum ad imperatoris presentiam sub firma fide introduceret, priusquam arma reponerent aut tentoria locarent. Tandem uero cum se inuicem salutassent, et dux diu cum ipso Boemundo ageret, et plurimis<sup>e</sup> blanditiis ei persuaderet, ut uerbum imperatoris auditurus curiam intraret, Boemundus uero prorsus negaret, ac referret se nimium imperatorem pertimescere, eo quod uir callidus et subdolanus haberetur, ad extremum conuictus bona promissione ducis et allocutione, fiducialiter palatium imperatoris<sup>f</sup> introiuit, in osculo pacis et in<sup>g</sup> omni gratia et honore susceptus. Deinde<sup>h</sup> diuersis colloquiis et consiliis inter se habitis<sup>i</sup> Boemundus homo imperatoris factus est cum iuramento et fide data pactus cum eo quod nihil de regno eius sibi retineret, nisi ex eius gratia et

17 <sup>a</sup> ACH add et before de

18 <sup>a</sup> Valona E <sup>b</sup> CH both add uel Dirachium over the line <sup>c</sup> om. A <sup>d</sup> suis A  
<sup>e</sup> plurimisque ACH <sup>f</sup> N starts here <sup>g</sup> om. A <sup>h</sup> Denique N <sup>i</sup> om. N

<sup>40</sup> Easter Day in 1097 was 5 Apr.

everything should be sold to the pilgrims in fair weight and measure, indeed the price should be lowered. After this, at the beginning of Lent, the emperor summoned the duke to come into his presence, entreating him pressingly by their friendship and pledged trust, and beseeching him to cross the straits and to set up his tents in the land of Cappadocia, because of the buildings that his incorrigible people were destroying. The duke graciously agreed to this, and when they had crossed the river he and all the people pitched camp and stayed on the other shore on the plains of Cappadocia. From then onwards gradually everything was sold to the pilgrims at a high price, but yet the emperor's gifts to the duke by no means grew less, for he feared him intensely. In fact when the duke observed the lack of necessities for sale, and heard with annoyance the people's protests, he would frequently go by boat to meet the emperor and make known to him the seriousness of the supply situation. Then the emperor, as if ignorant of the facts, and not wanting it to be done, would once again make everything cheaper for the pilgrims.

18. Meanwhile, while the duke was negotiating these matters with the emperor, and, as three weeks had gone by already, the holy feast of Easter had arrived,<sup>40</sup> Bohemond stood before the city walls of Constantinople in great strength, having ten thousand cavalry and very many troops of infantry with whom he marched down through Avlona<sup>41</sup> and Durazzo<sup>42</sup> and other Bulgarian cities. At the emperor's request the duke met him with twenty nobles chosen from his army, to escort him into the emperor's presence under a sure safe-conduct before they laid down their weapons or pitched their tents. When they had greeted one another and the duke had negotiated for a long time with Bohemond himself, and had persuaded him with very many coaxing words to enter the court and hear what the emperor had to say—for in fact Bohemond refused at first, and replied that he was much too afraid of the emperor because he was regarded as a crafty and sly man, but in the end he was convinced by the duke's good promise and comforting words—at last he confidently went into the emperor's palace, where he was received with a kiss of peace and all friendship and esteem. Then, after they had held several conferences and consultations between them, Bohemond became the emperor's man, and with an oath and a pledge of trust he made an agreement with him that he would not keep for himself any part of the emperor's

<sup>41</sup> Vlorë in modern Albania.

<sup>42</sup> Durrës in modern Albania.

consensu.<sup>j 43</sup> <sup>k</sup>Et statim<sup>k</sup> allata sunt Boemundo sicut Godefrido munera, miri et inauditi thesauri in auro et argento, uasa quoque preciosa opere<sup>l</sup> et decore, <sup>m</sup>et multo<sup>m</sup> ampliora quam ab aliquo possit estimari.

- 313 19. Interea<sup>a</sup> dum<sup>b</sup> hec concordia et foedus inter imperatorem<sup>c</sup> et Boemundum fieret, Tancredus<sup>d</sup> filius sororis Boemundi<sup>44</sup> brachium maris cum uniuerso comitatu et apparatu tam suo quam Boemundi transfretauit, clam imperatore, duce<sup>e</sup> ac Boemundo, ne et ipse subditus illi fieret.<sup>45</sup> Hac igitur Tancredi presumptione imperator audita moleste accepit, eo quod eius colloquium uitauerit. Sed tamen prudenter dissimulans, Boemundum atque ducem cum amore et immenso honore<sup>f</sup> et munerum<sup>f</sup> largitione commendatos, trans flumen ad exercitum remisit. Breui dehinc interuallo, affuit Robertus<sup>g</sup> Flandriensis cum immensis copiis.<sup>46</sup> Qui et ipse audita concordia ducis et Boemundi, cum imperatore foedus iniit, homo illius factus. Vnde ipse quoque sicut et illi ingentia munera de manu imperatoris meruit accipere. Dehinc post aliquot<sup>h</sup> dies ab imperatore benigne commendatus est,<sup>i</sup> et flumine brachii predicti maris emenso<sup>j</sup> in regione et pratis Cappadociae sociis et Christianis principibus admixtis armis et copiis associatus est.

20. Non multo dehinc tempore tam egregiis uiris in unum collatis, placuit ex communi consilio, quatenus iam congruum tempus expeditionis operti, sicut deuouerant, deinceps uiam continuarent uersus ciuitatem Niceam, quam gentilis uirtus Turcorum<sup>a</sup> imperatori

<sup>j</sup> assensu ACN      <sup>k k</sup> Statimque ACHN      <sup>l</sup> A adds in before opere  
<sup>m m</sup> multoque ACHN

19    <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>b</sup> cum CN      <sup>c</sup> N adds principem before imperatorem  
<sup>d</sup> Tancredus ACE, but E usually has Tancradus      <sup>e</sup> N adds et before duce  
<sup>f f</sup> munerumque ACHN      <sup>g</sup> Rūbertus CH      <sup>h</sup> aliquos N      <sup>i</sup> om. N  
<sup>j</sup> immenso N

20    <sup>a</sup> om. H

<sup>43</sup> Albert is unambiguous on the terms of Bohemond's oath, but may have been influenced by knowledge of later events when Bohemond appropriated Antioch. Compare the *Gesta Francorum*, whose author reports that the emperor 'told Bohemond that he would give him lands beyond Antioch, fifteen days' journey in length and eight in width, provided that he would swear fealty . . .' (GF, p. 12). A. C. Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the first crusade', in Pactow, ed., *The Crusades*, pp. 57-78, proposes that this is an interpolation in the *Gesta*.

<sup>44</sup> Tancred, son of Robert Guiscard's daughter Emma, and the youngest of the leaders,

realm, except by his favour and consent.<sup>43</sup> And at once gifts were brought to Bohemond, as they had been to Godfrey, wonderful and unbelievable treasures in gold and silver, vessels also, valuable in their workmanship and adornment and far more splendid than anyone can imagine.

19. Meanwhile, while this agreement and treaty was being made between the emperor and Bohemond, Tancred, who was Bohemond's sister's son,<sup>44</sup> crossed the straits with all the men and equipment that belonged to himself as well as to Bohemond, keeping it a secret from the emperor, the duke, and Bohemond, so that he would not also be made subject to him.<sup>45</sup> When the emperor heard of this act of audacity he received the news with annoyance because Tancred had avoided a conference with him. But at length he wisely concealed his feelings and sent Bohemond and the duke back across the river to the army, charged with his affection and his infinite esteem and a profusion of gifts. A short time after this Robert of Flanders arrived with vast forces of men,<sup>46</sup> and, when he heard of the agreement the duke and Bohemond had made, he as well entered into a treaty with the emperor and became his man. And then he as well, just as the others had been, was rewarded with enormous gifts from the emperor's hand. Then after some days he was graciously commended by the emperor, and after crossing the straits which are mentioned above, he was united with his weapons and forces which were mingled with those of his allies and Christian princes in the region and on the plains of Cappadocia.

20. Not long after this it was agreed in a general council by all these very illustrious men who had been brought together that as it was already a suitable time for the expedition they were waiting for, just as they had vowed, they should now continue their journey towards the city of Nicaea, which a heathen force of Turks had wrongly seized

being not yet 20. The standard biography is R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: Crusading Leader and Lord of Galilee and Antioch* (Chicago, 1940).

<sup>43</sup> On this Albert and the *Gesta Francorum* agree (*GF*, p. 13).

<sup>46</sup> Robert II, count of Flanders, was the son of Robert I 'the Frisian' who had travelled as a pilgrim to Jerusalem between 1087 and 1089. While returning he met Alexios Komnenos and he promised to send 500 knights to assist him against the Turks and Pechenegs. These knights fought for Alexios in Asia Minor in 1090 (*AC*, ed. Leib, ii. 109-10; trans. Sewter, p. 252). This precedent may have influenced Alexios in appealing for help from the West, and Robert II in responding to it: M. M. Knappen, 'Robert II of Flanders in the first crusade', in Paetow, ed., *The Crusades*, pp. 79-100.

iniuste creptam suo subiugauit dominio.<sup>b 47</sup> Eadem siquidem<sup>c</sup> die qua castra mouerunt Rufinel<sup>48</sup> applicuerunt. Et ecce legatio<sup>d</sup> Reimundi comitis Sancti Egidii<sup>49</sup> affuit, quoniam et ipse in ciuitatem Constantinopolim ingressus, cum imperatore foedus percussisset, rogans et obtestans, quatenus eum et episcopum de Podio Naimerum<sup>e 50</sup> nomine prestolari uellent. Hii uero se minime eum prestolari, aut longius hiis partibus inmorari astruxerunt, sed paulatim se precedere, ipsum uero<sup>f</sup> comitem recto et non nimium maturato calle posse subsequi, rebus suis caute et diligenter cum impera|tore ordinatis.<sup>g</sup>

314 Ibidem Rufinel<sup>h</sup> Petrus Heremita prestolatus principes cum paucis reliquiis sue adtrite multitudinis adiunctus est. Comitis uero Reimundi legati, accepto ducis responso, Constantinopolim reuersi sunt. Dux siquidem et<sup>i</sup> Boemundus, Robertus Flandriensis, donis preciosis a rege donati, et nimium commendati, iter suum continuant. Reimundus gratosus et dilectus factus imperatori, diebus quindecim Constantinopolis<sup>j</sup> moram fecit, plurimum honoris et doni ab imperatore consecutus, sub fide et sacramento factus homo illius.<sup>51</sup>

21. In hiis itaque diebus Robertus Nortmannorum<sup>a</sup> comes,<sup>52</sup> Stephanus Blesensis,<sup>53</sup> Eustachius<sup>b 54</sup> frater predicti ducis cum ingenti manu equitum et peditum similiter affuerunt. Qui et ipsi cum imperatore foedus et amicitiam ineuntes, 'et homines<sup>c</sup> illius in fidei iuramento facti, nimiis donis ab eo honestati sunt. Dux uero et qui cum eo erant interea Niceam urbem descenderunt, quo ipse dux

<sup>b</sup> imperio *A*    <sup>c</sup> quippe *A*    <sup>d</sup> legatus *N*    <sup>e</sup> Naunerum *A*; *N* has Nanner- below  
<sup>f</sup> om. *A*    <sup>g</sup> dispositis *A*    <sup>h</sup> Rufenel *A*    <sup>i</sup> om. *A*    <sup>j</sup> Constantinopoli *ACN*; Constantinopolim *H*

21    <sup>a</sup> Normannorum *H*    <sup>b</sup> Eustacius *EHN* below    <sup>c</sup> hominesque *E*

<sup>47</sup> The Saljūq Turks had taken Nicaea (İznik) following their victory over the Byzantines at Manzikert, 1071. It had changed hands among rival Turkish factions, but since 1092 it had been ruled by Qilij Arslan as the capital of the restored Saljūq sultanate of Rūm.

<sup>48</sup> Runciman (i. 178) identifies Rufinel as Nicomedia (İzmit).

<sup>49</sup> Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse and marquis of Provence, was the first of the magnates to respond to Pope Urban's appeal: in fact, he enlisted so rapidly that it is believed that he had been primed by the pope. When he set out Raymond was in his mid-fifties; he had left his son Bertrand to govern his lands in Provence and did not expect to return to the West: Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles*.

<sup>50</sup> Adhémar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, appointed by Urban II to be his legate on the expedition: J. H. and L. L. Hill, 'Contemporary accounts and the later reputation of Adhémar, bishop of Puy', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, ix (1955), 30-8.

<sup>51</sup> According to Raymond of Aguilers who, as Count Raymond's chaplain, must be accounted better informed, Raymond refused to swear homage, but promised to respect the

from the emperor and subjected to their own authority.<sup>47</sup> And in fact they struck camp that very same day and made for Rufinel.<sup>48</sup> There they found messengers from Raymond, count of Saint-Gilles,<sup>49</sup> who reported that he also had entered Constantinople and had concluded a treaty with the emperor, and he asked and demanded that the army wait for him and the bishop of Le Puy, who was called Adhémar.<sup>50</sup> The allies, however, declared that they were not prepared to wait for him at all, or to delay any longer in this region, but they would go on ahead slowly; the count could follow by a mountain path that was straight and not too precipitous after he had carefully and conscientiously settled his affairs with the emperor. Peter the Hermit, who had been waiting at the same place, Rufinel, joined the princes with the few survivors of his battered crowd of followers. When they had received the duke's reply, Count Raymond's messengers returned to Constantinople. The duke, in fact, and Bohemond and Robert of Flanders, continued their journey after the emperor had bestowed on them precious gifts and very many signs of approval. Raymond, who became favoured and esteemed by the emperor, stayed on for fifteen days in Constantinople; he gained a very large quantity of rewards and gifts from the emperor, and became his man on his honour and solemn oath.<sup>51</sup>

21. At this same time Robert, count of Normandy,<sup>52</sup> Stephen of Blois,<sup>53</sup> and Eustace,<sup>54</sup> Duke Godfrey's brother, were likewise there with an enormous company of cavalry and infantry. They also entered into a treaty and friendship with the emperor; they became his men in sworn allegiance and were honoured by him with very many gifts. The duke, meanwhile, and those who were with him, went down to the town of Nicaea where the duke pitched camp and

emperor's life and honour. This did not prevent Count Raymond and the emperor forming a 'special relationship' as described both by Albert and by Anna Komnene: RA, pp. 41-2; *GF*, p. 13; AC, ed. Leib, ii. 234-5; trans. Sewter, pp. 329-30.

<sup>52</sup> Robert was born in the early 1050s, the eldest son of William, duke of Normandy, and Matilda, daughter of Count Baldwin V of Flanders. To finance his expedition he pawned Normandy to his brother King William II (William Rufus) of England. The definitive biography remains C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920).

<sup>53</sup> Stephen, count of Blois, son of Theobald III. Stephen was married to the redoubtable Adela, daughter of William I of England. Two of Stephen's letters written to Adela during the expedition have survived: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 138-40; 149-52.

<sup>54</sup> Eustace III of Boulogne. Although Eustace travelled to Constantinople with Robert of Normandy and with his lord, Robert of Flanders, he was later closely associated with his brother Godfrey: Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 193.

primus obsidionem ante maiorem portam urbis positis castris constituit fieri. Subsecutis uero principibus paucissima requies in terminis Cappadociae fuit, trans predictum brachium maris Sancti Georgii, sed festinato itinere et ipsi castrametati, circa Nicenam<sup>d</sup> urbem consederunt, quae menibus, muris, munitionibus turrium insuperabilis uidebatur. In hac urbe antiqua et robustissima, Solimannus unus de<sup>e</sup> principibus Turcorum, uir nobilissimus sed gentilis, dominio preerat. Qui, audito Christianorum intentionis aduentu, omni armatura fortium uirorum ciuitatem munivit, quin alimenta copiosa undecumque collecta intulit, portas uero undique seris firmissimis<sup>f</sup> obstruxit. Vt enim circa urbem et eius menia in equis uelocissimis predicti principes conuenerunt, alii in assultibus et discursibus equorum delectabantur, turres et firmissima menia admirantes, <sup>g</sup>et muros<sup>g</sup> duplices. Sed neque hiis circumspectis aliqua formidine concuti potuerunt, uerum omni uirtute et militari habitu animati urbem assiliunt et impugnant, alii uero pedestri aggressu non minus arcu et sagittis defensores urbis bello lacescunt, sed plures grauissimis ictibus a<sup>h</sup> iaculis desuper repugnantium adtriti sunt, qui incaute<sup>i</sup> et ceco impetu ac subito fragore prelia iuxta muros temptare ausi sunt.

- 315 22. Principes uero exercitus uidentes sic frustra et inutiles bello populum perire, nec quicquam inclusis huic presidio<sup>a</sup> posse nocere, nil melius senserunt, quam ut obsidione circumquaque posita urbem cogerent et custodes murorum. Vnde in prima obsidione Godefridus dux Lotharingie princeps ac domnus de castello Bullonis,<sup>b</sup> cum uniuerso comitatu Lotharingiorum constitutus est. Boemundus princeps Sicilie et Calabrie, natione Nortmannus, uir alti cordis et miri ingenii ac<sup>e</sup> omni militari uirtute, in rebus bellicis aptissimus, et opibus ditissimus, uicinam sedem collocauit. Tancradus, tyro illustris, iuxta eundem Boemundum auunculum quidem<sup>d</sup> suum cum suis sodalibus consedere<sup>e</sup> decernitur. Tatinus<sup>f</sup> quidam truncati nasi familiaris imperatoris Constantinopolis,<sup>g</sup> et eius

<sup>d</sup> Niceam ACHN      <sup>e</sup> ex H      <sup>f</sup> fortissimis A      <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> muros quoque ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>i</sup> incauto N

22    <sup>a</sup> prelio N      <sup>b</sup> Bullionis N      <sup>c</sup> et A      <sup>d</sup> om. A      <sup>e</sup> sedere A; considerare H  
<sup>f</sup> Tatinus N      <sup>g</sup> Constantinopolitani A

was the first to decide that the blockade should be in front of the main gate of the town. There was only the shortest respite in the lands of Cappadocia for the princes who were following him across the aforementioned straits of St George; but after a hurried journey and themselves pitching their tents they took up positions around the town of Nicaea, which seemed unassailable in its ramparts, walls, and fortifications of towers. In this ancient and strongly fortified town one of the princes of the Turks, Suleyman, a very noble man but also a heathen, was in charge of the government. When he heard of the arrival of the Christians' assault force he fortified the city with all the armament of brave men, bringing in plenty of food, of course, gathered from wherever it might be, and he barricaded the gates on all sides with very strong bars. For indeed, as the aforesaid princes assembled around the city and its walls on their swiftest horses, some were charmed by the leaping and capering of their mounts, wondering at the towers and very strong defences, and at the double walls. But even when they saw these all around they were yet not able to feel any sense of horror, but rather they were inspired by every sort of heroism and warlike feeling and they rushed towards the city and attacked; others of the princes, indeed, provoked the defenders of the city to battle by an attack on foot and also with bows and arrows, but many of them were destroyed by the javelins of the counter-attackers which inflicted very severe blows from above: these who died were the ones who had heedlessly dared to attempt battles next to the walls with a blind rush and a sudden attack.

22. The leaders of the army saw the people dying in this way to no purpose and in useless warfare and quite unable to harm those who were shut in the fortress, but they could think of no better plan than to apply force to the city and those guarding the walls by blockading on every side. So Godfrey, duke of Lotharingia, prince and lord of the castle of Bouillon, was established in the first blockade position with his whole company of Lotharingians. Bohemond, prince of Sicily and Calabria, took up the neighbouring position; he was a Norman by nationality, a man of high courage and wonderful talent and with every warlike attribute, very skilled in military matters and very rich in resources. Tancred, a distinguished young knight, was stationed with his companions next to this same Bohemond, who was his uncle. Tatikios, a man with a cut-off nose who was a servant of the emperor of Constantinople and privy to his secrets, was commander

secretorum conscius, ductor Christiani exercitus, eo quod loca regionis sibi nota essent,<sup>55</sup> cum auxiliari manu militum eiusdem imperatoris, urbem in decreta sibi parte premebat. Comes Robertus Flandriensis, nulli illic dispar in armis diuitiis et uiribus, comes uero Robertus princeps Nortmannie filius regis Anglorum, ferocissimus armis militaribus <sup>h</sup>et rebus<sup>h</sup> ditissimus, iuxta predictos in obsidione eiusdem urbis in ordine locati sunt. Warnerus de Greis castro,<sup>i</sup> miles inreprehensibilis in arte bellica, Eustachius frater predicti ducis Godefridi, cum Baldwino fratre eorum uiro clarissimo et bellis<sup>j</sup> inuictissimo pariter in ordine consederunt. Baldwinus de Monte castello<sup>k</sup> Hainaucorum<sup>l</sup> comes et princeps, uir<sup>m</sup> illustrissimus in omni militari actione, Thomas de Feria castro<sup>56</sup> Francigena, miles acerrimus, una cum Baldwino de Burg, Drogo de Nahella, Gerardus<sup>n</sup> de Keresi castello,<sup>57</sup> Anselmus<sup>o</sup> de Riburgis Monte,<sup>58</sup> Hugo comes de Sancto Paulo,<sup>59</sup> Engelrandus<sup>p</sup> eiusdem Hugonis filius, miles egregius, Wido de castro Porsessa,<sup>q</sup> 60 tyro in armis fortissimus, Baldwinus de castello Lant,<sup>r</sup> 61 Baldwinus quoque uir bello nominatissimus, cognomine Calderun,<sup>62</sup> comes una Willelmus de Foreis<sup>s</sup> castello,<sup>63</sup> omni uirtute et potentia bellica preclarus, ad obseruandum urbem uix humanis uiribus superabilem omnes uiri fortissimi in decreta sibi parte consederunt.

- 316 23. Episcopus uero de Podio Naimerus nomine omni bonitate preclarus, non modica manu et apparatu, circa urbem uires augebat. Stephanus comes Blesensis caput et primus consilio in omni exercitu,

<sup>h h</sup> rebusque *ACHN*    <sup>i</sup> castello *A*    <sup>j</sup> bello *H*    <sup>k</sup> om. *A*    <sup>l</sup> Hainaucorum *H*  
<sup>m</sup> om. *A*    <sup>n</sup> Gerhardus *CH*; Gherardus *N*    <sup>o</sup> Anselmus *CHN*    <sup>p</sup> Engilrandus  
*AH*; Engelrandus *E*    <sup>q</sup> Porsesa *A*    <sup>r</sup> Laut *N*    <sup>s</sup> fortis *N*

<sup>55</sup> According to Greek sources Tatikios was of servile origin, the son of a Saracen prisoner of war, but he rose to hold high military rank under Alexios. He and the emperor had a relationship of loyalty and trust which is documented from 1078 to 1099. Only the Latin sources describe him as having a cut-off nose, Guibert adding that he wore a gold prosthesis: *RA*, p. 54; *GN*, p. 182. See B. Skoulatos, *Les Personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade* (Louvain, 1980), pp. 287–92; A. G. C. Savvides, 'Varia Byzantinoturcica II: Taticius the Turcople', *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, iii–iv (1991–2), 235–8.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas of Marle (see *AA* i).

<sup>57</sup> Dép. Aisne, France. See also the *ChA*, where he is Gerars de Cerisgi (*ChA*, i. 94).

<sup>58</sup> Also from Aisne département, Anselm led his own detachment on the expedition. He sent two letters to Archbishop Manasses of Reims, which are extant (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 144–6; 156–60). Anselm died c.25 Feb. 1099.

<sup>59</sup> Saint-Pol-sur-Ternoise, dép. Pas de Calais, France. Hugh and his son are prominent figures in the *ChA*; see also *OV*, v. 34, 54, 58.

of the Christian army because he was familiar with the topography of the region,<sup>55</sup> with an auxiliary band of imperial soldiers he applied pressure on the city in the position to which he was directed. Robert, count of Flanders, to whom no one there was equal in terms of weapons, wealth, and men, and Count Robert, who was prince of Normandy, the son of the king of England, most warlike in military weapons and well endowed with property, were located in line next to those already mentioned in the siege of this same city. Warner of the castle of Grez, a soldier irreproachable in the art of war, Eustace the brother of the aforesaid Duke Godfrey, with Baldwin their brother, a most distinguished man and unbeaten in wars, likewise took up positions in line. Baldwin of the castle of Mons, count and prince of Hainaut and a very illustrious man in every military action; Thomas of the castle of Fère,<sup>56</sup> a very keen Frankish soldier, together with Baldwin of Bourcq; Drogo of Nesle; Gerard of the castle of Quierzy;<sup>57</sup> Anselm of Ribemont;<sup>58</sup> Hugh count of Saint-Pol;<sup>59</sup> Engelrand, Hugh's son and an outstanding soldier; Guy of the castle of Possesse,<sup>60</sup> a young knight but very courageous in warfare; Baldwin of the castle of Lant;<sup>61</sup> another Baldwin surnamed Calderun,<sup>62</sup> of great renown in battle, together with William, count of the castle of Forez,<sup>63</sup> excellent in every prowess and warlike power: all these very courageous men took up the positions which were allocated to them to keep watch on the city, which seemed scarcely conquerable by human powers.

23. The bishop of Le Puy, Adhémar by name, who was distinguished by every sort of goodness, increased the forces round the city with not a few troops and equipment. Stephen, count of Blois, the head and leader in council of the whole army, guarded the city on one side with

<sup>55</sup> Near Vitry (départ. Marne, France). Guy's short career is also celebrated in the *ChA* (i. 69–150, *passim*) and by Anselm in his first letter (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 145).

<sup>56</sup> Baldwin of Ghent, also mentioned in the *ChA* and by Anselm (as previous note), was advocate of St Peter's Abbey (Sint-Pietersabdij, Blandijnberg), Ghent (prov. Oost-Vlaanderen, Belgium) and lord of Aalst. *Annalista Saxo* lists him among the leaders: *MGH SS* vi. 730.

<sup>62</sup> Anselm calls him 'Chalderuns'. Beyond the reports in Anselm's letter and the *ChA*, where he is called Bauduins Cauderon, nothing is known of him (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 145; *ChA*, i. 69 *et passim*).

<sup>63</sup> William III, count of Forez. See also a charter confirmed 10 Dec. 1096: 'Willelmus comes forensis volens cum aliis christianis zelo Dei ductis contra paganos ire Ierusalem' (*Chartes de Forez*, ed. G. Guichard et al., 24 vols. (Mâcon, 1933–70), i, no 1, p. 1). In the *ChA* he is Gautier de Forois (i. 70).

in multitudine graui uno in latere urbem tuebatur.<sup>64</sup> Hugo<sup>a</sup> cognomine Magnus, frater regis Francie, illustrissimus socius, ad custodiendam urbem suo sedit in ordine. Robertus filius Gerardi,<sup>65</sup> Reimundus cognomine Pellez,<sup>66</sup> Don Walkerus<sup>b</sup> de Capis castello,<sup>67</sup> Milo quoque cognomine Louez, miles famosissimus, Stephanus de Albemarla<sup>c</sup> filius Vdonis<sup>d</sup> comitis de Campania,<sup>68</sup> Walterus<sup>e</sup> de Domedart et eius filius Bernardus,<sup>69</sup> dilectissimus in omni facto et forma delectabilis, Gerardus de Gorna,<sup>70</sup> Rothardus<sup>f</sup> filius Gosfridi,<sup>g</sup> iuuenis clarissimus,<sup>71</sup> Rodolphus ditissimus copiarum,<sup>72</sup> domnus Alens cognomine Fercans,<sup>73</sup> Conans quoque<sup>74</sup> ambo principes Brittanorum,<sup>h</sup> Reinoldus de ciuitate Beluatie,<sup>i</sup> Walo de Kal-mont,<sup>j</sup> Willelmus de Montpehlir,<sup>k</sup> uiri inperterriti, fixis papi-lionibus, cum ceteris prefatis in circuitu urbis consederunt.<sup>l</sup> Gastus quoque de Bederz<sup>m</sup> ciuitate,<sup>78</sup> Gerardus de Roselon ciuitate,<sup>79</sup>

23    <sup>a</sup> Hùgo H                    <sup>b</sup> Wankerus H                    <sup>c</sup> Almemarla A                    <sup>d</sup> Udonis H  
       <sup>e</sup> Waltherus CH                    <sup>f</sup> Ruthardus A; Rùthardus H                    <sup>g</sup> Godefridi A; Goffridi C—both  
       here and below                    <sup>h</sup> Britannorum N                    <sup>i</sup> Beluacie N                    <sup>j</sup> Calmunt A  
       <sup>k</sup> Montpelyr A; Montpeliir N                    <sup>l</sup> concederunt N                    <sup>m</sup> Berderz H, here and below

<sup>64</sup> Albert seems here to be elaborating the line in the *ChA*: 'Quens Estievenes de Blois estoit el chief premier' (line 1450, p. 87). In a letter to his wife Stephen claimed to have been appointed by the other princes 'lord and overseer and governor of all their acts up to that time', a claim supported by other sources. However, this was at Antioch, Mar. 1098, and Albert's antedating the appointment to Nicaea must be a mistake. See Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 149; cf. *GF*, p. 63, *RA*, p. 77, *PT*, pp. 104–5.

<sup>65</sup> Robert was second son of Gerard, count of Buonalbergo (prov. Benevento, Italy). He served Bohemond as constable and standard-bearer, returning to Italy before 1112. He is widely mentioned in the sources, e.g. *GF*, p. 36; *OV*, v. 78; *RC*, p. 668. See E. M. Jamison, 'Some notes on the *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, with special reference to the Norman contingent from South Italy and Sicily in the first crusade', in *Studies in French Language and Mediaeval Literature presented to Professor Mildred K. Pope* (Manchester, 1939), pp. 183–208 at 201–2; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 226.

<sup>66</sup> Lord of Alès (dép. Gard), a follower of Raymond of Saint-Gilles. See the eyewitness sources: *GF*, pp. 73, 83, 87; *RA*, pp. 122–3, 141–2. The poet Gilo celebrates his career: Gilo, pp. 196, 222, 226, 238. See also Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, p. 71.

<sup>67</sup> Walker is tentatively identified as from Chappes near Bar-sur-Seine (dép. Aube, France) by Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 223. He and Milo are not otherwise known.

<sup>68</sup> Aumale on the river Bresle (dép. Seine-et-Maritime, France). Stephen's mother was William the Conqueror's sister Adelaide and his father her third husband, Eudo of Champagne. Although Stephen had opposed his cousin Robert of Normandy previously, siding with William Rufus, they were evidently reconciled in 1096, for he travelled with Robert. See David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 228; also in *ChA*, i. 554; *RC*, p. 642.

<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere known as Walter and Bernard of Saint-Valéry: Walter is listed by Orderic Vitalis as departing on crusade in the company of Robert of Normandy; Orderic cites him as 'great-grandson of Richard III duke of Normandy by his daughter Papias' (*OV*, v. 34). Cf. *ChA* i. 550, 556, where they are indexed as Bernart and Gautiers de Donmeart.

<sup>70</sup> Gournay-en-Bray (dép. Seine-et-Maritime, France). The son of Hugh Flaitel, Gerard was accompanied on crusade by his wife Edith: he died, while she returned and was married

a large army.<sup>64</sup> Hugh, whose surname was 'the Great', the king of France's brother, a most illustrious ally, took up his place in line to keep watch on the city. Robert son of Gerard;<sup>65</sup> Raymond surnamed Pilet;<sup>66</sup> Don Walker of the castle of Chappes;<sup>67</sup> also Milo surnamed Louez, a very famous soldier; Stephen of Aumale, son of Odo count of Champagne;<sup>68</sup> Walter of Domedart and his son Bernard,<sup>69</sup> very pleasing in every deed and delightful to look at; Gerard of Gournay;<sup>70</sup> Rothard son of Godfrey, a very brilliant young man;<sup>71</sup> Rodolph, who was very well endowed with troops;<sup>72</sup> Lord Alan surnamed Fergant,<sup>73</sup> and also Conan,<sup>74</sup> both princes of Brittany; Rainald of the city of Beauvais;<sup>75</sup> Walo of Chaumont;<sup>76</sup> William of Montpellier,<sup>77</sup> undaunted men, set up their tents and took up their positions encircling the city with the rest who have been mentioned. Gaston of Béziers as well;<sup>78</sup> Gerard whose city was Roussillon;<sup>79</sup>

to Dreux de Monchy. See David, *Robert Curthose*, pp. 222–3; *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. E. M. C. van Houts, 2 vols. (OMT, 1992–5), ii. 214–5; OV, v. 34, 58; *ChA*, i. 94, 441.

<sup>71</sup> Not otherwise recorded.

<sup>72</sup> Riley-Smith suggests Rodolph is Rudolf of Sarrewerden, mentioned in the *Chronicle of Zimmern*, but see Alan V. Murray, who argues convincingly that Rudolf and his brother Ulrich must be regarded as pure fiction: 'The Chronicle of Zimmern as a source for the First Crusade', in J. Phillips, ed., *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 78–106. Duparc-Quoc proposes more tentatively that he may be Count 'Rotols del Perce' (line 1174), i.e. Rotrou du Perche, vassal of the king of France and of the duke of Normandy for the counties of Perche and Mortagne, later lord of Tudela and Saragossa (Spain): *ChA*, i. 73, 566.

<sup>73</sup> Alan Fergant, duke of Brittany. According to charter evidence Alan was absent from Brittany between 27 July 1096 and 9 Oct. 1101: David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 221; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 198; *ChA*, i. 70.

<sup>74</sup> Conan de Lamballe, second son of Geoffrey I, count of Lamballe (départ. Côtes-d'Armor, France): David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 222; *ChA*, i. 70; OV, v. 54, 58; RC, p. 648.

<sup>75</sup> Probably Beauvais (départ. Oise, France): see following note. Rainald is also in the *ChA* (i. 70, 441, 474), the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. Thorp, pp. 223–4, and Gilo, p. 190.

<sup>76</sup> Chaumont-en-Vexin (départ. Oise, France). He is probably, but not certainly, the same as Walo, constable of the king of France, who was killed at Antioch (AA iii. 35; cf. Anselm of Ribemont's letter, Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 159)—notably Albert puts him in the company of Rainald of Beauvais there too. According to RM, Walo's wife also went on crusade (RM, pp. 795–6); Gilo gives her name, Humberge of Le Puiset, and describes her grief at Walo's death in affecting terms (Gilo, pp. 126–7 and n. 6).

<sup>77</sup> Count William V of Montpellier (départ. Hérault, France) was one of Raymond of Saint-Gilles's most important followers and as such is mentioned in most of the sources. He stayed after Raymond's departure from Palestine in Aug. 1099, but was back in the Languedoc by 1103: Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 226.

<sup>78</sup> Sandwiched as he is between two south French nobles, Gaston's provenance 'Bederz' is surely Béziers (départ. Hérault, France). He has been identified with Gaston IV, vicomte of Béarn, although William of Tyre makes them two different people (WT, pp. 331, 377–8, 410). See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 206, 234.

<sup>79</sup> Gerard succeeded his father Gilbert as count of Roussillon: *RHC Occ* iv. 316 n. (k); Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 208. He is possibly in the *ChA*: i. 489, 557, s.v. 'Girart'.

317 Gisibertus<sup>a</sup> de Treua, unus de principibus Burgundie,<sup>80</sup> | Oliuerus de castro Iussi,<sup>o</sup> miles audax et pugnax,<sup>81</sup> Achar de Montmerla,<sup>p</sup> candidus capite,<sup>82</sup> Reinboldus<sup>q</sup> comes de Oringis ciuitate, quo non alter ualentior,<sup>83</sup> Luodewicus<sup>r</sup> de Monzons,<sup>s</sup> mirabilis in opere militari, filius comitis Tirrici de Muntbiliart,<sup>t</sup><sup>84</sup> Dodo de Cuons, rufus capite, bello doctissimus, Gozelo et frater eius Lambertus<sup>u</sup> bello peritissimi, cum patre suo Cunone de Monte Acuto, uiro illustrissimo, iuxta predictorum papiliones tabernacula collocauerunt.<sup>85</sup> Petrus de Stahneis,<sup>v</sup> Reinardus de Tul ciuitate, Walterus de Verueis,<sup>86</sup> Arnolphus<sup>w</sup> de Tyr,<sup>87</sup> Iohannes de Namecca,<sup>x</sup><sup>88</sup> Herebrandus de Buillon,<sup>89</sup> hii ad omne bellorum incendium indefessi urbem cingebant.

24. Nec dubitandum est cum tot capitaneis primis, non paucos affuisse sequaces et inferiores, seruos, ancillas, nuptas et innuptas, cuiusque ordinis, uiros ac mulieres. Hiis omnibus episcopi, abbates, canonici, monachi, et presbyteri preerant, ad instruendos et corroborandos. Obsessa hiis ab<sup>a</sup> copiis tota continetur ciuitas, preter locum quem ad tuendum et uacuum relictum, comiti Reimundo decreuerant. Victum et omne quod necesse est corpori nullis inmitti portis tam copiosus sinebat exercitus. Sed lacus quidam mire latitudinis et longitudinis in modum maris altus, aptus remis et nauigio in quodam latere murorum ciuitatis<sup>b</sup> habebatur, per quem sepius ingressus et egressus uiris Solimanni necessaria inferentibus, ipsique<sup>c</sup> Solimanno patere solebat.<sup>90</sup> Nondum uero Reimundus prefatus comes de terra Sancti Egidii que dicitur Prouincia uires et opem

<sup>a</sup> Gisibertus C; Ghiselbertus N    <sup>o</sup> Iussu A    <sup>p</sup> Montmarla N    <sup>q</sup> Reimboldus HN    <sup>r</sup> Ludewicus CN; Lüdowicus H    <sup>s</sup> Monzun A    <sup>t</sup> Munthiliarht A; Muntbiliart CN    <sup>u</sup> Lambertus A    <sup>v</sup> Staneis A    <sup>w</sup> Arnulfus A; Arnolfus C; Arnoldus H    <sup>x</sup> Namecca N

24    <sup>a</sup> om. A    <sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> ipsi quoque A

<sup>80</sup> As noted in *RHC Occ* iv (p. 316 n. l) there was a castle at Traves (départ. Haute-Saône, France), but no records of the names of its lords.

<sup>81</sup> Probably Jussey (départ. Haute-Saône, France). *ChA*, i. 91, 94, 166.

<sup>82</sup> For Achard, castellan of Montmerle (départ. Ain, France) and especially the charter evidence from Cluny recording his preparations for the expedition, see Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, pp. 40, 46; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903), v. 51-3.

<sup>83</sup> Count Raimbold II of Orange (départ. Vaucluse, France): *ChA*, i. 441.

<sup>84</sup> Louis, count of Mousson (départ. Meurthe-et-Moselle, France), representing his father, Count Thierry I of Bar and Montbéliard: Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 216-7; *ChA*, i. 441; Alberic of Troisfontaines, *Chronica*, *MGH SS* xxiii. 804.

Gilbert of Traves, one of the princes of Burgundy;<sup>80</sup> Oliver of the castle of Jussey, a bold and aggressive soldier;<sup>81</sup> Achard of Montmerle, white-haired;<sup>82</sup> Raimbold count of the city of Orange, whom no one surpassed in vigour;<sup>83</sup> Louis of Mousson, who was marvelous in military operations, the son of Thierry, count of Montbéliard;<sup>84</sup> Dodo of Cons, red-haired and very skilled in warfare; Gozelo and his brother Lambert, very experienced in warfare, with their father Cono of Montaigu, a most illustrious man, situated their tents next to those of the aforesaid warriors.<sup>85</sup> Peter of Astenois, Rainald of the city of Toul, Walter of Verveis,<sup>86</sup> Arnulf of Tirs,<sup>87</sup> John of Nijmegen,<sup>88</sup> Herbrand of Bouillon:<sup>89</sup> these surrounded the city tirelessly to meet all the heat of battle.

24. You may be sure that with so many first-rate leaders there were not a few followers and lesser ranks, servants, maidservants (married and unmarried), men and women of every class. In charge of all of these were bishops, abbots, canons, monks, and priests to teach them and keep up their courage. The besieged town was completely surrounded by these forces, except for one place which needed guarding and was left empty: this they had allocated to Count Raymond. Such a numerous army prevented sustenance and everything which is necessary for survival being sent in by any of the gates. But on one side of the town walls there was a lake of extraordinary width and length, deep like the sea and suitable for rowing boats and sailing, through which an entrance and exit used frequently to be open for Suleyman's men and Suleyman himself to bring in necessities.<sup>90</sup> Of course Raymond, the aforementioned count of the land of Saint-Gilles, which is called Provence, had not yet brought up his troops and resources. For he, with his divisions, was staying a

<sup>85</sup> For Cono see above, AA ii. 11 (n. 33). Gozelo's death at Artah is recorded below (AA iii. 29); Lambert returned home with his father: Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 815. See also A. V. Murray, 'The origins of the Frankish nobility of the kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100–1118', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, iv (1989), 281–300 at 297 n. 25.

<sup>86</sup> Not otherwise recorded.

<sup>87</sup> Arnulf's death in battle is recorded below: AA iii. 47. He is not otherwise known.

<sup>88</sup> Possibly identical with 'Jonas de la Mehca' in the *ChA provençal*, otherwise not known: 'Fragment d'une Chanson d'Antioche en provençal', ed. P. Meyer, *AOL*, ii (1884), 473–509 at 491 (line 627); *The Canso d'Antioche: An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. C. Sweetenham and L. M. Paterson (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 232 (line 629), 345.

<sup>89</sup> Castellan of Bouillon and an important member of Godfrey's household: see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 209–10.

<sup>90</sup> This was the Ascanian Lake (İznik Gölü) on the western side of Nicaea, and its blockade by Byzantine ships was to be crucial to the eventual success of the siege.

318 contulerat. Nam cum im|peratore Constantinopolis cum suis cuneis moram faciebat, multum ei federatus pre donis magnificis, quibus de<sup>d</sup> die in diem de domo regis augebatur.

25. Solimannus audita tantorum uirorum belligerorum<sup>a</sup> adunatione, a presidio Nicee egressus est, propter auxilium ceterorum Turcorum et gentilium, spacio plurimorum dierum desudans, quousque quingenta milia uirorum pugnatorum et ferratorum equitum ex omni Romania contraxit. Quibus undique collectis<sup>b</sup> et ammonitis fama obsidionis Nicee, et exercitus Christianorum ad aures eius perlata est, et quia numerus tot milium supra quadringenta milia illic consedissee referebatur. Fama autem hac attonitus cum uniuersa collectione suorum<sup>c</sup> iter suum per montana mouit, uersus menia Nicee, si forte e speculo rupium posset oculis deprehendere,<sup>d</sup> si tot ut audierat illuc<sup>e</sup> milia conuenissent, et qua parte sanius hos aggredi posset. Tandem ex consilio suorum, quarta die obsidionis transacta,<sup>f</sup> idem Solimannus duos ex suis sub falsa specie Christiana, in morem peregrinorum, ad explorandam uirtutem et actus Christiani exercitus direxit, qui custodibus arcis et defensoribus Nicene<sup>g</sup> urbis in<sup>h</sup> hoc modo<sup>h</sup> nuncia deferrent: 'Scitote quia princeps et domnus urbis nostre Solimannus mittit nos ad uos, ut spem firmissimam suo in iuuamine teneatis, nil formidinis uobis ab hiis circumsidentibus<sup>i</sup> incutiatur, qui longinquo fatigati itinere, et huc in exilio progressi, pro stultis computabuntur, quos simili pena et martyrio ut Petri agmina ante hos dies tractabit, et in proximo uobis succurrere in manu robusta et in milibus infinitis paratus est.' Hac Solimanni legatione accepta, uiri duo premissi per loca nota et deuia uersus lacum quo urbs inobsessa erat uiam insistunt, si forte enauigare occulte ad ipsos urbis defensores ualerent, et nota facere que illis a Solimanno iniuncta erant, qualiter Solimannus factis cuneis in breui peregrinos aggredereetur, et ut omnis uirtus Turcorum a portis urbis erumperet,<sup>j</sup> et sic in fortitudine admixta populum Dei delerent. Sed

<sup>d</sup> om. N

25    <sup>a</sup> belligeratorum H    <sup>b</sup> contractis A    <sup>c</sup> om. N    <sup>d</sup> comprehendere N  
<sup>e</sup> illic A    <sup>f</sup> peracta A    <sup>g</sup> Nicee ACHN    <sup>h</sup> hunc modum ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> circumsidentibus H    <sup>j</sup> erumperent A

while with the emperor of Constantinople; he was closely allied to him because of the splendid gifts which were bestowed on him day after day from the royal household.

25. When Suleyman heard that so many warlike men had gathered together he came out of the fortress of Nicaea to enlist the aid of Turks and gentiles; he exerted himself for very many days until he had brought together five hundred thousand fighting men and knights in armour from the whole of Rūm. When he had recruited these men from all around and briefed them, a rumour reached his ears of the siege of Nicaea and the army of Christians, and it was reported to him that a number exceeding four hundred thousand by many thousands had encamped there. Moreover, he was so astonished by this rumour that, along with all the men he had recruited, he altered his route and went through the mountain regions towards the walls of Nicaea, to see if perhaps from the vantage point of the rocky heights he could detect with his own eyes whether as many thousands as he had heard had gathered there, and from which direction he could safely attack them. At last, on the advice of his men, on the fourth day of the siege Suleyman told two of them to investigate the strength and movements of the Christian army, under the false pretence of being Christians like the pilgrims, and they were to submit reports to the guards of the citadel and the defenders of the city of Nicaea in this way: 'You may be sure that Suleyman, the prince and lord of our city, sent us to you, so that you would retain constant hope of his assistance, and not be inspired with terror by these troops besieging the town, who are exhausted by their long journey and have come into exile here, and will be reckoned as fools, whom Suleyman will carry off to the same punishment and martyrdom as he did previously the armies of Peter, and he is ready in the very near future to come to your assistance with a strong force numbering countless thousands.' The two men received Suleyman's mission and were sent off in advance, making their way through familiar and out-of-the-way places towards the lake which prevented a complete blockade of the city, to see if they could possibly sail secretly across to those defenders of the town, and make known the things which Suleyman had charged them to: how Suleyman had formed his divisions and would attack the pilgrims in a short while, and that the entire force of Turks should burst out of the city gates, and in this way, with their resolution added to Suleyman's, they would wipe out the people of God. But by God's will these two who were sent

ex Dei uoluntate a custodibus Christianis circumquaque diffusis ad tuenda loca et semitas, ne qua fraus aut uis ex aduerso noceret, hii duo premissi a Solimanno capti et<sup>k</sup> retenti sunt, quorum<sup>l</sup> alter in impetu occisus est, alter in presentiam Christianorum principum adductus est.<sup>m</sup>

26. Virum itaque apprehensum Boemundus, Godefridus et ceteri  
 319 minis sup|pliciorum coegerunt, ut cuius rei causa missus uenerit sola ueritate explicaret. Ille autem tot electorum principum minas expauescens, et uitam suam in articulo mortis positam agnoscens, flebili uoce, humili uultu<sup>a</sup> et lacrimarum<sup>a</sup> continua inundatione, de uita et salute sua multum precatur,<sup>b</sup> omnibus<sup>c</sup> trepidans membris, et rei ueritatem aperire se pollicetur, et quod uniuerso populo salubre<sup>d</sup> profuturum esset. Fatetur enim se a Solimanno missum, quem in iugis montium cum innumerabili gente hospitatum et adeo uicinum asserit, ut in crastino<sup>e</sup> die circa horam terciam eum ad pugnam credant affuturum, et eius dolos ac<sup>f</sup> repentinos incursus sua relatione posse precauere. Rogabat etiam se in custodiam usque ad predictam horam teneri, quousque rei ueritas et Solimanni probaretur aduentus. Sin autem aliquid<sup>g</sup> de hiis fefellisset, nequaquam sibi uitam donari, sed collo amputato uelle perire. Instabat etiam multa et humillima prece, quatenus Christianitatis professione baptismum susciperet, et Christiano iure Christianis communicaret, sed hoc potius petebat timore suspecte mortis, quam aliquo catholice fidei amore. Tandem miserabili fletu illius et nimio precatu, Christianitatis promissione, primorum exercitus mollita sunt corda, ac illius miserti, uitam sibi donauerunt, sed tamen mittitur in custodiam quam petebat. Abhinc et deinceps, peruigili cura totus sollicitatur exercitus Christianorum, nocte ac<sup>h</sup> die armis et apparatu prouidus, usque ad hanc horam qua ex captiui professione Solimanni copias ab alpibus intolerabiles ebullire<sup>i</sup> didicerant. Dux Godefridus, Boemundus, Robertus Flandriensis, et uniuersi qui aderant, comiti Reimundo hac tota nocte legationem direxerunt,<sup>j</sup> quatenus uiam plus solito maturaret, si cum Turcis bellum committere uellet, et sociis subuenire. Sciebant enim eum

<sup>k</sup> ac A<sup>l</sup> E adds ac Christiani before quorum<sup>m</sup> om. A26 <sup>a</sup> lacrimarumque ACHN<sup>b</sup> precabatur A<sup>c</sup> omnibusque H<sup>d</sup> H adds

utile et before salubre

<sup>e</sup> crastina A<sup>f</sup> et A<sup>g</sup> quicquam A<sup>h</sup> et A<sup>i</sup> ebulliri E<sup>j</sup> direxerant A

ahead by Suleyman were captured and held by the Christian guards, who were spread out round about to protect positions and paths so that no trickery or force of the enemy's could harm them: one of the spies was killed in the attack, the other was brought into the presence of the Christian princes.

26. Bohemond, Godfrey, and the rest used threats of torture to force the man who had been caught to explain without any lies what was the reason he had come. He, moreover, terrified by the threats of so many excellent princes and realizing that his life hung in the balance, was insistently beseeching them for his life and safety with a tearful voice, a humble expression, and a continuous flood of tears, trembling in every limb, and he promised he would reveal the truth of the matter and that it would improve the safety of all their people. In fact he confessed that he had been sent by Suleyman, who was encamped on the mountain ridges with a countless tribe, and so close, he claimed, that they might expect to meet him in battle on the next day at about the third hour and (because of his report) to be able to guard against his tricks and sudden assaults. The spy even asked to be held in custody until the hour he had said, at which time the truth of the matter and Suleyman's attack would be proved. If, however, any of these things did not happen he had no wish for his life to be spared, but wanted to die by being beheaded. He even urged with intense and very humble prayers that he might receive baptism into the Christian faith and take communion with the Christians according to Christian law, but he sought this more out of fear of the death he thought awaited him than for any love of the Catholic faith. At last the hearts of the army's commanders were softened by the man's pitiable weeping and excessive pleading, and his promise of Christianity, and, taking pity on him, they granted him his life, but all the same he was sent into the custody he was asking for. From that moment on, the whole army of Christians was made aware of the need for keeping watch; night and day they were at the ready with arms and equipment, right up to that time when they had learnt from the prisoner's claim that Suleyman's irresistible forces would come seething out of the mountains. Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, Robert of Flanders, and all who were there sent a legation to travel all through that night to Count Raymond, saying that he should hasten his journey more than usual if he wanted to wage war on the Turks and come to the assistance of his allies. For they knew the emperor

in proximo iam ab imperatore laxatum, et multis <sup>k</sup>muneribus honoratum et <sup>k</sup>commendatum. Qui tantorum principum legatione cognita et Solimanni tam maturata<sup>i</sup> aduentatione, nihil more ultra faciens, toto huius noctis tempore iter accelerauit, ac prima hora diei, iam sole mundum<sup>m</sup> replente, cum episcopo Podiense in signis uarii coloris et decoris affuit, in loriceis et galeis, in fortitudine uehementi equestris et pedestris comitatus.<sup>n</sup>

27. Ipsius itaque comitis uix tentoria ponebantur, cum Solimannus circa horam terciam ab altitudine montium descendebat,<sup>d</sup> et omnis comitatus eius,<sup>b</sup> ut harena maris<sup>91</sup> per diuersas semitas factis aciebus exundans, omnes uiri fortissimi et<sup>e</sup> bello cautissimi, loriceis et galeis et clipeis aureis ualde armati, <sup>d</sup>et signa<sup>d</sup> plurima mire pulcritudinis in manibus preferentes. Horum in prima acie ad decem milia uiri, omnes sagittarii, in conuallem Nicee precucurrerant,<sup>e</sup> arcus  
320 corneos | et osseos ad feriendum rigidissimos manu ferentes, et uniuersi equis insidentes cursu uelocissimis et bello aptissimis.<sup>92</sup> Sic Solimannus et sui descendentes per portam urbis irrumpere in impetu nitebantur, quam Reimundus predictus comes ad tuendum obsederat. Sed ab ipso comite, et a<sup>f</sup> Baldwino fratre ducis illis ex aduerso cum Baldwino Calderun<sup>g</sup> occurrentibus et plurima manu grauitr retrusi et expugnati sunt. In hoc horrore crudelissimi belli, inter manus festinantis sermo episcopi sic populum consolatur: 'O gens, Deo dicata, omnia pro Dei amore reliquistis, diuitias, agros, uineas et castella, nunc in promptu uobis perpetua uita est, ei cui contigerit hoc in prelio martyrio coronari.<sup>93</sup> Indubitanter hos inimicos <sup>h</sup>Deo uiuenti<sup>h</sup> contrarios adite, Deo donante hodie uictoriam suscipietis.<sup>94</sup> Hac in<sup>i</sup> ammonitione, Paganus de Garlanda<sup>95</sup> dapifer regis

<sup>k</sup> <sup>k</sup> honoribus et muneribus H <sup>i</sup> matura N <sup>m</sup> N adds sole after mundum  
<sup>n</sup> exercitus H

27 <sup>a</sup> descendit C <sup>b</sup> illius A <sup>c</sup> in N <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> signaque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> precucurrerent N <sup>f</sup> om. A <sup>g</sup> Calderunt CH; Calderunc EN, but E has Calderun  
below <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> Dei uiuentis N <sup>i</sup> om. H

<sup>91</sup> Biblical simile, e.g. Gen. 32: 12.

<sup>92</sup> Like other chroniclers, Albert was impressed by the speed and manoeuvrability of the Turkish mounted archers, and the effectiveness of the Turks' composite bows (Nicolle, *Arms and Armour*, pp. 5, 6, 632).

<sup>93</sup> When Albert puts words into the mouth of the bishop he gives them a markedly ecclesiastical tone. In this sentence images and phrases are taken from patristic and liturgical writings. For 'omnia pro Dei amore', cf. prayer on St Paulinus' feast day, and Matt. 19: 29; P. Bruylants, *Les Oraisons du Missel Romain: Texte et histoire*, 2 vols. (Louvain, 1952), ii. 116-17, no. 417. For 'perpetua uita', *Rule of St Benedict: prologus*, and works of

had only very recently let him go, and had distinguished and honoured him with many gifts. And the count, when he recognized the legation of so many princes and learnt that Suleyman's attack was so close, delayed no longer, but hastened his journey through all the hours of that night, and at the first hour of day, when the sun was already shining fully on the earth, he arrived with the bishop of Le Puy, in full force with a company of cavalry and infantry bearing standards of different colours and designs, armed with hauberks and helmets.

27. The count's tents were only just being pitched when, at about the third hour, Suleyman came down from the heights of the mountains and all his company, who had formed battle lines, poured down along the different footpaths like the sand of the seashore,<sup>91</sup> all of them very strong men and very provident in war, heavily armed with hauberks and helmets and golden shields, and bearing before them in their hands very many standards of amazing beauty. About ten thousand of them, all archers, led the way in the first line down into the valley of Nicaea, carrying in their hands bows of horn and bone fully drawn for shooting, and all of them were mounted on horses which were very swift of movement and very skilled in warfare.<sup>92</sup> Thus Suleyman and his men descended, striving to burst in with a charge through the gate of the town, which was guarded by Count Raymond blockading it. But they were repulsed strongly and overcome by this same count and by Baldwin the duke's brother, who attacked from the front with Baldwin Calderun and a substantial band of men. In this horror of cruellest warfare the bishop was hurrying between the companies and his speech comforted the people in this way: 'O race which has been dedicated to God, you left everything for the love of God—riches, fields, vineyards, and castles—and now everlasting life is at hand for you: whoever dies in this conflict is to be crowned as a martyr.<sup>93</sup> Without hesitation attack these enemies who oppose the living God, and by God's gift you will achieve victory this day.'<sup>94</sup> After this urging to action Payen of Garlande,<sup>95</sup> steward to the king of France;

Sts Augustine and Gregory the Great; also in prayer 'Largire sensibus nostris' . . . (Bruylants, *Oraisons*, ii. 185, no. 662). For 'martyrio coronari', also St Augustine, and cf. usage in liturgy for 8 Nov. (Bruylants, *Oraisons*, ii. 173, no. 626).

<sup>94</sup> 2 Macc. 15: 8.

<sup>95</sup> William of Tyre calls him 'Guido de Garlanda' (p. 139) and 'Galterus de Garlanda' (p. 201). He is mentioned in the *ChA* (line 2839, i. 161) as Paiens de Garlande, in the *Chanson de Jérusalem* as Paien de Guillant (p. 243), and in the *Chronicles of St Bertin* as 'Guido de Garlanda Senescallus Franciae' (*RHGF* xiii. 459), but he seems to have no history besides his crusading career.

Francorum, Wido de Porsessa, Tancradus, Rotgerus de Barnauilla,<sup>96</sup> Robertus Flandriensis, Robertus Nortmannorum princeps, confratribus in Christo sine mora subueniunt, per medias acies fulmineis ictibus et equorum celeritate discurrentes. Dux Godefridus, Boemundus, non equo tardantes, laxis frenis per medios hostes aduolant, hos lanceis perforantes, hos ab equis deicientes, socios<sup>j</sup> sepe hortantes ad trucidandos hostes uirili ammonitione consolantur. Illic non modicus fragor hastarum, tinnitus gladiatorum et galearum in hoc belli luctamine est auditus, non modica Turcorum ruina ab hiis egregiis tyronibus<sup>k</sup> et eorum<sup>k</sup> sociis facta est. Hac uictoria Dei gratia in populo catholico habita, Solimannus et sui in montana fuga reuersi sunt, nulla ulterius pugna in hac obsidione populum Dei aggredi audentes. Ab illo die omnem clementiam erga captiuum legatum Solimanni fideles Christi exhibebant, quia eum uerum et fidelem in sua promissione experti sunt, et priuatus inter familiares summorum procerum<sup>l</sup> diligebatur. Occisorum uero et uulneratorum capita amputata<sup>m</sup> Christiani secum in signo uictorie deferenda in sellarum suarum corrigiis ad tentoria sua detulerunt, et ad societatem partim in tabernaculis relictam circa urbem ad prohibendum exitum inclusorum cum gaudio reuersi sunt.

28. Iam huius primi belli turbine sedato circa Niceam, capita Turcorum amputata intra urbis menia<sup>a</sup> iactabant, ad terrendos magistros arcis et custodes murorum. Dein<sup>b</sup> mille capita Turcorum collecta in curribus et saccis 'et plaustris<sup>c</sup> re|posita detulerunt usque ad portum qui<sup>d</sup> Ciuitot dicitur, et sic nauigio imperatori Constanti-nopoli<sup>e</sup> missa<sup>f</sup> sunt.<sup>97</sup> Imperator tot uisis capitibus suorum aduersariorum et militum Solimanni, cuius iniusta ui urbem Niceam in dolo amiserat,<sup>98</sup> plurimum in hoc triumpho fidelium exhilarescit, ac disponit<sup>g</sup> ut pro labore bellico magnam recipiant remunerationem.

<sup>j</sup> ACHN add et before socios

<sup>k k</sup> eorumque ACH; om. N

<sup>l</sup> principum H

<sup>m</sup> amputantes H

28 <sup>a</sup> muros A

<sup>b</sup> Dehinc A; Deinde N

<sup>c c</sup> plaustrisque ACH; plaustrasque N

<sup>d</sup> que AC

<sup>e</sup> Constantinopolis ACHN

<sup>f</sup> missi N

<sup>g</sup> disposuit N

<sup>96</sup> Almost certainly Barneville-sur-Mer, now Barneville-Carteret (départ. Manche, France). Roger is also mentioned by eyewitnesses: in *GF* (pp. 15–16), *RA* (p. 55), and Anselm of Ribemont's second letter to Manasses of Reims (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 159). He was a baron of Count Roger of Sicily and appears in witness lists in Sicily in 1086, 1094, and 1095. He probably joined Robert of Normandy as he overwintered in Calabria: Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 207–8.

Guy of Possesse; Tancred; Roger of Barneville;<sup>96</sup> Robert of Flanders; and Robert prince of Normandy came to the assistance of their brothers in Christ without delay, galloping swiftly to and fro through the midst of the battle lines and inflicting deadly wounds. Duke Godfrey and Bohemond did not curb their horses but let them have their heads and flew through the midst of the enemy, piercing some with lances, unsaddling others, and all the while urging on their allies, encouraging them with manly exhortations to slaughter the enemy. There was no small clash of spears there, no small ringing of swords and helmets heard in this conflict of war, no small destruction of Turks was wrought by these outstanding young knights and their allies. Since by God's grace this victory rested with the Christian army, Suleyman and his men fled back to the mountains, no longer daring to join battle with God's people in this siege. From that day Christ's faithful showed every mercy towards Suleyman's messenger they had captured, because they had found out that he was faithful and true in his promise, and he was singled out and especially prized among the households of the highest leaders. The Christians cut off the heads of the dead and wounded, and as a sign of victory they brought them back to their tents with them, tied on the girths of their saddles, and they returned with joy to their fellows, some of whom had been left in the tents around the city to stop those shut up inside from getting out.

28. When the storm of this first battle had settled around Nicaea, they used to throw the cut-off heads of the Turks inside the city walls to frighten the chiefs of the fortress and the guards of the walls. Then a thousand Turks' heads were gathered in carts and sacks and loaded on waggons, and they took them down to the port which is called Civitot, and thus they were sent by ship to the emperor of Constantinople.<sup>97</sup> When the emperor saw so many heads of his enemies and of the soldiers of Suleyman, whose unjust force had caused him to lose the city of Nicaea by a trick,<sup>98</sup> he rejoiced very greatly in this triumph of the faithful and he decreed that they should

<sup>97</sup> Anna Komnene reports the heads carried on lances 'like standards', but not the emperor's reaction to the gift (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 9; trans. Sewter, p. 334).

<sup>98</sup> The Saljuq Turks held Nicaea when Alexios came to the Byzantine throne in 1081. He had made an alliance with Qilij Arslan after the latter took Nicaea in 1092, but this was a holding ploy and once the empire was settled, by 1095, Alexios was determined to drive back the Turks: hence his appeal to Urban II: P. Charanis, 'The Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century', Setton, gen. ed., *History of the Crusades*, i. 213-16. What 'trick' Albert understood Qilij Arslan to be guilty of is not known.

Vnde pecuniam non modicam, ostra diuersi generis et omnia necessaria ad remunerandum quemque potentem in uehiculis mulorum et equorum<sup>h</sup> direxit. Victus innumerabiles pariter attribuit, uendendi et emendi undique in suo regno largissima facultas concessa est. Naute mercatores certabant ex imperatoria iussione nauibus plenis cibariis, frumenti, carnis, uini et ordei et<sup>i</sup> olei per mare discurrere, quousque ad portum Ciuitot anchoras iaciunt, ubi fidelium turme ad refocillandum corpus ante ieiuniis aggrauatum, omnia uenalia reperiabant. Hac frequentia escarum fruantes et gaudentes, conspirant et affirmant se non recessuros quousque urbs superata et capta imperatoris potestati restitatur.<sup>j</sup> Promiserant enim iuramento<sup>k</sup> nihil de regno imperatoris, non castra, non ciuitates nisi ex eius uoluntate aut dono se retinere. Hoc comperto et inuestigato, et uisa Christianorum uictoria et Turcorum cede cruentissima, captiuus ille quem prediximus diffusus<sup>l</sup> uite et Christianitatis iugum effugere cogitans, quadam die clarissima uisa oportunitate et custodie negligentia, facilis saltu pedis uallum murorum urbis<sup>m</sup> transuolat, Turcos per menia presentes, et tunc belli otio uacantes ad subueniendum sibi incessabili uoce ammonet ac<sup>n</sup> precatur. Qui sine mora funiculo a menibus laxato, inter manus fallacis et fugitiui peregrini mox in ipso pendente, et manibus herentem, intra menia non paruo clamore ac fragore facto interius et exterius leuauerunt. Nullus tamen Christianorum fugientem sequi aut retinere presumpsit, propter Turcorum iacula desuper infestantium.

29. Dum<sup>a</sup> in decreto firmissimo obsidionis et destructionis urbis curricula septem ebdomadarum ibidem circa eius menia uersarentur, et principes alii iactus et tormenta lapidum ad minuendos<sup>b</sup> muros<sup>c</sup> et turres aptarent, alii arietes ferratos componerent, et diuersa ingenia quererent, assultus<sup>d</sup> plurimos inferrent, Baldwinus Calderun incessanter muros inpu gnans, nimisque temerario et audaci conatu precurrens, in ictu emissis lapidis fractis ceruicibus<sup>99</sup> uita expirauit. Baldwinus de Ganz dum ibidem in assultu urbis desudaret, et incaute muros impeteret,<sup>e</sup> uertice transfixo in<sup>f</sup> impetu sagitte uitam exalauit.

<sup>h</sup> E has 2 leaves missing at this point  
before iuramento

<sup>i</sup> diffusus N

<sup>j</sup> om. N

<sup>m</sup> om. N

<sup>j</sup> restitatur H

<sup>n</sup> et N

<sup>k</sup> A adds cum

29 <sup>a</sup> Cum N

<sup>b</sup> muniendos N

<sup>c</sup> mures A

<sup>d</sup> assultos A

<sup>e</sup> appeteret H

<sup>f</sup> om. N

<sup>99</sup> 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 4: 18.

receive a great reward for their labour of war. And so he sent a considerable sum of money, purple clothing of various kinds and all sorts of supplies in mule and horse carts to reward every one of those responsible. At the same time he bestowed countless victuals, and granted a most generous facility for buying and selling everywhere in his kingdom. On imperial orders sailing merchants were striving to race across the sea with ships full of rations, corn, meat, wine and barley and oil; they dropped anchor at the port of Civitot, where crowds of the faithful procured all sorts of provisions to revive bodies formerly oppressed by enforced fasting. As they enjoyed and rejoiced in this abundance of food they agreed and confirmed that they would not depart until the city was overcome and taken and might be restored into the emperor's power. For they had promised with an oath not to keep any part of the emperor's kingdom, no fortresses, no cities, unless by his wish or gift. When he found out and discovered this, and saw the victory of the Christians and most cruel slaughter of the Turks, that prisoner of whom we told earlier, despairing of his life and intending to escape the yoke of Christianity, one day saw a very clear opportunity through the carelessness of the guard, and flew across the entrenchment of the city walls with a nimble-footed leap; he called incessantly and pleaded with the Turks, who were on the other side of the walls and at that moment enjoying a rest from warfare, to help him. At once they let down a rope from the walls into the hands of the false and fleeing pilgrim, and soon he was hanging on it and clinging with his hands and they pulled him up inside the walls, making a lot of shouting and din inside and outside. Yet not one of the Christians dared to follow or detain the fugitive, because the Turks were attacking with javelins from above.

29. While they kept to their very firm resolution to besiege and destroy the city, seven weeks ran their course with the Christians in the same place around the walls, and while some of the princes were preparing machines for throwing and catapulting stones to reduce the walls and towers, others were constructing iron-clad battering rams, and were working on different inventions; they were making very many assaults, and Baldwin Calderun, who was constantly attacking the walls and excelling by his excessively rash and daring efforts, breathed his last when his neck was broken<sup>99</sup> by the blow of a hurled stone. Baldwin of Ghent, while he too was exerting himself there in an assault on the city and making a careless rush at the walls, expired,

322 Post hec dum ex consilio et decreto principum rursum exercitus iteraret assultum, comes de Foreis et de [insula Flandrie Walo nomine<sup>100</sup> in eodem assultu nimium feruentes et bello uehementes, dum hostes lacerarent, sagittis transfixi<sup>g</sup> interierunt. Wido de Porsessa illustris<sup>h</sup> eques ibidem infirmitate occupatus uita decessit. Fleuit super hos omnis populus catholicorum quoniam fortes consiliarii et auctores rerum capitalium habebantur. Tantos etenim uiros nobilissimos cum omni honore et religione episcopi, abbates<sup>i</sup> sepelierunt, non modicam elemosinarum largitionem pro salute animarum illorum diuidentes egenis et mendicis.

30. Dehinc quadam die dum plurimorum principum strues et machine muro Nicee applicarentur, et quedam non in uanum, quedam frustra laborarent, Heinricus de Asca, Hartmannus comes unus<sup>a</sup> de maioribus Alemannie, uulpem ex proprio sumptu quercinis trabibus composuerunt,<sup>101</sup> cuius in gyro tutos intexuerunt parietes, ut grauissimos Turcorum sufferret<sup>h</sup> ictus armorum omniumque iaculorum genera, ac sic in ea manentes, tuti et illesi urbem fortiter impugnando perforarent. Hoc tandem uulpis instrumentum dum ad unguem opere et ligaturis perduceretur,<sup>c</sup> milites predictorum principum loricati, ad uiginti in eadem uulpis protectione sunt constituti. Sed magna uirorum inundatione et conamine iuxta muros applicata,<sup>d</sup> non equo subsedit aggere, non recto impulsu aut equo conductu moderata, et sic trabes, postes, uniuerseque ligature contrite, uiros in ea latentes in momento oppresserunt. Hartmannus ac Heinricus dolentes, et magnum de casu suorum luctum habentes, sepultura extinctos honorifice condiderunt, sed non parum gaudere potuerunt, quod cum suis non in hac momentanea suffocatione perierunt.

31. Alia post hec die dum creberrimi assultus plurimorum in uanum consumerentur, comes Reimundus turrim quandam duobus tormentis lapidum que uulgo dicuntur mangene<sup>a</sup> fortiter quassatam obpugnauit, sed minui et dissolui uel lapis unus ab hoc antiquo

<sup>a</sup> infixi H      <sup>h</sup> illustres N      <sup>i</sup> A adds et before abbates

30    <sup>a</sup> uir N      <sup>h</sup> sufferre H      <sup>c</sup> perficeretur A      <sup>d</sup> applicita H

31    <sup>a</sup> mangane CN

<sup>100</sup> Walo of Lille (or L'Isle) is also mentioned by William of Tyre (WT, p. 203), but his brief crusading career is not otherwise recorded.

<sup>101</sup> The term 'fox' ('vulpes') seems to be unique to Albert; William calls the constructions 'sows' ('scrophac') (p. 203).

his head pierced in an arrow attack. After these things, while the army was once again renewing its attack according to the decision and decree of the princes, the count of Forez and the count of the isle of Flanders, Walo by name,<sup>100</sup> who were too impetuous and eager for war in the same attack, were shot with arrows and killed while they were striking the enemy. Guy of Possesse, the famous knight, was overtaken by sickness in that same place and passed from this life. The entire populace of Christians wept over these men, for they were considered strong counsellors and responsible for important affairs. The bishops and abbots buried these very great and very noble men with every honour and religious ceremony, distributing to the destitute and to beggars a considerable quantity of alms for the salvation of their souls.

30. Then one day while most of the princes' piles of wood and siege engines were placed close to the walls of Nicaea, and some were not labouring in vain but others were working to no effect, Henry of Esch and Hartmann, one of the more important counts of Swabia, constructed a 'fox' out of oak beams at their own expense;<sup>101</sup> around it in a circle they interwove a secure palisade so that they could endure the Turks' heaviest blows with close-combat weapons and all kinds of throwing spears, and thus, staying inside it safe and sound they might penetrate the city by attacking it bravely. While at length this 'fox' apparatus was being completed to the last detail with workmanship and bindings, some twenty soldiers of the aforementioned princes, wearing armour, were stationed under that same cover of the 'fox'. But on account of the great surge of men and the strain applied next to the walls, the rampart not being level, the shelter subsided and was not checked by a push in the right place or by a level pull, and so the beams, the uprights and all the bindings came to pieces and in a matter of moments crushed the men who were hiding in it. Hartmann and Henry, grieving and uttering a great lamentation for the fate of their men, buried the dead honourably with a funeral, but they could not help being a little glad that they had not perished with their men in this sudden suffocation.

31. On another day after this, while very many people's constant efforts were being squandered to no purpose, Count Raymond strongly attacked a certain tower which had been damaged by two of the stone-throwing catapults which are commonly called mangonels, but not even one stone from this ancient building and the very

opere et cemento uix solubili robustissimo tam cotidiano iactu non potuit, dum ad extremum plura adaucta sunt lapidum quassantium |  
 323 instrumenta, quibus tandem muri concussi rimas per loca protulerunt, et aliqui lapides pre creberrima iactatione cum cemento minui ac labi ceperunt. Quod uidens exercitus Dei uiuentis, adunata manu et facta testudine<sup>b</sup> uimineae uallum superans, audaci transitu muros impetit,<sup>c</sup> turrim muris eminentem uncis<sup>d</sup> ligonibus perrumpere et perforare molitur. Quam Turci interius coaceruatione lapidum compleuerant, ut ualidior staret densitate lapidum, et si forte exterior murus a Gallis corrumperetur uolentibus penetrare, impedimento esset congeries infinitorum lapidum. Populus autem Dei uiui accensa magis ac magis ira, et strage suorum commotus,<sup>102</sup> turrim perrumpit acumine mordacis ferri, quousque foramen trans turrim tanta uirtute reddunt, ut hiatus cauati muri duos insimul penetrare presumentes capere uideretur, qui coaceruationem lapidum singillatim minuerent et eruerent, uiamque ad hostes patenter aperirent. Sed 'nec sic' proficere potuerunt.

32. Nocte uero quadam ab hac colluctatione<sup>a</sup> et plurime stragis conamine circa urbem populo uexato, et interdum in castris relato, deprehensum est Turcos nauigio per lacum ab urbe sepius exire, uiros coadiutores, arma et omnia necessaria clam inferre, mercatores usquequaque illuc conuenire, et a Turcis omnia uenalia in eodem lacu reperiri. Ex hoc denique plurimis principes usi sunt consiliis, quid agerent, uel insisterent, qualiter lacus hiis interdicatur, et inclusis exitus et introitus ultra nauigio negetur, dicentes non aliter suos assultus<sup>b</sup> uel laborem<sup>b</sup> posse proficere. Tandem inter plurimas discussiones, tale repertum est consilium, quia nisi<sup>c</sup> nauali custodia tam spaciosus obseruaretur lacus, nequaquam hostes posse reprimi, nec urbem alimentis uacuari. Vnde magnis et paruis in unum uocatis decretum est communi consilio, ut ad portum Ciuitot innumerabiles

<sup>b</sup> testitudine A      <sup>c</sup> impetu N      <sup>d</sup> uncibus N      <sup>e</sup> sic non N

32    <sup>a</sup> collectamine H      <sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> non N

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia* iv. 797.

strong, almost indestructible masonry was susceptible to being weakened and loosened by such a daily battering, until as a last resort more stone-shattering equipment was added, in response to which the battered walls at last revealed cracks in places, and some of the stones began to weaken and fall because of the constant bombardment with masonry. When the army of the living God saw this it worked as one, and surmounted the rampart with a wickerwork 'tortoise' it had made, and attacked the walls in a bold move, and endeavoured to force a way through and penetrate the high tower on the walls using mattocks as grappling irons. The Turks had filled up the tower on the inside with a heap of stones so that it would stand firm more effectively with the thickness of stones, and if by any chance the outer wall were broken down by the Gauls in their efforts to enter, the accumulation of innumerable stones would be a hindrance to them. Indeed the people of the living God, their anger more and more inflamed, and feeling enraged by the massacre of their comrades,<sup>102</sup> assaulted the tower with a sharp point of iron, intending to breach the tower with such force that a hole in the excavated wall would appear through which two at once could enter in advance and penetrate and capture, and these two would reduce and demolish the heap stone by stone and open up a way clear to the enemy. But they were not able to succeed as they hoped.

32. Now one night, when the people were distressed by this struggle and by the experience of the very great slaughter about the city, and had withdrawn into the camp for a while, it was discovered that the Turks often sailed out of the city by way of the lake, and secretly brought in relieving troops, weapons, and all necessary supplies, and that merchants from all parts came together there, and that every sort of merchandise was obtained by the Turks by way of that same lake. Because of this the princes finally held very many councils, discussing what they should do, or how they should continue, how the lake might be closed to the Turks and further sailing in and out be denied to the besieged, and saying that otherwise their own attacks or exertion could not succeed. At last in the course of very many discussions the following conclusion was reached: that unless the lake, which was so large, was guarded by ships, the enemy could in no way be kept in check, nor the city be made empty of food. So the people great and small were called together and it was announced by general agreement that countless numbers of common people,

copie equestris et pedestris uulgi mitterentur, qui naues a domno imperatore impetratas eiusque dono concessas a mari per siccum iter uehiculis arte lignorum aptatis, funibus canabinis et loris taureis, humero et collo hominum et equorum impositis, usque ad lacum Nicee perducere ualerent.<sup>103</sup> Quod actum est, et noctis in silentio<sup>104</sup> uiam<sup>d</sup> septem miliariorum trahentes has naues miri ponderis et magnitudinis, que numerum centum uirorum capere poterant, orto sole ad lacum predictum applicuerunt, has in litore et undis reponentes. Nec mora principes exercitus exurgentes undique perueniunt ad lacum uidere et scire de nauibus, gauisi quod sui incolumes et sine hostili infestatione, et naues sine lesione recepte sunt. Nauibus itaque receptis sanis et illesis, fortissimi milites Gallorum in eis sunt constituti, qui ultra eis<sup>e</sup> exitu Turcis interdicto  
 324 obstarent, et nihil prorsus necessa|riorum eis nauigio inferri paterentur. In una autem naui de Turcopolis imperatoris uiri sagittarii habebantur, qui nauali certamine in aquis multum preualere solebant. Turci uero et uniuersi custodes presidii circa lacum tumultum populi et principum tam matutinos conuentus intelligentes, ad menia uersus flumen concurrunt, multum de nouiter adductis nauibus admirati,<sup>f</sup> quas et proculdubio suas estimassent, nisi quod sue adhuc altero in litore iuxta muros et menia, catenate ferro et seris stare uidebantur. Sic lacu nauali obsidione preoccupato, et militum illic in flumine loricata manu, quin<sup>g</sup> lanceis, arcu et sagittis armata relicta, comes Reimundus ac sui satellites et plurima manus de exercitu iterato ad predictam turrim conueniunt, assultus et lapidum iactus<sup>h</sup> multiplicat, Turcos non parce uexant et inpugnant, ariete ferrato muros crebra hominum uociferatione et inundatione impellentes.

33. Turci siquidem uidentes crebro ariete muros impelli et concuti,<sup>105</sup> et turrim lignibus<sup>a</sup> perforari,<sup>b</sup> adipem, oleum picemque stuppis et facibus ardentissimis commixtum fundebant a menibus,<sup>106</sup> que instrumentum arietis et crates uimneas prorsus absumpserunt.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>d</sup> uia CN<sup>e</sup> om. A<sup>f</sup> ammirantes A<sup>g</sup> in H<sup>h</sup> ictus A33    <sup>a</sup> legionibus N    <sup>b</sup> perfodi H

<sup>103</sup> The same strategy is described in *GF* (p. 16). Anna Komnene represents it as entirely a Byzantine initiative (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 11; trans. Sewter, p. 236).

<sup>104</sup> A classical topos, e.g. Caesar, *De bello Gallico* vii. 36; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* v. 32.

<sup>105</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* ii. 492-3.

<sup>106</sup> This is Albert's first mention of the fabled 'Greek fire': see J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 21-7.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* i. 95.

mounted and on foot, would be sent to the port of Civitot. There were ships there that had been requested from the lord emperor and granted as his gift, which they would be able to bring across on dry land all the way to the lake of Nicaea from the sea, using carts adapted by the skilful use of timbers and hempen ropes and straps of bull's hide, and placed on the shoulders and necks of the men and horses.<sup>103</sup> The plan was carried out, and at dead of night<sup>104</sup> they dragged these ships, which were of extraordinary weight and size and which could hold a hundred men, on the seven-mile journey, and at sunrise they arrived at the lake of Nicaea and put down the ships on the shore and in the water. At once the princes of the army got up and came from all sides to the lake to see and to find out about the ships, rejoicing because their men were unharmed and had suffered no enemy attack, and the ships had arrived without damage. Now that the ships had arrived safe and sound the bravest soldiers of Gaul were stationed on them to use them against the Turks if they made any further forbidden exit, and to allow no more supplies to be brought in by ship. Moreover, in one of the ships there were archers from the emperor's Turcoples, who were accustomed to fight afloat very ably in naval battles. When they saw the commotion of the people around the lake and the unusually early morning meetings of the princes, the Turks and all the guards of the fortress flocked to the walls by the water, marvelling greatly at the newly arrived ships, which beyond any doubt at all they would have reckoned to be their own, except that theirs were still to be seen moored on the other shore next to the walls and defences, chained with iron and bolts. Thus the lake was occupied by a naval blockade and, leaving behind on the river there a band of soldiers who wore mail and also bore spears, bows, and arrows, Count Raymond and his attendants and many troops from the army assembled once again at the tower mentioned above: they multiplied their assaults and stone-throwing, they upset the Turks more than a little, and they attacked, driving at the walls with an iron-clad battering ram and a loud shouting and charge of men.

33. Seeing that the walls were being struck and shaken repeatedly by the battering ram,<sup>105</sup> and that the tower was being penetrated by mattocks, the Turks mixed together grease, oil, and pitch with tow and strongly burning torches and poured the mixture from the walls,<sup>106</sup> and it burnt up completely the apparatus of the battering ram and the wicker frameworks.<sup>107</sup> Some killed very many with

Alii sagittis et corneo arcu plurimos interimebant, alii saxorum lesione secus muros et turrim laborantes opprimebant. In hac Turcorum defensione et reluctatione, quidam miles illorum ferocissimi animi et cordis, non parce desudabat arcu et iaculis, et, quod dictu mirabile est, in uulnere sibi illato diffusus uite procul abiecto clipeo, manifeste opposuit pectus telis cunctorum, et rupea saxa in medium uulgu ambabus manibus contorquebat. Nec quamuis, ut aiunt pro uero qui affuerunt, uiginti sagittis et adhuc herentibus in precordiis premeretur continebat manus <sup>c</sup> a iactura<sup>c</sup> lapidum et percussione<sup>d</sup> Gallorum, sed amplius et seuius damnum exercebat in populo. Dux uero Godefridus uidens tam ferocissimum et crudelissimum seuire nec tot sagittarum infixione deficere, sed plures fidelium illius iaculatione perire, arrepto arcu baleari, et stans post scuta duorum sociorum eundem Turcum trans uitalia cordis perculit.<sup>e</sup> Sicque mortuum ultra a cede horrenda compescuit. Tandem fatigato populo Christianorum, et sole declinato, et assultu tam horribili sedato, Turci angustiati perforatione<sup>f</sup> turris rursus saxorum acerosos comportant interius, noctis in silentio, ne facilis aditus in crastinum reperiretur.

- 325 34. Mane autem sole relato populus Dei ad iterandum assultum et ampliandum turris penetrare animatur et armatur. Sed uisa et agnita rursum lapidum collatione opposita in recenti foramine, memor periculi et anxietatis quam priori luce pertulerat, cepit animo mollescere, et quisquis alium commonere<sup>a</sup> ut preiret.<sup>b</sup> Tandem miles quidam illustris de tabernaculis predicti Roberti Nortmannorum comitis exiliens, galea opertus et lorica et tectus clipeo, trans uallum, muros inperterritus inuadit, ad turrim properat, et acerosos lapidum a foramine eruere nititur, et aditum saxis occupatum uacuare,<sup>c</sup> sed grandine saxorum et assidua inundatione iaculorum inepti obliuiscitur. Videns autem idem miles omni auxilio se destitutum,<sup>d</sup> et pre oppressione<sup>e</sup> immensorum lapidum nil posse

<sup>c</sup> ad iacturas *N*<sup>d</sup> percussiones *N*<sup>e</sup> percutit *N*<sup>f</sup> perforamine *H*34 <sup>a</sup> commouere *N*<sup>b</sup> periret *AG*<sup>c</sup> euacuare *A*<sup>d</sup> destitutum *A*<sup>e</sup> occupatione *N*

arrows shot from bows of horn, others crushed those who were working alongside the walls and tower with an attack of rocks. In the course of this defence and resistance by the Turks one of their soldiers, a man of most warlike spirit and heart, was exerting himself not a little with crossbow and bolts and—this is an extraordinary story—having sustained a wound, he despaired of his life and he threw his shield far away from him and clearly exposed his breast to everyone's weapons, and he hurled rocks from the cliffs with both hands into the middle of the crowd. And, as those who were there assure us is true, even though he was weighed down by twenty arrows which even yet were sticking in his chest, he did not restrain his hands from throwing stones and striking the Gauls, but wrought destruction on the people more powerfully and more fiercely. Now Duke Godfrey, seeing that this most warlike and cruel man was raging and did not falter with so many arrows sticking in him, but that more of the faithful were dying from his missiles, seized his crossbow, and, standing behind the shields of two of his comrades, he struck that Turk through the vitals of his heart. And so the man was dead and he prevented him from any further fearful slaughter. At last the crowd of Christians was weary, and the sun went down, and the attack which had been so terrible grew quiet, and then the Turks, distressed by the breaching of the tower, once again collected heaps of rocks inside at dead of night, so that no easy access would be found the next day.

34. The next day when the sun returned, God's people were encouraged and armed for renewing the attack and enlarging the breach in the tower. But when they saw and recognized the pile of stones set once again in front of them in the fresh opening, the memory was still with them of the previous day's danger and anxiety, and their spirit began to weaken, and everyone told someone else to lead the way. At last one distinguished soldier sprang up from the tents of the aforesaid Robert, count of Normandy, and, concealed by a helmet and protected by hauberk and shield, he attacked undaunted across the rampart and walls, hastened to the tower, and strove to tear away the heaps of stone from the opening and to empty the entrance of the rocks which filled it up, but he gave up the attempt in a hail of rocks and a continual deluge of missiles. Moreover, when that soldier saw that he had been abandoned without any assistance, and that he could not succeed because of the crushing weight of the vast stones,

proficere, comminus muro se astringit ad deuitanda iacula Turcorum que sine intermissione fatigabant uirum egregium. Sed nec sic euadendi manus illorum ulla uia aut facultas illi<sup>f</sup> monstratur. Tandem tot milium lapidibus a collo et capite illius scuto auulso, fractis ceruicibus iuxta muros obruitur, et in ipsa lorica et galea moritur, in aspectu omnium fidelium, nequaquam illi subuenientium. Turci ergo uidentes uirum immobilem iam obisse, ab ipsa nefanda turre catenam prociunt, ungues ferreos acutissimos et rapacissimos ex fabril ingenio et opere habentem<sup>g</sup> quasi hamos, que anulos lorice extincti militis<sup>h</sup> infixa arripiens, ac retinens, <sup>i</sup>cum cadauere mortuo intra menia leuatur. Dehinc corpus militis apprehensum, licet extinctum in laqueo funis ad menia suspenderunt, ut Christianos per hanc inhumanitatem amplius offenderent. Offensi uero<sup>j</sup> et tristes, uniuersi lamentabantur confratrem tam crudeli nece et uili tractatu perisse. Quem post hanc diutinam illusionem nudum a menibus proiectum, honorifice susceptum, cum ceteris prefatis et ibidem occisis fidelibus in elemosinarum distributione <sup>k</sup>et sacerdotum<sup>k</sup> commendatione sepelierunt.

35. Hac ruina uirorum fortium et creberrimis damnis Christianorum que in assultu urbis per singulos dies patiebantur, duce Godefrido et Boemundo cunctisque principibus turbatis, et quia nullo conamine machinarum aut balistarum aut impetu uirium, muris aliquam lesionem inferre poterant, sed omnis labor et uirtus eorum incassum<sup>a</sup> consumebatur, quidam Longobardus genere, magister et inuentor magnarum arcium<sup>b</sup> 108 et operum, uidens miseras et strages Chris-  
 326 tiano|rum ultro se obtulit prefatis primoribus<sup>c</sup> quorum animum huiuscemodi solatione et promissione releuat<sup>d</sup> dicens: 'Video quia omne opus machinarum uestrarum in uanum laborat, uestrates crebra<sup>e</sup> morte circa muros minuuntur, et magnis periculis uita residuorum adhuc subiacet. Nam Turci inclusi confidenter et securi a turribus et menibus repugnant, incautos et nudos sagittis et saxis obruunt, quin murus astutia antiquorum fundatus, non ferro aut aliquo robore potest rescindi. Vnde quia omnem uirtutem uestram<sup>f</sup> sic frustrari perspexi, maiestatem uestram adire et compellare

<sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> habentes A      <sup>h</sup> multi N      <sup>i</sup> E resumes      <sup>j</sup> ergo H  
<sup>k</sup> <sup>k</sup> sacerdotumque ACHN

35    <sup>a</sup> cassum N      <sup>b</sup> All MSS have artium      <sup>c</sup> principibus H      <sup>d</sup> reuelat N  
<sup>e</sup> crebra E      <sup>f</sup> nostram N

108 The manuscripts all have 'artium'.

he drew close to the nearby wall to avoid the Turks' javelins, which tormented the hero without ceasing. But no way or means was thus shown to him of escaping their hand. At length, after his shield had deflected from his head and shoulders so many thousands of stones, he was overwhelmed right by the walls with his neck broken, and he died wearing that same hauberk and helmet in the sight of all the faithful, who still did not come to his assistance in any way. Then the Turks, seeing that the man was still and had died now, threw down from that abominable tower a chain which had on it very sharp and grasping iron claws of ingenious artifice and workmanship, like hooks, which caught fast in the rings of the dead soldier's hauberk, and held, and it was pulled up over the walls with the dead body. Then, when they had got hold of the soldier's body, although it was dead they hanged it in a noose of rope against the walls, so that they would offend the Christians further by this inhuman conduct. Offended indeed and sad, all of them wept that that their comrade had perished by such a cruel death and abominable treatment. When after this long display he was thrown down naked from the walls they took him up with honour, along with the rest we have mentioned, and buried him in the same place as the slaughtered faithful, with the handing out of alms and a commendation from priests.

35. Duke Godfrey and Bohemond and the other princes were troubled by this destruction of brave men, and by the harm that came to so many Christians who suffered day after day in the attack on the city, and because they were unable to make any breach in the walls by the efforts of siege engines or catapults or by assaults, and all their exertion and courage was squandered to no purpose. Then a certain man, a Lombard, master and inventor of great defences<sup>108</sup> and siege works, who saw the miseries and massacres of the Christians, presented himself unasked to the aforesaid nobles and raised their spirits with this sort of comfort and promise, saying: 'I see that all the siege work of your engines is labouring in vain, your men are reduced in numbers by frequent deaths around the walls, and the lives of those remaining are still threatened by great dangers. For the Turks within fight back fearlessly and in safety from the towers and walls, they overwhelm heedless and defenceless men with arrows and rocks, and indeed the wall which was built with the cunning of the ancients is not to be broken down by iron or any other show of strength. So, because I observed that all your efforts were thus frustrated, I set out to approach

disposui, quatenus si consiliis meis adquiescatis et aliquod<sup>g</sup> laboris mei a uobis premium consequar, Deo auxiliante turrim hanc que ualida et insuperabilis uidetur humi cogam procumbere, sine damno et periculo uestrorum commilitonum, per quam aditus patebit ad inimicos<sup>h</sup> et uobis<sup>k</sup> contrarios, tantum necessaria arti mee<sup>i</sup> ex communi sumptu et iuuamine amministrentur.<sup>j</sup> Audita hac uiri promissione, cum omni beniuolentia pacti sunt ei dare quindecim libras carnotensis<sup>k</sup> monete<sup>109</sup> premium sui laboris, et quicquid necessarium operi requireret indeficienter<sup>l</sup> amministrare, gauisi et confidentes in spe promissi artificii. Magister itaque artis facta predicta conuentione, ingenia sua aptat, parietes decliues<sup>m</sup> connectit, et uirgeas crates assuit<sup>n</sup> mirifico instrumento, sub cuius protectione ipse et<sup>o</sup> secum desudantes capita sua tuta a iaculis Turcorum desuper resistentium haberent.

36. Ad unguem uero instrumento sue protectionis perducto, uiri Christianorum loricati, clipeati, circa machinam conglobantur. Quam in uirtute sua trans uallum impulerunt, trahentes, et iuxta muros inuitis et prohibentibus desuper omnibus Turcis cominus adiunctam statuerunt. In qua magister artis cum ceteris opificibus suis tutus relinquitur, regressis<sup>o</sup> sine magna lesione fidelium turmis. Turci uero uidentes huius ingenii instrumentum in detrimento urbis posse preualere, faculas ardentes cum pice et adipe iactant<sup>b</sup> super machinam, et saxeas moles conuoluunt a menibus si sic aliqua arte ars muro illata destruat, et inclusi in ea absterreantur. Sed frustra omnia iactant<sup>c</sup> aut conantur, quia parietes decliues,<sup>d</sup> nil ingestum ignis aut lapidis retinebant. Magister uero artis fiducialiter latens<sup>e</sup> in machina cum sociis secum habitis, sub fundamento turris lignonibus et acutissimo ferro cauare terram non desinit, donec trabes, postes et cetera<sup>f</sup> immanissima robora lignorum in ipsa cauatione sub  
327 fundamento com|poneret, quibus muri ablata terra ne subito super

<sup>g</sup> aliquot *A*      <sup>h</sup> <sup>k</sup> uobisque *ACHN*      <sup>i</sup> mei *A*      <sup>j</sup> ministrentur *A*  
<sup>k</sup> karnotensis *E*      <sup>l</sup> indesinenter *H*      <sup>m</sup> decliuos *E*      <sup>n</sup> affixit *N*      <sup>o</sup> ac *ACHN*

36      <sup>a</sup> regressus *N*      <sup>b</sup> iactam *N*      <sup>c</sup> iactabant *N*; *A* adds super machinam  
<sup>d</sup> decliui *E*      <sup>e</sup> *A* adds intus before latens      <sup>f</sup> alia *A*

<sup>109</sup> Raymond of Aguilers (pp. 111–12) explains that the crusaders used 'moneta pictavine, cartenses, manses, luccenses, valanzani, melgorienses, et . . . pogeni' (coins from Poitou, Chartres, Le Mans, Lucca, Valence, Melgueil, and Le Puy). The coins from Le Puy were worth half as much as the others, of which eight or nine could be exchanged

your highnesses and persuade you that if you agree to my plans and I get some reward from you for my work, with God's aid I shall make this tower, which seems strong and invincible, fall to the ground, without harming and endangering your fellow soldiers, and through this a way in will be opened up to get at your enemies and opponents, as long as the essentials for my craft are supplied from the common expense and assistance fund.' When they heard this man's promise they agreed with complete good will to give him fifteen pounds of the coinage of Chartres<sup>109</sup> as reward for his work, and to supply without fail whatever essentials he might need for the task, rejoicing and putting their trust in the hope of the promised workmanship. So, after the aforesaid agreement, the master craftsman prepared his inventions, joined the sloping sides together and attached hurdles of brushwood to the marvellous apparatus, so that under its protection he and those who toiled with him would keep their heads safe from the javelins of the Turks who were opposing them from above.

36. When the apparatus for their protection was perfectly finished, men from the Christian ranks, wearing hauberks and armed with shields, gathered around the engine. They used their strength to move it across the rampart, dragging it, and positioned it next to the walls, practically touching them, while all the Turks were resisting and hindering them from above. The master craftsman was left safely inside it with his other workmen after the troops of the faithful had retreated without great injury. The Turks, realizing that the apparatus of this machine could be decisive in the defeat of the city, were throwing torches burning with pitch and fat onto the siege engine, and they rolled up a mass of rocks from the walls to see if thus by any artifice the artefact brought to the wall might be destroyed and those shut in it be frightened off. But everything they threw onto the machine or tried was in vain because its sloping walls retained neither firebrands nor stones that were thrown against them. The master craftsman, who was hiding confidently within the machine with the associates whom he had kept back with him, did not leave off hollowing out the earth under the foundation of the tower with mattocks and sharpest iron, until he could set up beams, posts and other enormous oak timbers in that same excavation under the foundation, on which the walls would be supported after the earth

for a golden dinar. See D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East* (London, 1995), pp. 12–21.

adhuc fodientes ruerent inniterentur. Iam uero cauatione permaxima facta, in latitudine et longitudine, ex ammonitione magistri artis, uniuersi de exercitu, parui et magni, sarmenta, stipulas, regulas<sup>g</sup> calamosque aridos, stuppas et omnia fomenta ignis conferunt, et inter postes et trabes et magnificas arbores coaceruant, undique hiis lignis cauatione occupata. Post hec ignis a magistro operis inmissus, magno spiramine suscitatur, quousque perstrepens et discurrens flamma insuperabilis magis ac magis inualuit, que postes, trabes et omnia ligna supposita in cineres<sup>h</sup> redegit.<sup>i</sup> Hiis ita in fauillam redactis et fundamentis sustentaculo deficiente tam terre quam lignorum, edificium uetustissime turris resupinum in momento noctis medio corruens, tantum reddidit sonitum, ut tonitruī fragor omnibus somno excitatis uideretur. Igitur tam<sup>j</sup> intolerabile pondus collapse turris licet repentino casu procumberet, non cementorum aut petrarum collisione in plurimas partes dissiluit,<sup>k</sup> sed quassi et corrupti<sup>l</sup> per loca muri ipsius arcis iacentes, rimarum lesione hiabant,<sup>m</sup> aditumque sed tamen<sup>n</sup> difficilem exhibebant. In hac itaque turris ruina et contritione, uxor nobilissima Solimanni uehementer exterrita non ultra in urbis confisa presidio noctis in silentio a suis in lacus flumine inmissa est, ut sic nauigio Christianos euaderet. Sed percepta eius abscissione<sup>o</sup> a militibus lacum tuentibus remigio nouiter adductarum nauium capta, et in custodiam principum cum duobus tenellis filiis reposita est.

37. Turci et arcis defensores pariter turri<sup>a</sup> humi procumbente<sup>111</sup> perterriti, ac matrone huius captione stupefacti, et lacus enauigatione amodo desperati, suorum interius occisorum graui imminutione desolati, longa obsidione fatigati, nec se euadere uidentes,<sup>b</sup> consilio inuicem habito, de uita et membrorum salute precantur, sibi parcere<sup>c</sup> ab exercitu Christiano deprecantur, clauēs urbis polliciti reddere in manus imperatoris Constantinopolis, sub cuius conditione urbs primitus hereditario iure seruiens habebatur, quousque iniusta ui

<sup>g</sup> All MSS have tegulas      <sup>h</sup> cinerem H      <sup>i</sup> redegit N      <sup>j</sup> om. H  
<sup>k</sup> dissiluit A      <sup>l</sup> correpti N      <sup>m</sup> patebant A      <sup>n</sup> tantum N      <sup>o</sup> abscissione N

37      <sup>a</sup> om. N      <sup>b</sup> H adds posse before uidentes      <sup>c</sup> parci ACHN

<sup>110</sup> All the manuscripts have 'tegulas', and wooden shingles are possible, though improbable.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* v. 481.

had been taken away so that they would not suddenly fall down on top of those still digging. Once a very great excavation had been made, both wide and long, on the instruction of the master craftsman, everyone in the army, small and great, gathered twigs, stalks, sticks,<sup>110</sup> and dry reeds, pieces of tow and all sorts of kindling, and heaped it between the posts and beams and the splendid timbers, everywhere where the excavation was occupied by these pieces of wood. After this, fire was put in by the master of the siegework, it was encouraged by a great breath until, roaring and racing in different directions, the unconquerable flame grew stronger and stronger and it reduced to ashes the posts, the beams and all the wood that had been put underneath. When these things had thus been reduced to embers and there was no prop for the foundations either of earth or of wood, the building of the very ancient tower fell flat in an instant in the middle of the night, and it made such a noise that it was taken for the crash of thunder by all the people who were woken from their sleep. Although the weight, so unbearable, of the fallen tower was brought down by the sudden collapse, it was not broken up by the shock into many pieces of masonry or stones, but the walls of the fortress were lying shattered and ruined in many places; they stood open, damaged by cracks, and offered a way in, though still difficult. Because of this collapse and devastation of the tower Suleyman's noble wife was greatly frightened, and she no longer trusted in the protection of the city, so she was sent by his men at dead of night onto the current of the lake, so that she would thus escape the Christians by boat. But her departure was spotted by the soldiers who were guarding the lake, and she was caught by their rowing up the newly brought up ships, and was placed in the care of the princes along with her two young sons.

37. The Turks defending the fortress were terrified when the tower was broken down to the ground,<sup>111</sup> and they were likewise stunned by the capture of this lady, and from then on they despaired of escape by sailing clear on the lake; they were devastated by the serious weakening of their men who had been killed within; they were exhausted by the long siege, and as they saw that they could not escape they had a discussion among themselves and they made entreaties concerning the safety of life and limb, asking that they be spared by the Christian army, having promised to hand over the keys of the city into the hands of the emperor of Constantinople, to whom originally the city was subject by hereditary law, until Suleyman

Solimannus sibi subiugatam inuasit.<sup>112</sup> Tatinus uero truncate naris familiaris imperatoris, consilio maiorum exercitus satisfaciens precibus illorum suscepta utrimque fide et reddita, apud Christianos proceres pro eis intercessit, hac conditione, ut ab urbe incolumes exeant, et in imperatoris deditionem ueniant cum uxore Solimanni nobilissima que nuper capta in custodia principum Francorum tenebatur cum duobus filiis suis adhuc teneris.<sup>113</sup> Sic utrimque sedato assultu, dum diuersa consilia reddende ciuitatis<sup>d</sup> agerentur, et plures captiui Christianorum redderentur, quedam sanctimonialis  
 328 femina | de cenobio Sancte Marie ad Horrea Treuerensis<sup>e</sup> ecclesie<sup>114</sup> cum ceteris absoluta et restituta est in manus Christiani exercitus, que se de adtrito Petri agmine captam et abductam professa est,<sup>f</sup> et parum<sup>f</sup> intermissionis a feda et abhominabili cuiusdam Turci et ceterorum commixtione habuisse conquesta est. Dum uero super hiis iniuriis miserabiles gemitus in audientia Christianorum proferret, inter proceres et milites Christi Heinricum de Asca castello recognouit. Quem ex nomine lacrimabili et humili uoce compellans, ad auxilium sue emundationis adesse<sup>g</sup> commonuit. Qui statim hanc recognitam super eius infortunio motus est, <sup>h</sup>et omni<sup>h</sup> misericordia et industria <sup>i</sup>qua potuit<sup>i</sup> apud<sup>j</sup> ducem Godefridum obtinuit, quatenus ei a domno Naimero uenerabili episcopo consilium penitentie daretur. De huiusmodi incestu tandem consilio accepto a clero facta est ei remissio illicite copulationis cum Turco, et alleuiata penitentia, eo quod ui et nolens ab impiis et sceleratis<sup>k</sup> hominibus hanc fedam pertulerit oppressionem.<sup>l</sup> Post hec modico interuallo solius noctis, per internuncium eiusdem Turci qui eam uiolauerat et ceteris abstulerat, plurima suasionem et blanda promissione ad illicitos et incestos<sup>m</sup> thalamos reinuitatur. Exarserat enim idem<sup>n</sup> Turcus in illius inestimabilem pulchritudinem, unde nimium egre ferebat illius<sup>o</sup> absentiam, cui adeo premia promiserat que illius animo sic<sup>p</sup> insederant ut ad

<sup>d</sup> urbis A      <sup>e</sup> Treuirensis ACN      <sup>f</sup> parumque ACHN      <sup>g</sup> esse A  
<sup>h</sup> omni<sup>h</sup> ACHN      <sup>i</sup> om. A      <sup>j</sup> ad N      <sup>k</sup> sceleratissimis H  
<sup>l</sup> contaminationem C      <sup>m</sup> incestus A      <sup>n</sup> om. N      <sup>o</sup> ipsius H      <sup>p</sup> om. N

<sup>112</sup> Albert's inserting these rather legalistic clauses at this point may reflect his understanding of the leaders' undertaking to restore to the Byzantines all captured cities and territory which had formerly been theirs.

<sup>113</sup> Albert appears not to have been informed about the role of the emperor's general Boutoumites, who negotiated the surrender of Nicaea: AC, ed. Leib, ii. 235, iii. 12-13, 16-17; trans. Sewter, pp. 330-1, 333-4, 336-8; Skoulatos, *Personnages byzantins*, pp. 181-5.

invaded and brought them under his power by unlawful use of force.<sup>112</sup> Tatikios with the chopped-off nose, an intimate of the emperor, in answer to the entreaties of a council of the army's leaders, and after pledges had been given and received by both sides, interceded for them with the Christian chiefs, making this condition: that they should come out of the city unharmed and surrender to the emperor, along with Suleyman's noble wife who had recently been captured and was being held in the charge of the Frankish princes with her two sons who were still young.<sup>113</sup> When the attack had calmed down on both sides, while different discussions were going on about giving up the city, and many of the Christians' prisoners were returned, a certain nun from the convent of St Mary at the Granaries, belonging to the church at Trier,<sup>114</sup> was set free and returned with the rest into the hands of the Christian army. She claimed she had been captured and taken away from Peter's defeated army, and she complained that she had been taken in a vile and detestable union by a certain Turk and others with scarcely a pause. Then, while she was uttering her wretched moans about these wrongs to the audience of Christians, she recognized Henry of the castle of Esch among the nobles and soldiers of Christ. Addressing him by name in a low and tearful voice, she appealed to him to come to the aid of her purification. He recognized her at once, and was affected by her misfortune, and he employed diligence and every argument of pity he could with Duke Godfrey until advice for repentance was given her by Lord Adhémar, the venerable bishop. At last, when advice about an unchaste act of this sort had been received from the priest, she was granted forgiveness for her unlawful liaison with the Turk, and her repentance was made less burdensome because she had endured this hideous defilement by wicked and villainous men under duress and unwillingly. A short time after this, only one night, she was invited again very persuasively and with many coaxing promises to the unlawful and unchaste union by a messenger from that same Turk who had violated her and taken her from the rest. For that same Turk had been inflamed by passion for the nun's inestimable beauty, and so he was excessively annoyed at her absence, to whom indeed he had promised rewards which had so possessed her imagination that she

<sup>114</sup> 'Sancta Maria ad Horrea' appears to be a corruption of 'S. Maria in Orreo', that is Oeren (Euren), a district of Trier west of the river Mosel: *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, ed. L. H. Cottineau, 2 vols. (Mâcon, 1935-7), ii, col. 3210, s.vv. Trèves: St Irminen.

nefandum maritum rediret. Promittebat etiam se idem Turcus in breui Christianum fieri, si forte a captiuitate et uinculis imperatoris exiret. Tandem misella si ui ante deliquit, nunc blandiciis et uana spe decepta, ad iniquum sponsum et adulterinas nuptias recurrit,<sup>g</sup> uniuerso ignorante exercitu qua astutia aut lasciuia ab eis subtracta sit. Post hec a relatoribus innotuit quod ad eundem Turcum reuersa sit in exilio quo erat, non alia de causa, nisi propter libidinis sue intolerantiam. Iam sic turbine belli sedato, et Christianis captiuis ab urbe restitutis Turcisque in imperatoris deditionem susceptis et transmissis, exercitus Dei uiuentis hanc diem in magno gaudio et exultatione ibidem in castris exegit, quia prospere omnia adhuc illis contingebant.<sup>r</sup>

329 38. Crastina uero die illucescente, usui sumptis necessariis mouit omnis populus iter faciens per mediam Romaniam securus et nihil metuens affuture<sup>a</sup> aduersitatis. Biduo itaque<sup>b</sup> communi agmine et armis gradientes per iuga montium et | angustas fauces uiarum, decreuerunt tanti exercitus diuisionem fieri, ut liberius et spaciosius in castris populus habitaret, 'et sic'<sup>c</sup> diuisus plenius escis et pabulo equorum habundaret. Conuenerunt quidem inter duos montium apices, ubi per pontem flumine quodam superato, Boemundus prorsus cum suis sequacibus turmis a duce Godefrido dissociatur.<sup>115</sup> Quem quidam<sup>d</sup> magnifici primores sunt secuti, Robertus comes Nortmannorum et Stephanus Blesensium princeps, sic semper uiam ad dexteram insistentes ac moderantes, ut amplius miliario a confratribus non elongarentur. Dux suique<sup>e</sup> contubernales cum episcopo Podiensi et Reimundo comite semper ad dexteram tendebant. Hac igitur<sup>f</sup> diuisione facta, Boemundus cum omni suo comitatu in uallem Degorganhi,<sup>g</sup><sup>116</sup> que et a modernis Orellis nuncupatur,<sup>117</sup> hospitandi gratia, circumquaque sociis in gramine diffusis circa horam nonam descendit, ut castra locaret, alimentis<sup>h</sup> et ceteris<sup>h</sup> necessariis, in locis, riuus et pratis aptis corpora curarent.

<sup>a</sup> recucurrit ACHN

<sup>r</sup> contingebat N

38 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> autem N <sup>c</sup> sicque ACHN <sup>d</sup> quidem N <sup>e</sup> quoque A  
<sup>f</sup> ergo A <sup>g</sup> de Gorganhi HN <sup>h</sup> ceterisque ACHN

<sup>115</sup> Anna Komnene names the meeting place as Leukai (Lefke). According to her version, Bohemond had taken charge of the vanguard, while the rest moved more slowly (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 18; trans. Sewter, p. 341). Albert's mountain peaks are a topographical improbability, and may be the result of misunderstanding the *ChA's* 'aigue', meaning water, as 'aigu', meaning needle or peak (*ChA*, line 2021, i. 114: 'A un pont a arvolt, u une aigue desserre'). See A. Hatem, *Les Poèmes épiques des croisades: genèse – historicité – localisation* (Paris, 1932), p. 172.

would return to her abominable husband. This Turk was even promising to become a Christian himself before long, if by chance he got out of imprisonment and the emperor's chains. At length this most wretched woman, who may have been forced to do wrong before, was now deceived by flattery and vain hope, and she rushed back to her unlawful bridegroom and her false marriage; no one in the whole army knew what cunning or lewdness could have been used to take her away from them. After this it is known from those who tell the story that she went back to that same Turk in exile where he was, for no other reason than because her lust was too much to bear. Now that the storm of war had thus abated, and the Christian prisoners from the city had been restored, and the Turks had been taken and handed over to the emperor, who received their capitulation, the army of the living God spent the day in great rejoicing and exultation right there in the camp, because everything so far had gone well for them.

38. Now, at dawn the following day, having taken the supplies they needed, all the people moved, travelling safely through the middle of Rūm and not fearing any future opposition. And so for two days they were marching as a single armed column through the heights of the mountains and the narrow passes of the way, and then they decided that the army was so big that it should be divided, so that the people could live more freely and spaciouly in the camp, and if a division was thus made there would be a lot more food and fodder for the horses. They came together between two mountain peaks, where a certain river had had a bridge put across it, and Bohemond with the troops who followed him separated himself completely from Duke Godfrey.<sup>115</sup> Some of the great nobles followed him—Robert, count of the Normans, and Stephen, prince of Blois—thus always making for and following the right-hand way, so that they would not be removed more than a mile from their comrades. The duke also and his tent companions, with the bishop of Le Puy and Count Raymond, always kept to the right. Then after this division, about the ninth hour, Bohemond went down with all his company into the valley *Degorganhi*,<sup>116</sup> which is nowadays called *Orellis*,<sup>117</sup> in the hope of finding quarters where he might pitch camp, and his companions, who spread out all around on the grass, might attend to the needs of their bodies with food and other supplies in suitable streams and meadows.

<sup>116</sup> Val de Gurhenie in the *ChA* (line 1759, i. 102).

<sup>117</sup> Dorylaeum is modern Eskişehir (prov. Eskişehir, Turkey).

39. Vix uero Boemundus et ceteri uiri fortissimi ab equis descenderunt, et ecce Solimannus, qui ab ipso tempore quo in fugam ab Nicena<sup>a</sup> urbe uersus est, auxilium et uires contraxit ab Antiochia,<sup>118</sup> Tharsis,<sup>119</sup> Halapia<sup>120</sup> et ceteris ciuitatibus Romanie a Turcis sparsim possessis, affuit in impetu uehementi, et multitudine graui. Nec mora, nec requies<sup>b</sup> <sup>121</sup> cedendi et expugnandi exercitum, ac discurrendi per castra fuit, aliis sagittis transfixis, aliis gladio detruncatis, nonnullis a tam crudeli hoste captiuatis. Ad hec undique clamor magnus et tremor in populo exoritur, mulieres nupte et innupte una cum uiris et infantulis detruncantur. Robertus uero Parisiensis miseris uolens succurrere, sagitta uolatili confixus et extinctus est.<sup>122</sup> | Boemundus hac strage grauissima attonitus ceterique primores equos reparant ad loricas et arma festinantes in unum conglobantur, ac plurimum se ex inproviso defendentes, diu prelia cum hostibus committebant. Willelmus iuuenis audacissimus et<sup>c</sup> tyro pulcherrimus, frater Tancredi, dum multum in armis resisteret, Turcos sepius hasta perforaret, in conspectu ipsius Boemundi sagitta percussus corruit.<sup>123</sup> Tancredus uiriliter in gladio defensus, uiu uuens euasit, sed signum decoris quod in hasta pretulerat ibidem cum fratre reliquit. Turci cum principe suo Solimanno magis ac magis inualescentes, fortiter irrumpunt in castra, sagittis et corneo arcu ferientes, mortificantes pedites peregrinos, puellas, mulieres, paruulos ac senes, nulli parcentes etati. Hac crudelitate atrocissime necis stupefacte et<sup>d</sup> pauide<sup>e</sup> tenere puelle et nobilissime, uestibus ornari festinabant, Turcis se offerebant, ut saltem amore honestarum formarum accensi et placati, discant captiuis misereri.
40. Dum<sup>a</sup> sic afficerentur fidelium greges et<sup>b</sup> Boemundi iam uirtus minus resistere ualeret, eo quod ex inproviso in se suosque armis exutos irruissent, et iam<sup>c</sup> ad quatuor milia de exercitu Christianorum

39 <sup>a</sup> Nicea *ACHN* <sup>b</sup> *ACHN* add ulla after requies <sup>c</sup> om. *A* <sup>d</sup> ac *A*  
<sup>e</sup> et pauide om. *H*

40 <sup>a</sup> Cum *N* <sup>b</sup> ut *N* <sup>c</sup> iamque *ACHN*

<sup>118</sup> Modern Antakya (prov. Hatay, Turkey).

<sup>119</sup> Tarsus (prov. İçel, Turkey).

<sup>120</sup> Modern Halab (provincial capital), Syria.

<sup>121</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* xii. 553, etc.

<sup>122</sup> Robert is also mentioned in Anselm of Ribemont's letter to Manasses, archbishop of Reims (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 145). Nothing more is known about him, though tradition, sanctified by Sir Walter Scott in his novel *Robert of Paris* (1831), identifies Robert with the nobleman who sat on Emperor Alexios's throne: AC, ed. Leib, ii. 228-9; trans. Sewter, pp. 325-6.

39. But scarcely had Bohemond and the other brave heroes got down from their horses when Suleyman appeared. Since the time he was put to flight from the city of Nicaea he had brought together assistance and forces from Antioch,<sup>118</sup> Tarsus,<sup>119</sup> Aleppo,<sup>120</sup> and the other cities of Rūm which were occupied here and there by Turks, and now he appeared, charging violently and with a large attacking force. There was no pause, no respite<sup>121</sup> from slaughtering and subduing the army, and as they ran through the camp some were pierced by arrows, others beheaded by the sword, several taken prisoner by the excessively cruel enemy. At these things a great shouting and shaking arose among the people, women both married and unmarried were beheaded, along with men and little children. And Robert of Paris, wishing to come to the aid of the wretched victims, was shot by a flying arrow and killed.<sup>122</sup> Bohemond, who was thunderstruck by this awful massacre, and the other nobles recovered their horses, they hastened to put on hauberks and weapons and massed together, and, having to defend themselves most unexpectedly, they joined battle with the enemy for a long time. William, a very daring youth and a very handsome young knight, Tancred's brother, was struck by an arrow and collapsed in the sight of Bohemond himself while he was fighting back fiercely and often piercing Turks with his spear.<sup>123</sup> Tancred, defending manfully with his sword, only just escaped with his life, but he left the ornamental banner which he displayed on his spear in that place with his brother. The Turks, with their prince Suleyman, were growing stronger and stronger, they burst into the camp in strength, striking with arrows from their horn bows, killing pilgrim foot soldiers, girls, women, infants, and old people, sparing no one on grounds of age. Stunned and terrified by the cruelty of this most hideous killing, girls who were delicate and very nobly born were hastening to get themselves dressed up, they were offering themselves to the Turks so that at least, roused and appeased by love of their beautiful appearance, the Turks might learn to pity their prisoners.

40. While flocks of the faithful were being thus afflicted, and Bohemond's strength to hold out was already weakening—because the Turks had attacked them unexpectedly when their weapons were laid aside and already some four thousand of the Christian army had

<sup>123</sup> According to *GF* (p. 5), William, son of Bohemond's sister Emma, had travelled to the East with Hugh the Great. See Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 192–3.

in manu hostili cecidissent, nuncius per abrupta montium sine mora equo transuolat, quousque ad castra ducis tristis et exhaustus spiritu peruenit. Quem ut dux Godefridus ab ostio tabernaculi aliquo spacio progressus ad considerandos socios a longe prospexit, rapido cursu festinantem, et mesto uultu pallentem, qua de causa uiam accelerauit requirit, ut sibi ceterisque conprimoribus<sup>d</sup> referat et exponat. Hic amara<sup>e</sup> et grauiua nuncia retulit dicens: 'Nostri principes cum ipso Boemundo grauissimum laborem<sup>f</sup> belli sustinent, uulgasque sequens iam totum capitalem subiit sententiam, qua et domni principes nostri in presens sunt casuri, nisi festinato uestra manus subueniat. Turci quidem castra nostra irruperunt, et per uallem que dicitur Orellis uel horribilis descendentes, ad uallem<sup>g</sup> Degorganhi, peregrinos trucidare non cessant. Robertum Parisiensem capite deciso iam interemerunt. Willelmum iuuenem egregium, sororis Boemundi filium, dignum planctu percusserunt. Et idcirco uos omnis inuitat societas ad ferendum auxilium, nulla uos mora <sup>h</sup>aut dilatio<sup>h</sup> impediat aut retardet.'

- 331 41. Hac audita miseria, et Turcorum audacia, dux per uniuersa agmina cornua iussit perstrepere, socios commonere<sup>a</sup> uniuersos, et arma capere, signa erigere, sociis sine ulla dilatione aut requie subuenire. Tamquam si ad conuiuium omnium deliciarum uocarentur, festinant arma capere, loricas induere, gladios recingere, equis frena inferre, sellas tergis reponere,<sup>b</sup> clipeos resumere, et ad sexaginta milia equitum e castris procedunt cum cetera manu pedestri. Iam<sup>c</sup> dies clarissima illuxerat, sol radiis fulgebat lucidissimis, cuius splendor in clipeos aureos et uestes ferreas refulsit, signa et uexilla gemmis et ostro florida,<sup>d</sup> erecta et hastis infixata coruscabant. Caballi celeres calcaribus urgebantur, nullus<sup>e</sup> socium aut fratrem expectabat, sed quisque quo uelocius poterat ad auxilium et uindictam Christianorum uiam insistebant. Hos denique Turci ex inprouiso ut persenserunt ad auxilium sociorum omni uelocitate et belli instantia animatos adesse tam robusta manu et in armis ac ueste ferrea, in signis luciferis ad bella erectis, fugam arripiunt, et timore concussi a cede horrenda

<sup>d</sup> primoribus ACHN  
uallem <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> om. A

<sup>e</sup> arma N

<sup>f</sup> certamen A

<sup>g</sup> A adds que dicitur after

41 <sup>a</sup> commouere N

<sup>b</sup> imponere H

<sup>c</sup> Nam N

<sup>d</sup> fulgida ACHN

<sup>e</sup> nullum N

been killed in close combat—a messenger sped on horseback through the steep mountain slopes without pause, until he arrived at the duke's camp sad and dispirited. When Duke Godfrey, who had come forward some distance from the entrance of the tent in order to inspect the allies, spotted him in the distance approaching at a gallop and looking pale with a gloomy expression, he asked why he hurried his journey, so that the messenger would report and explain to him and the other barons. The messenger reported bitter and painful news, saying: 'Our princes, with Bohemond himself, are enduring the most violent battle of the war, and a mass of followers has already suffered the death sentence, by which our lord princes will also be killed at any moment unless your band reinforces them hastily. Some Turks burst into our camp, and as they went down through the valley called *Orellis*, or 'horrible', to the valley *Degorganhi*, they slaughtered the pilgrims without ceasing. They have already destroyed Robert of Paris by cutting off his head. They have struck down the illustrious youth William, Bohemond's sister's son, greatly to be lamented. And for this reason the whole company summons you to bring reinforcements, and let no delay or deferment hinder you or hold you back.'

41. When he heard of this misery and the Turks' audacity, the duke ordered horns to sound loudly through all the ranks, to call all the companions to take up arms, to raise standards, to aid their allies without any delay or rest. Just as if they had been called to a party offering every sort of pleasure, they hurried to take up arms, to put on hauberks, to buckle on their swords again, to bridle their horses, and to put saddles on their backs again, to take up their shields once more, and some sixty thousand cavalry rode out of the camp along with the rest of the army on foot. Already a very clear day had dawned, the sun was shining with brightest rays, and its splendour glittered on the golden shields and the iron mail; the standards and flags, bright with jewels and purple, raised high and fixed on spears, were fluttering. The swift horses were urged on with spurs, they pressed on their way, nobody waiting for companion or friend, but each going as fast as he could to the assistance and revenge of the Christians. Then, when the Turks clearly saw them arriving unexpectedly, having mobilized with all speed and readiness for battle to reinforce their companions, and being present in such a strong company, armed and armoured, with shining standards raised for battle, they took flight, and shaken by fear they turned aside from a fearful massacre, making their escape,

declinant, alia<sup>f</sup> per deuia, alii per semitas notas diffugium facientes. Sed Solimannus cum ampliori manu et densioribus cuneis in montis cacumine <sup>g</sup>fuga elapsus<sup>g</sup> consistens, Christianis insequentibus occurrere ibidem<sup>h</sup> et in faciem resistere disposuit.

42. Dux autem Godefridus qui solum cum quinquaginta sodalibus in equi uelocitate precesserat, subsequentis populi in breui adunatis uiribus indubitanter ad ardua montis conscendit, cum Turcis ferire et armis committere quos conglobatos et immobiles ad resistendum in montis uertice respiciebat. Sed dux, undique suis receptis et adiunctis, hostes immobiles incurrit, hastas in eos dirigit, <sup>a</sup>et socios<sup>a</sup> ut constanter eos adeant uirili uoce adhortatur. Turci uero cum duce suo Solimanno ducis Godefridi et suorum constantiam nec animo ad presens bellum deficere uidentes, a montis summitate laxis frenis equorum uelocitate fugam parant. Quos dux uia sex miliariorum insecutus, alios in ore gladii percussit, nonnullos captiuos cum suis tenuit, predas et<sup>b</sup> spolia illorum non pauca cepit, puellas et iuuenes et omne quod asportare uel abducere sperabant ab hostibus excusserunt. Gerardus de Keresi, in equo laudabili residens, in eadem hostium insecu|tione in supercilio montis adhuc Turcum manentem et nimium audentem uiribus respiciens, scuto tectus, fortiter hasta incurrit. Quem, sagitta illius emissa et clipeo excussa, trans iecur et pulmonem perforat, equumque morientis et labentis abduxit. Baldwinus Hainaucorum comes, uir et largitor magnarum elemosinarum, cum Roberto Flandriense Turcos fugientes sternit, hortatus circumquaque concurrentes socios ut feriant et trucident, et ab<sup>c</sup> insecutione illorum numquam retardari aut manus continere uideantur. Baldwinus de Burg, Thomas de Feria castro, Reinoldus de Beluatio, Walo de Calmunt, Rothardus filius Gosfridi, Gastus de Bederz,<sup>d</sup> Rodolphus,<sup>e</sup> hii omnes unanimes in luctamine belli desudabant, Turcorum agmina in uirtute militari insequentes ac scindentes. Equorum ilia<sup>f</sup> grauis anhelitus pulsatur,<sup>124</sup> fumus ab ipso anhelitu per medias acies in nubem densabatur. Turci uero interdum recuperatis uiribus in<sup>g</sup> uirtute multitudinis sue freti uiriliter resistebant, in

<sup>f</sup> alii N      <sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> om. A

42    <sup>a</sup> sociosque ACHN    <sup>b</sup> ac A    <sup>c</sup> om. A    <sup>d</sup> Berderz H    <sup>e</sup> ACHN add etiam after Rodolphus    <sup>f</sup> milia N    <sup>g</sup> om. C

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* ix. 415.

some by out-of-the-way tracks, others by familiar paths. But Suleyman, with quite a large company and quite close formations of troops, escaped and took up a position on the mountain top to attack the Christians when they pursued him, and to oppose them in that place.

42. Duke Godfrey, on the other hand, who had ridden ahead on a swift horse with only fifty companions, after a short time joined forces with the people following and unhesitatingly climbed up to the steep slope of the mountain, to come to blows with the Turks and to engage with weapons those whom he could see gathered on the mountain top and motionless in opposition. Moreover the duke, as his men were everywhere welcomed and accepted, attacked the motionless enemies, aimed spears at them, and encouraged his allies in a loud voice to approach them steadily. When the Turks and their leader Suleyman saw the steadiness of Duke Godfrey and his men, and that at the moment they had not lost heart for war, they got ready to give their horses their heads and to flee at speed from the mountain top. The duke pursued them for six miles, striking down some with the sword, taking several as prisoners with his men, capturing not a little of their plunder and spoils, and they seized from their enemies the girls and young men and all the things they were hoping to carry off or take away. Gerard of Quierzy, riding his excellent horse and protected by his shield, saw during this same pursuit of the enemy a Turk behind him who as yet stayed on the ridge of the mountain and who was very bold and strong, so he attacked him bravely with his spear. An arrow shot by the Turk glanced off his shield, then Gerard pierced him through liver and lung, and, as the Turk slipped from it and died, Gerard made off with his horse. Baldwin, count of Hainaut, a brave man and liberal dispenser of great alms, along with Robert of Flanders, scattered the fleeing Turks, urging the comrades charging all around him to kill and slaughter and never to be seen to delay in their pursuit of the enemy nor to hold back their hands. Baldwin of Bourcq, Thomas of the castle of Fère, Rainald of Beauvais, Walo of Chaumont, Rothard son of Godfrey, Gaston of Béziers, Rodolph, all of these of one accord were exerting themselves in the struggle of battle, pursuing the Turkish troops and tearing them apart with warlike valour. Heavy panting battered the flanks of the horses,<sup>124</sup> while steam from that same panting was thickening into a cloud all over the middle of the battlefield. The Turks, meanwhile, having recovered their strength, were fighting back courageously, relying on the force of their own great numbers, in a thick hail of

grandine sagittarum dense<sup>b</sup> uolantium et cadentium. Sed huius grandinis tempestate cito transmissa, fidelium turme tela manu retinentes, illorum globos attenuant et mortificant, uictos tandem cogunt in diffugium, per deuia uiarum et abrupta montium, quorum semitas notas habebant.

43. Christiani igitur uictores quicquid in stipendio sue expeditionis Turci conduxerant, frumentum et uinum non modicum, buflos, boues et arietes, camelos, asinos, equos et mulos retinuerunt,<sup>a</sup> preterea aurum preciosum et argentum infinitum, papiliones mirifici decoris et operis. In huius uictorie prospero successu, omnes unanimiter, Boemundus scilicet, et ceteri principes<sup>b</sup> prefati qui erant ductores et columnae exercitus, in concordiam et consilium redeunt, qui ab illo die commixtis cibariis cunctisque rebus necessariis, omnia communia habere decreuerunt. Quod et actum est. In hoc conflictu belli 'et Turcorum<sup>c</sup> diffugio nonnulli Christianorum militum sagittis uulnerati perierunt, Turcorum autem tria milia cecidisse referuntur. Hoc tam<sup>d</sup> crudeli certamine finito, circa flumen quoddam<sup>125</sup> et eius carectum Christiani milites spacio trium dierum quieuerunt, curantes corpora nimis fessa ex habundantia escarum quas Turci occisi et fugitiui reliquerant. Episcopi, |presbyteri, monachi qui aderant  
333 corpora occisorum terre contulerunt,<sup>e</sup> animas fideles illorum in manu Iesu Christi precibus et psalmis commendantes. Solimannus iam denuo uictus, alpes Romanie uix euadens conscenderat, nihil ultra spei habens urbis Nicee, uxoris filiorumque, ac nimium luctum habens<sup>f</sup> suorum, quos ante hos dies in campo Nicee extinctos a Gallis amiserat, et nunc eorum quos in ualle Gorgonia<sup>g</sup> captos et peremptos reliquit.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>b</sup> denso ACHN

43    <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>b</sup> primores H    <sup>c</sup> Turcorumque ACHN    <sup>d</sup> autem N  
<sup>e</sup> tradiderunt ACHN    <sup>f</sup> faciens ACHN    <sup>g</sup> Gorgonia ACH    <sup>h</sup> AHN add  
 Explicit liber secundus; C adds Finit liber secundus

arrows flying and falling. But this hailstorm passed quickly, and the troops of the faithful, keeping their weapons in their hands, were diminishing and destroying masses of them, and at last they forced the defeated army to scatter through unfrequented places and the steep slopes of the mountains where they knew the paths.

43. Therefore the Christian victors kept all that the Turks had assembled as wages for the expedition, corn and no small quantity of wine, buffaloes, cattle and rams, camels, donkeys, horses, and mules, moreover precious gold and endless quantities of silver, tents of wonderful ornament and workmanship. At the successful outcome of this victory, everyone of one accord—Bohemond of course, and the other princes mentioned before who were the leaders and the pillars of the army—returned to agreement and consultation, and they decided that from that day rations and all necessary supplies should be pooled, and everything should be held in common. This was done. In this battle and flight of the Turks several of the Christian soldiers were wounded by arrows and perished; moreover three thousand Turks are reported to have died. When this very cruel conflict was over the Christian soldiers rested for a period of three days around a certain river<sup>125</sup> and its sedge-covered banks, caring for their exhausted bodies with the plentiful food left behind by the Turks who had been killed or put to flight. Bishops, priests, and monks who were there committed the bodies of the dead to the earth, commending their faithful souls into the hands of Jesus Christ with prayers and psalms. Suleyman, defeated now once more, only just escaped capture and climbed the mountains of Rûm, no longer having any hope for the city of Nicaea, his wife, and his sons, and feeling very great grief for his men, those whom he had lost before this time, destroyed by the Gauls on the plain of Nicaea, and now those whom he had left as prisoners or dead in the valley of *Gorgania*.

<sup>125</sup> This river is identified in *RHC Occ* iv. 332, note (b), as 'Thymbrim seu Tembrogium', a tributary of the river Sakarya.

## LIBER TERTIVS

339 1. Postquam hostilis impetus abscessit, quarte imminente lucis crepusculo,<sup>1</sup> Francigene, Lotharingii, Alemanni, Bawarii, Flandrienses,<sup>a</sup> et uniuersum genus Theutonicorum<sup>2</sup> castra mouerunt cum omnibus rebus sibi necessariis et spoliis Turcorum, et in uertice Nigrorum Montium<sup>3</sup> castrametati hospitio pernoctauerunt. Mane autem facto Nortmanni, Burgundienses,<sup>b</sup> Britanni, Alemanni, Bawarii, Theutonici, omnis uidelicet exercitus, abhinc descenderunt<sup>c</sup> in ualles nomine Malabrunias,<sup>d</sup> ubi propter difficultates locorum et angustarum faucium inter rupes iter per dies abbreviabant ob innumerabilem multitudinem et nimios calores mensis Augusti.<sup>5</sup> Sabbati dehinc cuiusdam eiusdem mensis instante die<sup>e</sup> defectus aque magnus accreuit in populo. Quapropter, sitis anxietate oppressi, utriusque sexus quam plures,<sup>f</sup> ut dicunt qui affuerunt, circiter quingentos ipsa die spiritum exalauerunt. Preterea equi, asini, cameli, muli, boues multaque animalia eodem fine grauissime sitis extincta sunt.<sup>6</sup>

2. Comperimus etiam illic non ex auditu solum, sed ex ueridica eorum relatione qui et participes fuerunt eiusdem tribulationis in eodem sitis periculo<sup>a</sup> uiros et mulieres miseros cruciatus pertulisse, quod mens humana horrescat, auditus expauescat et de tam miserabili sitis infortunio contremiscat. Quam plures namque fete mulieres, exsiccatas faucibus, arefactis uisceribus uenisque omnibus corporis solis<sup>b</sup> et torride plage ardore inestimabili exhaustis, media |  
340 platea in omnium aspectu fetus suos enixe relinquebant; alie misere iuxta fetus suos in uia communi uolutabantur, omnem pudorem et

1 <sup>a</sup> Flandriens- all MSS here; later occasionally Flandrens- ACN <sup>b</sup> Burgundiones  
ACH; Burgundines N <sup>c</sup> discesserunt A <sup>d</sup> Malebrunias C <sup>e</sup> om. H  
<sup>f</sup> plurimi H

2 <sup>a</sup> articulo H <sup>b</sup> sole C

<sup>1</sup> 3 July 1097 according to RM (p. 764).

<sup>2</sup> Unlike contemporary writers such as Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent, and Baudri of Dol, Albert does not use 'Franks' to describe the whole pilgrim army, but differentiates between groupings.

<sup>3</sup> This term was used by other writers to denote the Amanus range (Gävür Dağları, Turkey), which suggests some topographical confusion on Albert's part.

<sup>4</sup> Not identified.

## BOOK THREE

1. After the enemy attack abated, as dusk of the fourth day<sup>1</sup> was drawing on, the Franks, Lotharingians, Swabians, Bavarians, men of Flanders, and the whole race of Germans<sup>2</sup> struck camp with all the things necessary to them and the Turks' booty, and when they had pitched camp on the top of the Black Mountains<sup>3</sup> they passed the night in entertainment. However, when morning came the Normans, Burgundians, Bretons, Swabians, Bavarians, Germans, in fact all the army, marched down from here into the valleys called the *Malabrunias*<sup>4</sup> where, because of difficulties of the terrain and of narrow passes between the rocks, they shortened their journey during the day for the sake of the countless multitude and because of the excessive heat of the month of August.<sup>5</sup> Then the day came, a certain Saturday of the same month, when the great shortage of water worsened among the people. And therefore, overwhelmed by the anguish of thirst, as many as five hundred people of both sexes gave up the ghost on that same day—so they say who were there. In addition horses, donkeys, camels, mules, oxen, and many animals suffered the same death from extreme thirst.<sup>6</sup>

2. We actually found all this out not merely from hearsay, but from the truthful account given by those who also shared in that same trouble: that in that same trial of thirst men and women endured wretched tortures, such that the human mind dreads to contemplate, and trembles to hear of such a pitiable affliction of thirst. For indeed, very many pregnant women, their throats dried up, their wombs withered, and all the veins of the body drained by the indescribable heat of the sun and that parched region, gave birth and abandoned their own young in the middle of the highway in the view of everyone. Other wretched women rolled about next to their young on the common way, having forgotten all shame and modesty because

<sup>5</sup> The battle of Dorylaeum took place on 1 July 1097, so there appears to be some chronological confusion in this section. The location of the battle is much disputed. J. France makes a convincing case for the valley just north of Bozüyük (prov. Eskişehir, Turkey): *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 170–5.

<sup>6</sup> The same experience is described in *ChA* (i. 124–5, lines 2199–2210). Though the chanson's account is much less graphic, shared details like the day of the week ('semedi') suggest a relationship.

secreta sua oblite, pre memorate sitis difficillima passione. Non ordine mensium aut hora instanti parere compellebantur, sed solis estuatione, uiarum lassitudine, sitis<sup>e</sup> collectione, aquarum longa remotione ad partum cogeabantur, quarum infantes alii mortui, alii semiuiui media planicie reperiebantur. Viri autem quam multi sudore et calore deficientes, aperto ore et faucibus hiantes, aerem tenuissimum captabant ad medicandam sitim. Quod nequaquam prodesse potuit. Nam plurima pars ut diximus illic perisse hac die perhibetur. Nisi uero et accipitres aues domite et gratissime<sup>d</sup> procerum<sup>e</sup> nobilium calore eodem et siti moriebantur in manibus eas ferentium; sed et canes in uenatoria arte laudabiles, eadem sitis pena anhelantes, inter manus magistrorum extinguebantur.<sup>7</sup> Iam sic omnibus in hac pestilentia laborantibus optatus quesitusque aperitur fluuius.<sup>8</sup> Ad quem festinantes, pre nimio desiderio quisque alium in magna pressura preuenire<sup>f</sup> studebant, nullum modum bibendi habentes, quousque infirmati plurimi ex nimia potatione tam homines quam iumenta perierunt.<sup>g</sup>

3. Post hec egressis ab angustis rupibus, decretum est communi beniuolentia propter nimietatem populi exercitum in partes diuidi. De quibus Tancradus et Baldwinus frater ducis Godefridi cum suis recedentes per medias ualles Orellis<sup>9</sup> transibant. Sed Tancradus cum suis precedens ad urbes Finiminis,<sup>a</sup> Relei et Stancona<sup>10</sup> descendit, in quibus Christiani ciues habitabant Turcis uiris Solimanni subiugati. Baldwinus cum suis montanis semitis perplexis inciderat, graui cibariorum defectione cum omni manu sua aggrauatus, quin equi pabulo deficientes<sup>b</sup> uix sequi nedum uiros portare poterant. Dux uero Godefridus, Boemundus, Robertus,<sup>c</sup> Reimundus regia uia a longe sequebantur et Antiochiam minorem<sup>11</sup> propiantes, que in latere

<sup>e</sup> H has sine in margin, C has sine altered to sitis  
after procerum <sup>f</sup> E adds alium after preuenire

<sup>d</sup> grates fune N <sup>e</sup> H adds et  
<sup>g</sup> perierent uel perierunt C

3 <sup>a</sup> fluminis N

<sup>b</sup> deficiente ACHN

<sup>c</sup> Robert- all MSS here, but later: Rūbert- C; Rubert- HN

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* iii. 44: a description of good hunting and of Spartan hounds. Hunting was, of course, an accepted way of augmenting the diet, but it also gave rise to accusations of frivolity, for example in Eugenius III's crusading bull of 1147, *Quantum predecessores*, where hounds and hawks were condemned as 'signs of wantonness' along with elegant clothes: P. Rassow, 'Der Text der Kreuzzugsbulle Eugens III', *Neues Archiv*, xlv (1924), 302-5; trans. L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095-1274* (London, 1981), pp. 57-9.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the river Sakarya.

of their extreme suffering in that drought. They were driven to give birth not by the due order of months or because their time had come, but were forced by the raging of the sun, the fatigue of their travels, the swelling of their thirst, their long distance from water. Their infants were discovered in the middle of the plain, some dead, some half alive. Moreover, many men, growing weak from the exertion and the heat, gaping with open mouths and throats, were trying to catch the thinnest mist to cure their thirst. It was no use at all. For a very great part, as we have said, is claimed to have died there on that day. Even the hawks, no less, tamed birds and favourites of high-born nobles, were dying of that heat and thirst in the hands of their owners who were carrying them. Dogs as well, who were excellent in the hunter's art, panting with the same torment of thirst, perished in the hands of their masters.<sup>7</sup> Now, while everyone was thus suffering with this plague, the river they had longed for and searched for was revealed.<sup>8</sup> As they hurried towards it each was keen and longed excessively to get before the rest in the great throng. They set no limit to their drinking, until very many who had been weakened, men as well as beasts of burden, died from drinking too much.

3. After this, when they had come out from the narrow chasms, it was decided with universal goodwill that because of the very great number of people the army was to be divided into two parts. Leaving the rest, Tancred and Baldwin, Duke Godfrey's brother, departed with their men and passed through the middle of the valleys of Orellis.<sup>9</sup> But Tancred went first with his men and went down to the cities of Philomelium, Heraclea, and Iconium,<sup>10</sup> in which Christian citizens were living under the yoke of the Turks, Suleyman's men. Baldwin and his men had come up against confused mountain footpaths; he with all his band was further troubled by a serious shortage of food supplies, indeed the horses, lacking fodder, were scarcely able to follow, still less to carry men. Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, Robert, and Raymond followed from far off on the royal way and, drawing near to Antioch the Less,<sup>11</sup> which is situated to the side of Heraclea, they

<sup>9</sup> This was the name given in AA, ii. 38, 40, to the valley 'de Gorghani'. Once again Albert's topography is confused.

<sup>10</sup> Philomelium is modern Akşehir (prov. Konya, Turkey); Heraclea is Ereğli (prov. Konya, Turkey); Konya is provincial capital (Turkey). The sequence of towns given here is wrong: the crusaders would have reached Iconium before Heraclea.

<sup>11</sup> The city of Antiochia (Antioch in Pisidia) is now lost, the site being west of Yalvaç (prov. Isparta, Turkey).

Relei sita est, hospitio nona diei hora moram facere decreuerunt. Vespere autem facto, Godefridus dux ceterique comprimores<sup>d</sup> iuxta montana per amena loca pratorum<sup>e</sup> tentoria locauerunt, aptam et uoluptuosam regionem considerantes et uenationibus<sup>f</sup> fecundissimam quibus nobilitas | delectari<sup>g</sup> et exercere<sup>h</sup> gaudet. Illic accubantes, armis cunctisque<sup>i</sup> exuuiis repositis, siluam aptissimam uenatibus reperientes, sumpto<sup>j</sup> arcu et pharetra, gladiis accincti, saltus montanis contiguos ingrediuntur, si forte obueneret quod configere et persequi catulorum sagacitate ualerent.

4. Tandem diffusis per opaca nemoris singulis in sua semita ad insidias ferarum, dux Godefridus ursum immanissimi corporis et horrendi peregrinum inopem sarmenta congerentem inuasisse<sup>a</sup> respicit, et in circuitu arboris fugientem ad deuorandum persequi, sicut solitus erat pastores regionis aut siluam intrantes deuorare, iuxta illorum narrationem. Dux uero sicuti<sup>b</sup> solitus erat<sup>c</sup> et promptus ad omnia aduersa Christianis confratribus<sup>d</sup> subuenire, educto raptim gladio, equo fortiter calcaribus ammonito, misello homini aduolat, eripere a dentibus et unguibus lanionis anxiatum festinat, et clamore uehementi per media fructecta accelerans, obuius crudeli bestie offertur. Vrsus itaque, uiso equo eiusque sessore se celeri cursu premente, ferocitati<sup>e</sup> sue fidens et rapacitati<sup>f</sup> suorum<sup>g</sup> unguum, non segnius facie ad faciem duci occurrens, fauces ut iugulet aperit, totum se ad resistendum immo ad inuadendum erigit, ungues<sup>h</sup> suos acutissimos<sup>h</sup> exerit ut laniet, caput et brachia ab ictu gladii diligenter cauens subtrahit,<sup>i</sup> ac sepe ferire uolentem decipit, quin murmure horrissona totam siluam et montana commouet, ita ut omnes mirarentur, qui hoc audire poterant.<sup>j</sup> Dux uero<sup>k</sup> astutum et pessimum animal considerans in feritate audaci resistere, motus animo uehementer indignatur, et uerso mucronis acumine, temerario et ceco impetu propinquat belue<sup>l</sup> ut iccur eius perforaret, sed infelici casu ictum<sup>m</sup> gladii effugiens, belua subito<sup>l</sup> curuos<sup>n</sup> ungues tunice ducis infixit, ac complexum brachiis equo deuolutum, terre applicans, dentibus iugulare properabat. Dux itaque angustiatius, reminiscens

<sup>d</sup> primores ACHN    <sup>e</sup> om. N    <sup>f</sup> uenatibus A    <sup>g</sup> delectare A    <sup>h</sup> exerceri A  
<sup>i</sup> cunctis H    <sup>j</sup> sumptu HN

4    <sup>a</sup> om. A    <sup>b</sup> sicut ACHN    <sup>c</sup> om. H    <sup>d</sup> fratribus H    <sup>e</sup> ferocitatis  
CHN    <sup>f</sup> rapacitatis ACHN    <sup>g</sup> suorum E    <sup>h</sup> suas acutissimas E  
<sup>i</sup> subtraxit A    <sup>j</sup> potuerunt A    <sup>k</sup> ergo ACN    <sup>l</sup> om. A    <sup>m</sup> ictu H  
<sup>n</sup> curuas E

ordered a halt for refreshment at the ninth hour of the day. When evening came Duke Godfrey and the rest of the nobles pitched their tents all over delightful meadowlands, considering the district fitting and agreeable and most fruitful for the hunts in which the nobility enjoyed amusing themselves and taking exercise. As they lay near there, with weapons and all their armour laid aside, they found a wood most suitable for hunting and took up bow and quiver, girded on their swords, and went into the forests near the mountains to see if anything would appear which they would be able to shoot and chase with their cunning young hounds.

4. When at length they had spread out through the shady parts of the wood, each on his own path to ambush the wild beasts, Duke Godfrey saw that a bear of most enormous and frightful appearance had seized a helpless pilgrim out gathering twigs, and was pursuing him as he fled round a tree to devour him, just as it was accustomed to devour shepherds of the district, or at least those who went into the forest, according to their account. The duke, then, as he was accustomed and ready to help his Christian comrades at all times of misfortune, hastily drew his sword, vigorously spurred his horse and swooped down upon the wretched man; he hastened to snatch the distressed pilgrim from the butcher's teeth and claws, and racing through the middle of the thicket with a loud shout he was exposed in the way of the cruel beast. When the bear saw the horse and its rider bearing down on it at a gallop, trusting its own fierceness and the rapacity of its claws, met the duke face to face at no less speed, opened its jaws to tear his throat, raised up its whole body to resist—or rather to attack, unsheathed its sharp claws to rip him to pieces; it drew back its head and forepaws, carefully guarding against a blow from the sword, and, wishing repeatedly to strike, it feinted. Indeed it roused all the forest and mountains with its dreadful roaring, so that all who were able to hear it wondered at it. The duke, reflecting that the cunning and evil animal would oppose him with bold savagery, was keenly provoked and violently angry, and with the point of his sword turned towards it he approached the brute in a rash and blind attack, to pierce its liver. But by an unlucky chance, as the bear was escaping the blow of the sword it suddenly drove its curved claws into the duke's tunic, the duke fell from his horse, brought down to the ground embraced in its forepaws, and it wasted no time before tearing his throat with its teeth. The duke therefore, in great distress,

suorum multorum insignium factorum, et de omni periculo se adhuc nobiliter<sup>a</sup> ereptum nunc uero uili morte a cruenta bestia se suffocari dolens, recuperatis<sup>b</sup> uiribus in momento resurgit in pedibus, gladiumque in hoc repentino lapsu ab equo et cum insana fera luctamine propriis cruribus implicitum celeriter in eiusdem fere iugulum rapiens et capulo retinens, suras et neruos proprii cruris graui incisione truncauit. Sed tamen licet sanguis incessabili unda proflueret, uiresque ducis minueret, inique belue non cessit, ad defensionem stans asperimus, quousque audito inopis rustici et ab urso liberati clamore ingenti, et murmure lanionis uehementi, quidam Husechinus<sup>c</sup> nomine ex consociis per siluam diffusis uelocitate equi duci in auxilium affuit. Qui stricto mucrone horribilem feram impetiit, et una cum duce iecur et costas illius ense<sup>d</sup> transfixit.<sup>e</sup> Sic tan<sup>342</sup>dem ferocissima fera extincta, dux primum uulneris dolore, nimia sanguinis effusione, cepit corde deficere, uultu pallescere, totumque<sup>f</sup> exercitum impia fama conturbare. Concurrunt uniuersi ad locum ubi fortis athleta et uir consiliorum,<sup>12</sup> caput peregrinorum Iesus referebatur.<sup>g</sup> Quem principes exercitus gestatorio imponentes ad castra cum inmenso<sup>h</sup> luctu et<sup>i</sup> planctu uirorum ululatuque<sup>k</sup> mulierum detulerunt, medicos peritissimos ad sanandum ei adhibentes. Feram uero inter se diuidentes, nullam illi<sup>l</sup> magnitudine similem antea se uidisse fatebantur.<sup>13</sup>

5. Duce uero sic graui uulnere impedito, exercitu lentiori gressu subsequente, Tancredus qui precesserat et regiam uiam<sup>14</sup> tenebat uersus maritima, prior Baldwino fratre ducis per ualles<sup>a</sup> Buotentrot<sup>b</sup> <sup>15</sup>superatis rupibus per portam que uocatur Iudas<sup>16</sup> ad ciuitatem que dicitur Tharsis,<sup>17</sup> uulgari nomine Tursolt, descendit, quam etiam

<sup>a</sup> insigniter *A*    <sup>b</sup> recuperatus *N*    <sup>c</sup> Huseechinus *A*; Husechnus *N*    <sup>d</sup> gladiis *N*  
<sup>e</sup> perforauit *A*    <sup>f</sup> ac totum *H*    <sup>g</sup> ferebatur *ACHN*    <sup>h</sup> ingenti *ACHN*  
<sup>i</sup> cum *H*    <sup>j</sup> et ululatu *HN*    <sup>k</sup> ibi *E*

5    <sup>a</sup> ualle *H*    <sup>b</sup> Buotentrot *AGN*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Ecclus. 32: 22; 1 Macc. 2: 65.

<sup>13</sup> This heroic episode was elaborated by William of Tyre and later writers—for example they omitted that Godfrey's wound was the result of his own clumsiness—until the point where it inspired the Jesuit writer Guillaume Waha to entitle his biography of Godfrey *Labores Herculis christiani* (2nd edn., Munich, 1690). Cf. WT, pp. 219–20; GN, pp. 285–6.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Num. 21: 22.

<sup>15</sup> Modern Pozanti (prov. Adana, Turkey).

<sup>16</sup> The Cilician Gates. Albert's toponymical confusion and the association with Judas is interesting here, for Butentrot was the provenance of the first rank of Baligant's army in the

remembering his many distinguished exploits and lamenting that he who had up to now escaped splendidly from all danger was now to be choked by this bloodthirsty beast in an ignoble death, recovered his strength; he revived in an instant and was on his feet, and, seizing the sword, which had got entangled with his own legs in the sudden fall from his horse and the struggle with the frenzied wild beast, he held it by the hilt and aimed swiftly at the beast's throat, but mutilated the calf and sinews of his own leg with a serious cut. But nevertheless, although an unstaunchable stream of blood poured forth and was lessening the duke's strength, he did not yield to the hostile brute but persisted most fiercely in defending himself until a man called Husechin, who had heard the great shout of the poor peasant delivered from the bear, and the butcher's violent roaring, rode at speed from the comrades scattered through the forest to the assistance of the duke. He attacked the terrifying wild beast with drawn sword, and together with the duke he pierced its liver and ribs with his blade. So, with the ferocious beast killed at last, the duke for the first time began to lose heart because of the pain of his wound, the excessive loss of blood; his face turned pale, and the whole army was thrown into confusion by the wicked news. Everyone rushed together to the place where the brave champion and man of wisdom,<sup>12</sup> head of the pilgrims, was brought wounded. Laying him on a litter, the chiefs of the army brought him down into the camp with great lamentation and grief of the men and wailing of the women, summoning the most skilled doctors to heal him. The wild beast they divided among them, saying that they had never seen anything like it in size.<sup>13</sup>

5. So, the duke being held up by this serious wound, and his army following closely at a slower rate, Tancred, who had led the way and kept to the royal road<sup>14</sup> towards the coastal area, after passing over the cliffs went down before Baldwin the duke's brother through the valleys of Butentrot,<sup>15</sup> through the gate which is called Judas<sup>16</sup> to the town named Tarsus,<sup>17</sup> or commonly Tursolt, which the Turks,

*Chanson de Roland*: see *Chanson de Roland*, ed. G. J. Brault, 2 vols. (London, 1978), ii. 196, line 3220. The *Roland* author probably meant Butintrot, Epirus, where according to legend Judas was brought up, rather than Butentrot in Cappadocia: *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. R. Fawtier (Paris, 1933), p. 86. This passage reinforces the probability that Albert was influenced by the *Chanson*: cf. C. Minis, 'Stilelemente in der Kreuzzugschronik des Albert von Aachen und in der volkssprachigen Epik, besonders in der "Chanson de Roland"', in A. Önnersfors, J. Rathofer and F. Wagner, eds., *Literatur und Sprache im europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch* (Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 356–63.

<sup>17</sup> Prov. Içel, Turkey.

Turci primates Solimanni subiugatam cum turribus suis retinebant.<sup>18</sup> Illic Armenicus quidam qui cum<sup>c</sup> Tancrado aliquandiu moras fecerat, et eius noticiam habuerat,<sup>d</sup> promisit se ciuibus urbis graui Turcorum iugo depressis suggerere, ut in manu eiusdem Tancradi urbem caute et Turcis nesciis redderent,<sup>e</sup> si forte locum et oportunitatem repperirent.<sup>19</sup> Sed timidis ciuibus nec consiliis Armenici fratris<sup>f</sup> acquiescentibus propter Turcorum presentiam et custodiam, Tancradus qui precesserat finitimas oras<sup>g</sup> predictae<sup>h</sup> urbis depredatus est, ac contractis infinitis copiis preda in usus obsidionis, in circuitu murorum tentoria sua extendit. Locatis uero tentoriis, Tancradus plurimum minarum Turcis, per menia et turres diffusis, ex aduentu Boemundi et subsequentis exercitus uirtute intulit, nisi exeuntes urbis portas aperirent asserens non prius superuenientem exercitum ab huius urbis obsidione recedere quam ut Nicea cum omnibus inhabitantibus superata caperetur. Si uero eius uoluntati acquiescerent, urbem aperirent, non solum in oculis Boemundi gratiam et uitam inuenirent,<sup>20</sup> sed<sup>i</sup> premia multa accipientes, eidem ciuitati et aliis preesse presidii mererentur.

- 343 6. Hiis blandiciis et promissis interdum minis magnificis Turci molli, Tancrado urbem hac conditione<sup>a</sup> se reddere<sup>a</sup> pollicentur, ne quid periculi aut seditionis ab<sup>b</sup> ulla subsequenti manu ultra eis inferatur, donec Boemundi potestati cum urbis presidio subderentur. Quod Tancradus minime recusans, foedus in hoc modo cum illis<sup>c</sup> innodari instituit, quatenus uexillum ipsius Tancradi in cacumine magistre arcis in signum erigeretur quod Boemundo precurrens hanc Tancradus ciuitatem uendicauerit, et sic intacta deinceps ab omni

<sup>c</sup> eo *N*<sup>d</sup> habebat *A*<sup>e</sup> redderunt *N*<sup>f</sup> om. *A*<sup>g</sup> horas *AHN*<sup>h</sup> eiusdem *A*<sup>i</sup> et *ACHN*6 <sup>a</sup> om. *H*<sup>b</sup> *A* adds aut before ab<sup>c</sup> eis *A*

<sup>18</sup> The detachment of Tancred and Baldwin from the main army was referred to in iii. 3 above. According to *GF* (p. 24) the two travelled together through the Butentrot valley, but Albert makes it clear that Tancred went ahead through the pass while Baldwin branched off over the mountains. Nicholson, who discusses the question exhaustively, suggests that Baldwin hoped to benefit by the advice of his Armenian guide to arrive at Tarsus first: Nicholson, *Tancred*, pp. 43–4. The purpose of the detachment is an altogether bigger

Suleyman's chiefs, also held subdued with its towers.<sup>18</sup> There a certain Armenian, who had spent some time with Tancred and had become acquainted with him, promised to suggest to the townspeople, who were weighed down by the heavy yoke of the Turks, that they should give up the town into Tancred's own hands secretly and without the Turks' knowledge, if it so happened that they found the right time and place.<sup>19</sup> But, as the townspeople were cowardly and would not accept their Armenian brother's advice because of the Turks' presence and watchfulness, Tancred, who had gone on ahead, plundered the regions neighbouring the aforesaid city and, having assembled boundless supplies of booty for use in the siege, he spread out his tents all the way round the walls. When the tents were pitched, Tancred made many threats to the Turks who were stationed all over the ramparts and towers, concerning Bohemond's arrival and the strength of the army which followed, and he declared that unless they came out and opened the gates of the city, the approaching army would not withdraw from the siege of this city before it was taken like Nicaea, conquered with all its inhabitants. But if they gave in to his will, and opened up the city, they would not only find favour and life in Bohemond's eyes,<sup>20</sup> but, receiving many rewards, they would also obtain charge of their town and of other fortresses.

6. The Turks were softened by these coaxings and promises, and sometimes by the impressive threats, and they promised to surrender the city to Tancred on this condition: that no further danger or trouble should be caused to them by any following band, so long as they and the city garrison were subject to Bohemond's power. Tancred, not at all reluctant, arranged for a treaty to be secured with them on these terms: Tancred's own flag was to be raised on top of the chief citadel as a sign that Tancred, in advance of Bohemond, had laid claim to this town, and so in turn it would be kept intact from

question. It has commonly been treated as a high-spirited adventure on the part of the two young knights, but J. France sees it as a serious strategic move, aimed at restoring Byzantine power in Armenia (*Victory*, pp. 190, 193, 195-6).

<sup>19</sup> There was a complicated political situation in Cilicia, from which the crusaders benefited. Until the invasions of the Saljuq Turks Cilicia had been part of the Byzantine empire. In 1097 the Turks occupied the plain while Armenian princes occupied the Taurus mountains. Some, like Thoros of Edessa, were Orthodox in religion; others, such as Constantine son of Reuben, belonged to the Separated Armenian Church; all hoped to maintain their positions by playing off the other powers in the region: the Byzantines, the Turks, and now the crusaders.

<sup>20</sup> Gen. 18: 3; 33: 10; Num. 11: 15.

hostili impetu haberetur.<sup>21</sup> Baldwinus frater Godefridi ducis, Petrus comes de Stadeneis,<sup>d</sup> Reinardus comes de Tuol<sup>e</sup> ciuitate uir magne industrie, Baldwinus de Burch<sup>f</sup> iuuenis preclarus, coniuncti per amicitiam, alio itinere diuisi per dies<sup>g</sup> tres ab exercitu errantes per loca deserta montium et<sup>h</sup> ignota;<sup>22</sup> graui affecti<sup>i</sup> ieiunio<sup>j</sup> et necessariorum<sup>j</sup> penuria, tandem post errorem perplexarum uiarum in montis cuiusdam cacumine casu<sup>k</sup> constiterunt. De quo tentoria Tancradi speculantes per camporum planiciem in obsidionem Tharsis locata, timuerunt timore magno,<sup>23</sup> estimantes hunc Turcorum esse<sup>l</sup> apparatus. Nec minus quidem Tancradus uiros in montis altitudine<sup>m</sup> a longe contemplatus, expauit, Turcos esse arbitratus qui sociis urbi inclusis ad<sup>n</sup> subueniendum properassent. Hiis tandem descendentibus, uite diffisis, fame semiuiuis, Tancradus ut miles acerrimus socios ammonet ut eis res sit pro anima defendenda.

7. Turci autem qui turritis menibus<sup>a</sup> ad spectaculum et<sup>b</sup> defensionem circiter quingenti<sup>c</sup> conuenerant et ipsi pariter Baldwinum eiusque comitatum acies Turcorum esse estimantes, Tancrado improperantes in hoc modo minabantur: 'Ecce manus nobis auxiliari properantium. Nos non in tua ut estimabas, sed tu tuique in manu<sup>d</sup> et uirtute nostra<sup>e</sup> hodie conterendi estis. Quapropter te hoc in foedere quod frustra pepigimus, iam deceptum credas. Nec aliam ob causam te morari in castris fecimus, nisi quia spem auxilii in hiis quas uides aciebus in  
344 tuam tuorumque perditionem prestolabamur.' | Tancradus, iuuenis imperterritus, Turcorum minas paruipendit,<sup>f</sup> breui responso improperantibus resistit: 'Si hii uestri milites aut principes habentur, in Dei nostri nomine eos paruipendimus, adire non timemus. Qui si Deo opitulante uicti a nobis fuerint, superbia<sup>g</sup> et iactantia uestra<sup>h</sup> penas non euadet. Quod si peccato nostro aduersante stare nequuerimus, nequaquam tamen manus<sup>i</sup> Boemundi et sui exercitus subsequenter euadentis.' Hoc dicto Tancradus cum uniuersa sua adunatione que secum prefluxerat, in signis, in<sup>j</sup> armis, galeis<sup>k</sup> et loricis, in<sup>l</sup> equis

<sup>d</sup> A and C have Stahneis later      <sup>e</sup> Toul N      <sup>f</sup> A has Bruch here, Bruhc later  
<sup>g</sup> die H      <sup>h</sup> om. N      <sup>i</sup> effecti A      <sup>j</sup> necessariorumque ACHN      <sup>k</sup> om. A  
<sup>l</sup> fore CHN      <sup>m</sup> cacumine H      <sup>n</sup> ab A

7      <sup>a</sup> N adds et before menibus      <sup>b</sup> ad H      <sup>c</sup> quingentos A; ad quingentos H  
<sup>d</sup> H adds nostra after manu      <sup>e</sup> om. H      <sup>f</sup> paruipendet E      <sup>g</sup> H adds uestra  
after superbia      <sup>h</sup> om. H      <sup>i</sup> om. N      <sup>j</sup> om. H      <sup>k</sup> N adds et before galeis  
<sup>l</sup> et H

<sup>21</sup> Albert's account of the seizure of Tarsus is much longer and more circumstantial than that in GF (p. 24), where Tancred does not capture the town before Baldwin's arrival. However, they are agreed on the general tenor of the three-way conflict and are in broad

any hostile attack.<sup>21</sup> Baldwin, Duke Godfrey's brother; Peter count of Astenois; Rainald count of the town of Toul, a man of great diligence; and Baldwin of Bourcq, a splendid young warrior, who were united in friendship, had been separated on another route and were wandering for three days away from the army through deserted and unknown places in the mountains.<sup>22</sup> They were afflicted by severe hunger and want of supplies, but at last, after a maze of intricate roads, they happened to be standing together on top of a certain mountain. Observing Tancred's tents from there, pitched all over the level ground of the plains to besiege Tarsus, they were afraid with a great fear,<sup>23</sup> reckoning this to be Turkish equipment. And in fact Tancred, seeing the men on the mountain top from afar, was no less terrified, judging them to be Turks who had hurried to the relief of their allies blockaded in the city. When at last Baldwin's men were descending, despairing of life, half-dead from hunger, Tancred, as a keen soldier, warned his comrades that they should fight for their lives.

7. Moreover, about five hundred of the Turks had assembled on the turreted walls for the spectacle and for defence, and they too, similarly thinking that Baldwin and his retinue were battle lines of Turks, were taunting Tancred and threatening him in this way: 'Look at the company of men hurrying to reinforce us. We are not in your hands as you reckoned, but you and your men are today in our hands and in our power to be destroyed. And so now you may be sure that you have been deceived in this treaty which we made to thwart you. And we have not made you stay in your camp for any other reason, except that we were expecting the hope of reinforcement from these armies which you see coming to destroy you and your men.' Tancred, undaunted warrior, paid little attention to the Turks' threats; he reacted to the taunts with a short reply: 'If you consider these to be your soldiers or chiefs, in the name of our God we think little of them; we are not afraid to approach. If with the Lord's help they are conquered by us, then your insolence and boasting will not escape punishment. But if we cannot stand firm, because our sin prevents us, yet you will never escape the hands of Bohemond and his army which is following.' This said, Tancred, with all his company who had ridden ahead with him, hastened on swift horses to meet Baldwin,

terms reconcilable: F. Kuhn, 'Zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xii (1887), 545-58, at pp. 546-7. Cf. FC (p. 206) and RC (pp. 630-4).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ps. 62 (63): 3; 74 (75): 7; Mark 1: 45.

<sup>23</sup> Mark 4: 40.

rapidissimis,<sup>m</sup> Baldwino in occursum properat. Turci uero tubis et cornibus horrisonis ad terrendum ipsum Tancradum a muris fortiter intonant. Sed utrimque Christianitatis signis recognitis, et uisis amicis et<sup>n</sup> compatriotis, pre gaudio in lacrimas defluunt, quod sic Dei gratia a penis et periculis nunc liberati sunt. Nec mora, deinceps commixtis copiis tentoria communi consensu pariter ante urbis menia reponunt,<sup>a</sup> et ex preda quam contraxerant a<sup>b</sup> montanis et regione in bobus<sup>q</sup> et armentis, cibos mactant et parant, igni apponunt. Quos sine sale coctos diuturna fames manducare coegit, prorsus pane cunctis illic deficiente. Erat enim ciuitas ex omni parte murata, habitatoribus riuis et pratis apta et commoda, sita in campis fertilibus. Cuius menia adeo admirantur fortissima, ut nullis uinci humanis uiribus nisi Deo annuente<sup>r</sup> credatur.

8. Crastina uero luce exorta, Baldwinus exurgens, suique<sup>a</sup> exurgentes et<sup>a</sup> ad urbis menia tendentes, signum Tancradi quod erat notissimum<sup>b</sup> in eminentiori turris arce<sup>c</sup> ex consensu et foedere percusso Turcorum positum contemplantur. Vnde nimia indignatione et ira accensi, in uerba amara et seditiosa aduersus Tancradum suosque eruperunt, Tancradi, Boemundi<sup>d</sup> iactantiam et principatum floccipendentes, luto et feci equipperantes. Hiis et huiuscemodi uerbis amaris fere ad arma uentum est, nisi uiri pacifici et prudentiores tali consilio interuenissent, ut ab ipsis ciuibus Armenicis ex amborum legatione experiretur<sup>e</sup> sub cuius dominio et ditione urbem magis subesse intenderent,<sup>f</sup> et cuius<sup>f</sup> parti meliori optione fauerent. Continuo responsum est ab omnibus magis uelle subici et cedere Tancrado quam alterius principis ditioni. Dicebant enim hoc non ex cordis deuotione, sed ex Boemundi quam semper habebant inuasionis suspitione. Nec mirum, cum longe ante hanc expeditionem, in partibus Grece, |  
345 Romanie et Syrie Boemundi fama semper clauit, bellum inhorruit.<sup>24</sup> Godefridi ducis nunc primum nomen scintillabat.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>m</sup> uelocissimis *A*      <sup>n</sup> ac *CN*      <sup>o</sup> locauerunt *A*      <sup>p</sup> ex *H*      <sup>q</sup> bouibus *E*  
<sup>r</sup> auxiliante *A*

8    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> sequaces atque *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> nominatissimum *A*      <sup>c</sup> *N* adds et after arce  
<sup>d</sup> *N* adds et before Boemundi      <sup>e</sup> experirentur *A*      <sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> cuiusque *ACHN*

<sup>24</sup> Bohemond had been with his father Robert Guiscard at the siege of Durazzo, on the Dalmatian coast, in 1081. They had not attacked Asia Minor or Syria, and whether their notoriety was recognized there is questionable.

<sup>25</sup> Albert interprets the dispute as a conflict between two factions, Bohemond's and

bearing standards, weapons, helmets, and hauberks. The Turks thundered loudly from the walls with trumpets and dread-sounding horns to frighten Tancred. But on both sides the banners of Christianity were recognized, and friends and fellow countrymen were seen and they dissolved into tears of joy because thus by the grace of God they were now delivered from pains and perils. And without delay the forces duly combined and by common consent they pitched their tents together before the city walls, and of the booty of cattle and herds they had collected from the mountains and from the region they killed some for food and prepared it, and put it on the fire. There was absolutely no bread there for anyone, and so their long-suffered hunger forced them to devour this meat, even though it was cooked without salt. The town was walled on all sides, proper and suitable for its inhabitants with meadows and streams, lying in fertile plains. Its walls were so marvellously strong that it might be thought that it could never be conquered by human forces, unless God helped.

8. At dawn the next day Baldwin got up, and his followers, and they made for the city walls where they observed Tancred's standard, which was very well known, placed on the highest turret of the citadel in accordance with the agreement and pact made with the Turks. When they saw this they were inflamed with great indignation and anger, and burst out in bitter and mutinous words against Tancred and his men, caring not a straw for the ostentation and high rank of Tancred and Bohemond, likening them to dirt and dregs. With such bitter words the affair nearly came to blows, but peaceful and wiser men intervened with this advice: that by way of a legation of both parties they should find out from the Armenian townspeople themselves under whose ownership and authority they preferred the city to be, and whose side they favoured as the better by choice. Immediately the reply from everyone was that they would rather submit and yield to Tancred than to the authority of another prince. In fact they said this not out of heartfelt devotion, but out of mistrust, which they always felt, of an attack by Bohemond. And that is not to be wondered at, for long before this expedition, in the lands of Greece, Rûm, and Syria Bohemond's reputation was well known, and his warfare made them shudder.<sup>24</sup> Now Duke Godfrey's name glittered for the first time.<sup>25</sup>

Godfrey's, rather than a personal struggle between Tancred and Baldwin: whether this perception was correct cannot be known. See Andressohn, *Godfrey*, p. 72.

9. Hiis auditis Baldwinus feruentiori animo aduersus Tancradum in iram extollitur, uerbis grauioribus, et eius in presentia tam ciues quam Turcos per uerba interpretis sic allocutus est: 'Boemundum et hunc Tancradum quos sic ueneramini ac formidatis, nequaquam maiores et potentiores magistros credatis Christiani exercitus, nec fratri meo Godefrido duci <sup>a</sup>et principi<sup>a</sup> milicie totius Gallie, nullique sui generis istos esse comparandos. Princeps enim idem frater meus Godefridus est<sup>b</sup> dux regni magni et primi imperatoris Romanorum Augusti hereditario iure suorum antecessorum nobilium, ab omni honoratur exercitu, et<sup>c</sup> cuius uoci et consiliis ad omnia magni paruique<sup>d</sup> obtemperare non desistunt, cum caput et domnus ab omnibus electus et<sup>e</sup> constitutus sit.<sup>26</sup> Scitote quidem uos et omnia uestra, urbem quoque ab eodem duce in ore gladii et flammis consumi et deleri, nec Boemundum nec<sup>f</sup> hunc Tancradum uestros stare propugnatores aut defensores. Sed nec is<sup>g</sup> Tancradus ad quem<sup>h</sup> intenditis hodie manus nostras euadet, nisi uexillum, quod nobis ad contumeliam sibi erexit ad gloriam, a turris culmine iactetis, portas nobis aperiri faciatis. Si uero nostre uoluntati in huius uexilli eiectione et urbis redditione satisfeceritis, uos exaltabimus super omnes in terminis hiis<sup>i</sup> consedentes,<sup>j</sup> et gloriosi<sup>k</sup> in conspectu domni<sup>27</sup> ac fratris nostri ducis, <sup>l</sup>et muneribus dignis<sup>l</sup> honorati semper eritis.' Hac spe bone et blande promissionis ciues et Turci illecti,<sup>m</sup> Tancrado penitus ignorante, foedus et amicitiam cum Baldwino firmauerunt, et sine mora uexillum Tancradi de culmine turris est amotum et procul a menibus in loco palustri uiliter eiectum, Baldwini uero signum in eiusdem turris apice promotum est.

346 10. Tancradus uiso signo Baldwini promoti, suo uero remoto et abiecto,<sup>a</sup> licet | tristis patienter tulit. Qui seditionem oriri inter suos et Baldwini satellites ex hac uexilli mutatione percipiens, et quia pars sua numero et armis erat infirmior, ultra in discordia hac<sup>b</sup> morari noluit, sed ad uicinam ciuitatem nomine Azaram<sup>28</sup> munitam et

9 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> principique H <sup>b</sup> et ACEHN <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN <sup>d</sup> parui E <sup>e</sup> atque CN <sup>f</sup> neque ACHN <sup>g</sup> his N <sup>h</sup> aliquem N <sup>i</sup> uestris A <sup>j</sup> considentes AH <sup>k</sup> gloriosos A <sup>l</sup> muneribusque dignis ACN; uosque dignis muneribus H <sup>m</sup> electi C

10 <sup>a</sup> reiecto A <sup>b</sup> om. A

<sup>26</sup> This claim is found nowhere else. Baldwin may have invented it to overawe the Turks, or Albert may have done so. Andressohn suggests the statement rests on fact: that the other leaders may have chosen Godfrey to thwart Bohemond's ambitions, already clear, and that

9. When he heard these offensive words Baldwin, with great fury in his heart, was roused to anger against Tancred and in his presence he addressed the townspeople as well as the Turks through the words of an interpreter, thus: 'You should not believe that Bohemond and this Tancred whom you so respect and fear are in any way the greatest and most powerful chiefs of the Christian army, nor that they bear comparison with my brother Godfrey, duke and leader of the soldiers from all Gaul, or any of his kin. For this same prince, my brother Godfrey, is duke of a realm of the great and earliest Roman emperor Augustus by hereditary right of his noble ancestors; he is esteemed by the whole army, and great and small do not fail to comply with his words and advice on all matters because he has been elected and appointed chief and lord by everyone.<sup>26</sup> Know in fact that you and all your things, the city also, are to be consumed and destroyed by the sword and fire of this same duke, and neither Bohemond nor this Tancred will stand as your champions and defenders. But this man Tancred whom you support will not escape our hands today unless you throw down from the top of the tower the standard which he put up to insult us and to glorify himself, and you open the gates to us. If indeed you obey our will in the matter of throwing down this standard and surrendering the city we shall raise you up above all who live within these boundaries, and you will always be highly regarded<sup>27</sup> by our lord and brother the duke, and honoured by worthy gifts.' The townspeople and Turks were seduced by this expectation of a good and flattering promise and, with Tancred utterly unaware of what was going on, they made a treaty and pact of friendship with Baldwin, and without delay Tancred's standard was removed from the top of the tower and meanly thrown out far from the walls in a marshy place. Then Baldwin's standard was put in its place on the top of the same tower.

10. Although Tancred was sad when he saw Baldwin's standard put up and his own taken away and thrown down, he bore it patiently. He realized dissension was mounting between his and Baldwin's followers because of this exchange of flags, and because his own side was weaker in numbers and in weapons he did not want to waste any more time in this disagreement, but went across to a neighbouring town, called Adana,<sup>28</sup> which was fortified and prosperous. He found its

he was the obvious candidate since he held the highest rank among the crusading leaders (*Godfrey*, p. 72).

<sup>27</sup> Ps. 115 (116): 15.

<sup>28</sup> Provincial capital, Adana, Turkey.

locupletem transiuit. Cuius portas clausas reperiens, minime introire permissus est. Obtinuit enim hanc ciuitatem quidam Welfo,<sup>c29</sup> ortus de regno Burgundie, miles egregius, qui eiectis et attritis Turcis urbem possederat, aurum et argentum, pallia preciosa, cibaria, oues, boues,<sup>d</sup> uinum, oleum, frumentum et ordeum, et omnia necessaria illic reperiens. Precesserat enim pariter idem Welfo cum ceteris ab exercitu sequestratis. Tancradus portas inueniens clausas et principem Christianum urbem possidere intelligens, missis nunciis sub<sup>e</sup> fide data intromitti hospitandi gratia precatur, et alimenta iusta uenditione et emptione sibi impertiri. Qui petentem exaudiens iussit urbem aperiri, uirum cum suis induci et cuncta uite necessaria illis administrari.

11. Post huius Tancradi abscessum Baldwinus iterato Turcos ammonet, instat et promittit honores et premia a duce consequi ingentia, et non solum illi, sed et ceteris ciuitatibus preferri, si urbem aperiant, si<sup>a</sup> se suosque datis dextris in<sup>b</sup> fidei obligatione intromittant. Turci autem et Armenici uidentes Tancradi fugam et absentiam, Baldwini preualere potentiam, utrimque fide recepta<sup>e</sup> et firmata, portas urbis aperiunt, Baldwinum suosque inmittunt, sed in omnibus munitionibus turritis mansionem retinere decreuerunt, donec Godefridus dux et subsequens exercitus propinquaret, et tunc dono et gratia ipsius ducis de eadem ciuitate, et ceteris rebus iuxta promissum Baldwini cum eis ageretur, siue<sup>d</sup> in professione Christiana, siue in ritu gentilium persistere delegissent.<sup>e</sup> Duas tantum turres magistras Baldwino contulerunt, in quibus securus et fiducialiter manere et quiescere posset. Cetera multitudo exercitus per domos et loca ciuitatis passim diffusa est. Hiis itaque cum principe suo Baldwino intromissis, et hospitii quiete recreatis, proxima dehinc die iam uespere instante, trecenti ab exercitu peregrinorum sequestrati ac uestigia Tancradi secuti, de familia et populo Boemundi, ante urbem in armis et clipeis astiterunt, quibus ex iussu Baldwini et

<sup>c</sup> A adds nomine after Welfo

<sup>d</sup> N adds et before boues

<sup>e</sup> om. H

11 <sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>b</sup> sub A

<sup>c</sup> data H

<sup>d</sup> seu A

<sup>e</sup> decreuissent A

<sup>29</sup> Welf's provenance is unknown. William of Tyre, following Albert, calls him 'Guelfo, natione Burgundione' (WT, pp. 196, 224). According to Radulf of Caen (pp. 634-6), an Armenian called Ursinus was master of Adana when Tancred arrived. Hagenmeyer suggested that Albert had made a nonsense by changing Radulf's 'bear' ('Ursinus') into a 'wolf' ('Welfo'), but the change in nationality adds to the improbability of this: *Gesta Francorum*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1890), p. 224 n. 66; cf. J. Laurent, 'Les Arméniens de Cilicie', in *Mélanges Schlumberger*, i (Paris, 1924), pp. 159-68, at 165-6.

gates closed and was not allowed to enter. For a certain man called Welf held this town, an outstanding soldier who came from the realm of Burgundy.<sup>29</sup> He had thrown out and subdued the Turks and occupied the city, finding there gold and silver, precious cloaks, rations, sheep, cattle, wine, oil, corn and barley, and all necessities. For this Welf had gone ahead with the others who were separated from the army. Tancred, finding the gates closed and knowing that a Christian leader occupied the city, sent messengers under safe conduct and begged to be admitted for the sake of hospitality, and for food to be shared with him by fair buying and selling. Welf listened to his pleas and ordered the city to be opened, Tancred to be brought in with his men, and all the necessities of life to be served to them.

11. After this departure of Tancred, Baldwin once again warned the Turks; he urged and promised that rewards and huge prizes from the duke would follow, and not only that, but also they would be preferred to other towns if they would open the city, if they would let him and his men in with a pledge of faith made by clasp ing right hands. The Turks and the Armenians saw Tancred's flight and disappearance, and that Baldwin's power was stronger, and after a pledge was received and confirmed on both sides they opened the city gates, let in Baldwin and his men, but decreed they should stay on in all the turreted fortifications until Duke Godfrey and the supporting army approached, and then the matter of the town would be managed by gift and favour of the duke himself, and the other things according to Baldwin's promise to them, whether they had chosen the Christian faith or chosen to persist in the rites of gentiles. They assigned only two principal towers to Baldwin, in which he would be able to stay and rest safely and securely. The rest of the body of the army was scattered here and there throughout the houses and districts of the town. By the time these men had been let in with their leader Baldwin, and were refreshed by taking rest in quarters, the evening of the next day was already upon them, and three hundred of Bohemond's company and people who had been separated from the pilgrim army and had followed in Tancred's footsteps stood before the city walls bearing weapons and shields. On Baldwin's orders and

Runciman's solution to the problem was to write that Ursinus (Oshin) captured part of Adana in 1097, and Welf subsequently captured the citadel, but there does not appear to be any contemporary evidence for this (Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951-4), i. 196, 199).

consilio maiorum urbs<sup>f</sup> et ianua interdicta est. Hii uero longo fessi itinere, et rebus necessariis uacui et exhausti, multum precantur<sup>g</sup> urbis hospitalitatem, et rerum necessariarum uenalitatem. Precati sunt et<sup>h</sup> uniuersi<sup>i</sup> plebei ordinis de comitatu Baldwini, | eo quod 347 confratres et Christiane essent professionis. Sed nequaquam preces eorum a Baldwino exaudite sunt, hac de causa scilicet quod in auxilium Tancredus descendissent, et propter fidei firmationem quam cum Turcis et Armenicis egerat, nullum preter<sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup>suos ante<sup>k</sup> ducis Godefridi aduentum in urbem recipi aut inmitti.

12. Confratres autem et peregrini societatis Baldwini uidentes sic exclusos nullomodo posse impetrare intromissionem, miserti sunt eorum quia fame uidebant eos periclitari.<sup>a</sup> Quibus in sportis panes et per funes pecora ad uescendum porrigere decreuerunt. Quibus<sup>b</sup> ita<sup>c</sup> refocillatis, et noctis in silentio pre itineris lassitudine graui sopore occupatis, Turci qui erant in presidiis turrium sub fidei tutamine, prorsus desperati nec Baldwino suisque conchristianis se perfecte credentes, occulte<sup>d</sup> habito inter se consilio, trecenti thesauris omnibus suis secum et ceteris rebus auctis per uada cuiusdam fluminis eis non incognita quod media urbe perfluebat,<sup>e</sup> 30 Baldwino et uniuersis<sup>f</sup> suis somno deditis, clam egressi sunt, ducentis<sup>g</sup> solummodo ex sua humili clientela et familia in presidiis relictis, ne fuge eorum suspicio aliqua apud Christianos haberetur.<sup>h</sup> Egressi autem in uiros Christianorum<sup>i</sup> qui per prata ante urbem membra fessa sopori dederant subito irruerunt, alios decollantes, alios trucidantes, alios sagittis transfigentes, neminem aut paucos de omnibus uite relinquentes.

13. Mane dehinc facto, Christiani qui infra<sup>a</sup> urbem erant somno exurgentes et ad menia tendentes scire et uidere si adhuc moram in pratis Christiani confratres<sup>b</sup> haberent, uiderunt uniuersos armis Turcorum detruncatos, et sanguine illorum prata fedata nimium redundare. Et sic<sup>c</sup> Turcorum perfidia et iniquitas propalata est. Nec mora, per uniuersam ciuitatem tumultus in populo catholico exoritur, arma ab omnibus capiuntur, et in ultionem sanguinis

<sup>f</sup> urbis N      <sup>g</sup> precabantur A      <sup>h</sup> om. A; etiam CHN      <sup>i</sup> om. H      <sup>j</sup> om. N  
<sup>k</sup> ante suos N

12      <sup>a</sup> periclitari H      <sup>b</sup> Illis ACHN      <sup>c</sup> ACH add igitur, N adds ergo before ita  
<sup>d</sup> occulto A      <sup>e</sup> prefluebat H      <sup>f</sup> omnibus A      <sup>g</sup> ducentes N      <sup>h</sup> oriretur ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> Christianos H

13      <sup>a</sup> intra A      <sup>b</sup> fratres H      <sup>c</sup> sicque ACH; sic N

the leaders' advice the city and its entrance were forbidden to them. These men were worn out by their long journey, they were lacking the necessities of life and exhausted, so they pleaded insistently for the hospitality of the city and the chance to buy necessities. All the common people from Baldwin's company pleaded too, because these were brothers and of the Christian faith. But Baldwin did not listen to their pleas at all, for this reason, namely, that they had come down to help Tancred, and also on account of the promise he had made to the Turks and Armenians not to receive or admit anyone except his own men into the city before the arrival of Duke Godfrey.

12. However, their brothers and pilgrims of Baldwin's company, seeing that those shut out thus could not in any way obtain admission, took pity on them because they saw they were in danger of starving. They decided to offer bread in baskets to them, and let down sheep on ropes for them to eat. Then, when they had thus been refreshed and were overtaken by a deep sleep at dead of night because of their weariness after the journey, the Turks who were in the garrisons of the towers under the protection of the promise, absolutely desperate and not fully trusting Baldwin and his fellow Christians, secretly took counsel among themselves, and three hundred, carrying with them all their treasures and other things, secretly left the city while Baldwin and all his men were given up to sleep, by fording a certain river not unknown to them which flowed through the middle of the city,<sup>30</sup> leaving only two hundred of their lowly dependants and households in the garrisons lest there should be any suspicion of their flight among the Christians. After they left the city, however, they made a surprise attack on the Christian men who had surrendered their tired limbs to sleep throughout the meadows in front of the city, beheading some, slaughtering others, piercing others through with arrows, leaving alive no one—or few—out of all of them.

13. When morning came and the Christians who were inside the city got up and went to the walls to find out and see if their Christian brothers were still staying in the meadows, they saw them all beheaded by the weapons of the Turks, and the meadows made hideous and overflowing with their blood. And in this way the treachery and injustice of the Turks was made clear. At once an uproar arose through the whole town among the Catholic people, they all seized their weapons, and, in revenge for the blood of their

<sup>30</sup> The river Sarus (classical) or Seyhan (Turkish).

confratrum in fraude mortificatorum turres infringere, Turcos illic inuentos extinguere festinant, tubis et<sup>d</sup> ingenti clamore non modicam seditionem concitantes. Tam uehementi strepitu 'et populi' tumultuoso concursu Baldwinus attonitus, a turris presidio | per mediam urbem equo aduolans turmas armatas<sup>f</sup> a bello cessare et in sua redire commonebat hospitia, ne tam subito foedus mutuo datum corrumpetur, donec cedes Christianorum plenius illi notificaretur. Sed magis ac<sup>g</sup> magis tumultu ingruente, et populo necem Christianorum egre ferente, et Baldwinum huius occisionis <sup>h</sup>et tam<sup>h</sup> mortiferi consilii reum<sup>i</sup> acclamante,<sup>j</sup> talis ac tanta fit in eum concursio,<sup>k</sup> sagittarumque inmissio, ut turrim refugii causa et uite sue necessitate compulsus subire cogeretur. Qui ilico ad se reuersus, animi sui feritate<sup>l</sup> deposita, populo satisfaciendo excusat se de omnibus et crudelitatis Turcorum se nescium asserit, nec populum Dei uiui aliam ob causam exclusisse, nisi quia iureiurando Turcis et Armenicis promiserat, neminem preter suos ante ducis aduentum urbi intromitti. Sic Baldwinus excusatus, populoque suo reconciliatus, Turcos in singulis turribus qui de humili familia et clientela remanserant assilit et expugnat, expugnant et sui, dum in ultione suorum ferme ducenti decollati sunt. Accusabant enim eosdem Turcos plurime illustres matrone ciuitatis, ostendentes eis aures et nares quas eis<sup>m</sup> detruncauerant, eo quod stupri<sup>n</sup> sui eas consentaneas inuenire nequiuissent. Hac infamia et horrenda accusatione magis populus Iesu Christi<sup>o</sup> in odium Turcorum exarserat, <sup>p</sup>et eorum<sup>p</sup> stragem eo amplius multiplicabat.

14. Post hec diebus paucis elapsis, uiri Baldwini per menia diffusi, a longe nauium diuersi generis et operis multitudinem in medio maris trans tria miliaria ab urbe contemplantur, quarum mali mire altitudinis auro purissimo operti in radiis solis refulgebant, et uiros ab eisdem nauibus in litore maris descendentes, et plurima spolia, que longo tempore annis fere octo contraxerant, inter se diuidentes. Hiis uisis, hostiles uires accitas ab hiis qui noctu acta<sup>a</sup>

<sup>d</sup> om. N    <sup>e e</sup> populique ACHN    <sup>f</sup> armatorum A    <sup>g</sup> et A    <sup>h h</sup> tamque ACHN    <sup>i</sup> rerum H    <sup>j</sup> clamante AC    <sup>k</sup> concursus H    <sup>l</sup> ferocitate ACHN  
<sup>m</sup> sibi ACHN    <sup>n</sup> stupri AN    <sup>o</sup> om. A    <sup>p p</sup> eorumque ACHN

brothers who had been dishonourably killed, they made haste to break down the towers, to put to death the Turks they found there, stirring up a considerable riot with trumpets and loud shouting. Baldwin was astonished by such a violent din and by the excited gathering of the people. He rode swiftly from the garrison in the tower through the middle of the city, urging the troops of armed men to stop fighting and to return to their quarters, lest the treaty exchanged should be breached so soon, until the slaughter of the Christians was made more fully known to him. But the uproar was becoming more and more violent, and the people were very angry at the murder of Christians and shouting that Baldwin was guilty of this massacre through his fatal advice. The tumult and discharge of arrows became so fierce and so great against him, that he was forced to enter the tower for refuge, driven by the necessity of saving his life. There, when he had returned to himself, after the fierceness of his feelings had died down, to placate the people he defended himself on all charges, and claimed that he was ignorant of the cruelty of the Turks and he had not shut out the people of the living God for any other reason than the vow he had sworn to the Turks and Armenians that no one would be admitted except his own men before the duke's arrival. After Baldwin had thus exonerated himself and was reconciled with his people, he attacked and overcame tower by tower the Turks who had stayed behind because they were of lowly family and household. His men attacked them too, until they had beheaded nearly two hundred in revenge for their colleagues. In fact very many distinguished women of the town were accusing those same Turks, showing the Christians ears and noses which the Turks had cut off them because they did not find them willing to be defiled. The people of Jesus Christ were more greatly inflamed to hatred of the Turks by this scandal and horrendous accusation and they further increased their slaughter of them.

14. When a few days had passed after this, Baldwin's men, who were scattered along the walls, observed from afar in the middle of the sea, three miles from the city, a great number of ships of different kinds and workmanship. Their masts were of a wonderful height and covered in purest gold so they shone in the rays of the sun. And they saw men disembarking from those same ships onto the seashore and dividing among themselves a great deal of booty, which they had brought together over a long period of time, nearly eight years. When they saw these men they thought they were hostile forces summoned

cede Christianorum effugerant<sup>b</sup> estimabant. Vnde ad arma contententes, equo alii, alii pede usque<sup>c</sup> ad ipsum litus concurrunt, cur aduenerint<sup>d</sup> uel ex qua natione processerint<sup>e</sup> intrepido ore requir-  
 349 entes.<sup>f</sup> Illi se Christiane professionis milites esse responderunt, a Flandria, et ab<sup>g</sup> Antwerp<sup>h</sup> et Frisia<sup>i</sup> et ceteris<sup>j</sup> partibus Gallie se uenisse fatentes, et piratas annis octo usque ad hanc diem se<sup>k</sup> fuisse.<sup>31</sup> Requirebant etiam qui aduecti fuerant, qua de causa et ipsi a Romanis et Teutonicis partibus descendissent, et in<sup>l</sup> longinquum exilium inter tot barbaras nationes aduenissent.<sup>m</sup> Qui causa peregrinationis et ad adorandum in Ierusalem se uenisse testati sunt. Et sic utrimque lingua<sup>n</sup> et sermone suo recognito, foedus dextris datis inierunt pariter eundi in Ierusalem. | Erat in hoc nauali collegio quidam Winemerus<sup>o</sup> nomine,<sup>32</sup> caput et magister uniuersorum consodalium, de terra Bulonie et de domo comitis Eustachii magnifici principis eiusdem terre. Iam hinc et hinc fide adinuicem firmati, cum spoliis et uniuersis sarcinis, relictis nauibus cum Baldwino urbem Tharsis subierunt, per aliquot<sup>p</sup> dies in omnibus bonis terre ibidem iocundati et epulati. Dehinc habito inter se consilio,<sup>q</sup> in custodia et defensione urbis trecenti ex nauali exercitu sunt electi. Sunt et ex legione Baldwini ducenti attitulati. Hiis ordinatis ac<sup>r</sup> constitutis, profecti sunt,<sup>s</sup> coniunctis armis et uiribus, in tubis et cornibus et potentia magna, regia uia gradientes.

15. Interea Tancredus, ab Azara<sup>a</sup> ciuitate et Welfone ciuitatis principe migrans, Mamistram ciuitatem<sup>33</sup> a Turcis possessam et munitam descendit. Quam resistentem et contradicentem sibi fortiter cum loricata manu assiliit, humi muros illius in breui deiecit, portas et uectes ferreos diruit, Turcorum superbiam que in hac dominabatur crudeli strage attriuit. <sup>b</sup>Attritis et<sup>b</sup> eiectis hostibus, Tancredus turres

<sup>b</sup> effugerunt N      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> aduenerunt N      <sup>e</sup> processerunt N  
<sup>f</sup> perquirentes ACHN      <sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> Antuerpia A; Anturpia CN; Antwerpia H  
<sup>i</sup> Fresia ACH; Fresea N      <sup>j</sup> ceterisque ACHN      <sup>k</sup> om. A      <sup>l</sup> A adds tam after in  
<sup>m</sup> deuenissent A      <sup>n</sup> ligura N      <sup>o</sup> Winimerus C, and A later; HN have Winnemerus  
<sup>p</sup> aliquos N      <sup>q</sup> colloquio C      <sup>r</sup> et N      <sup>s</sup> ACHN add a Tharsis  
 Baldewinus et sui, after profecti sunt

15      <sup>a</sup> Araza A      <sup>b</sup> Tali modo ACHN

<sup>31</sup> Orderic Vitalis, discussing events at Latakia, also refers to a large number of pilgrims arriving by ship: 'Illuc enim fere xx milia peregrinorum applicuerunt qui de Anglia et aliis insulis Oceani ad sepulchrum Domini properauerunt . . .' (OV, v. 270). This was probably the same group: P. Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1865), p. 134 n. 3. Note Albert's ready identification of merchants with pirates and with pilgrims: cf. the sea captain Godric, ix. 9 below.

by those who had fled from the nocturnal slaughter of the Christians. So they armed themselves eagerly and rushed together to that same shore, some on horseback, some on foot, enquiring fearlessly why they had come and what nation they had come from. The men replied that they were soldiers of the Christian faith, acknowledging that they had come from Flanders and from Antwerp and Frisia and the other parts of Gaul, and that they had been pirates for eight years until this day.<sup>31</sup> The men who had sailed in were also asking why they too had come down from the lands of the Romans and Germans and come into such a remote exile among so many barbarous nations. They testified that they had come for the sake of pilgrimage and to worship in Jerusalem. And so each side recognized the speech and language of the other, and they made a treaty, giving their right hands, all to go to Jerusalem. In this naval association there was a certain man called Winemer,<sup>32</sup> the chief and master of all the sworn brothers, from the land of Boulogne and a member of the household of Count Eustace the splendid prince of that same land. Once they were strengthened by an exchange of promises on this side and that, they left their ships and entered the city of Tarsus with Baldwin, taking the booty and all their baggage, and they rejoiced and feasted for some days on all the good things of the land there. Then, when they had consulted among themselves, three hundred were chosen from the naval force to guard and defend the city. Two hundred more were appointed from Baldwin's troops. Having arranged and organized this, they set out with their combined weapons and forces, and they marched up the royal road to the sound of trumpets and horns in a great display of power.

15. Meanwhile Tancred left the town of Adana and its chief, Welf, and came down to the town of Mamistra,<sup>33</sup> which was occupied and fortified by the Turks. When the town resisted and opposed him he attacked it vigorously with his armoured band. He quickly threw its walls down to the ground, demolished its gates and iron doors, and wore down by cruel slaughter the arrogance of the Turks which had ruled supreme. When the enemy had been destroyed and driven out,

<sup>32</sup> Winemer's role is described by Albert and, following him, by WT (pp. 228; 362-3; 371). He is not otherwise known. See also below: iii. 59, vi. 55.

<sup>33</sup> Mopsuestia (classical), now Misis (prov. Adana, Turkey). Nicholson points out that Radulf of Caen has a different account of events at Mamistra and suggests that Albert was mistaken, as Tancred would scarcely have omitted to relate to his panegyrist such a victory. Equally, it is possible that the aftermath of the capture of Mamistra, when crusader was fighting crusader for the first time, persuaded Tancred to suppress the details: Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 50 n. 1; RC, p. 637.

custodia suorum muniuit, alimoniam, uestes, aurum et argentum grande in ea reperiens Christianis consodalibus diuisit, ibidem per aliquot<sup>c</sup> dies remoratus. Dum<sup>d</sup> illic secure moram faceret, de<sup>e</sup> urbis custodia<sup>f</sup> sollicite ageret, Baldwinus frater ducis cum armis et sociis regia uia incedens in terminos eiusdem ciuitatis descendit, et in uiridario<sup>g</sup> quodam spacio arboribus consito quod erat iuxta urbem tentoria ipse suiue fautores et comprimores in ordine locauerunt. Hec quidam Richardus, princeps Salerne<sup>h</sup> ciuitatis Italie,<sup>34</sup> de genere Nortmannorum, proximus Tancradi, intuens, moleste accepit, et uerbis amarissimis super hoc Tancradum compellat dicens: 'Ah Tancrade, hodie omnium uilissimus factus es.<sup>i</sup> Baldwinum presentem aspicias, cuius iniusticia et inuidia Tharsim<sup>j</sup> amisisti. Ah si nunc aliquid uirtutis in te haberes, iam tuos ammoneres<sup>k</sup> et tibi illatam iniuriam in caput eius rependeres.' Hiis auditis, Tancradus infremuit spiritu,<sup>35</sup> et ilico arma, milites<sup>l</sup> requirrens, sagittarios suos in uirtute magna premisit<sup>m</sup> ad lacescendos hostes in tentoriis, et ut lederent equos per pascua "et prata" uagantes. Ipse quoque equo cum quingentis loricatis equitibus repente in eiusdem Baldwini castra et satellites irrui, ut de omnibus iniuriis quas sibi intulerat dignam sumeret ultionem.

- 350 16. Baldwinus sine mora, Baldwinus quoque de Burch equiuocus eius et Gisilbertus<sup>a</sup> de Claro Monte,<sup>b</sup> <sup>36</sup> et omnis<sup>c</sup> illius comitatus, agnito tam repentino assultu et impetu Tancradi, ferro induuntur, signa erigunt. <sup>d</sup> Et sociis<sup>d</sup> uirili uoce ammonitis, obuam Tancrado in multa uociferatione tubarum et cornuum<sup>e</sup> raptim exhibentur, utrimque prelia grauitur committentes et graui uulnere corruentes. Sed manus Tancradi dispar numero et uiribus terga uertit, belli pondus sustinere non ualens, ac in urbis presidium fugam faciens, uix trans artum pontem aque cum ipso Tancrado a belli turbine elapsa est. In huius pontis angustia Richardus princeps Salerne proximus Tancradi et Robertus de Ansa ciuitate,<sup>f</sup> <sup>37</sup> milites acerrimi, nimium retardati

<sup>c</sup> aliquos N      <sup>d</sup> Dumque ACHN      <sup>e</sup> et dum N      <sup>f</sup> custodiam N  
<sup>g</sup> uiridario A      <sup>h</sup> Salerne N      <sup>i</sup> est N      <sup>j</sup> Tharsum A      <sup>k</sup> commoneres ACHN  
<sup>l</sup> H adds et before milites      <sup>m</sup> premissit N      <sup>n</sup> om. A

16      <sup>a</sup> Gisilbertus C      <sup>b</sup> Monte Claro A      <sup>c</sup> omnisque ACHN      <sup>d</sup> Sociisque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> cornium A      <sup>f</sup> om. A

<sup>34</sup> Richard of Salerno (Campania, Italy) was son of Robert Guiscard's brother William, therefore Bohemond's cousin and (probably) second cousin to Tancrad. See Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 197-8.

<sup>35</sup> John 11: 33.

Tancred garrisoned the towers with a guard of his own men, he distributed among the Christian confederates food, clothing, gold, and silver which he found there in great quantity, and stayed in the place for some days. And while he was stopping there in safety, concerning himself with the care of the city, Baldwin the duke's brother, marching with weapons and companions on the royal road, descended into the territory of that same town, and he and his supporters and fellow nobles pitched their tents in a row in a certain large garden planted with trees which was next to the city. A certain Richard, prince of Salerno,<sup>34</sup> a town in Italy, a Norman by descent and close kin to Tancred, considered these things and took them ill, and he reproached Tancred with very bitter words on the subject, saying: 'Ah, Tancred, today you have been made the most worthless man of all. You see Baldwin in command, by whose injustice and envy you lost Tarsus. Ah, if you have got any manhood in you now, remind your men directly and return the injury against you on his head.' When he heard this Tancred groaned in spirit<sup>35</sup> and, calling for weapons and soldiers on the spot, he sent his archers ahead in great strength to challenge the enemy in their tents and to wound the horses which were wandering all over the pastures and meadows. He himself suddenly charged on horseback with five hundred armoured cavalry into the camp and against the followers of that same Baldwin, so he could take a worthy revenge for all the wrongs he had done to him.

16. When Baldwin, and his namesake Baldwin of Bourcq and Giselbert of Clermont<sup>36</sup> and all his company, recognized Tancred's sudden attack and charge, they took up their swords at once and raised their banners. And, having warned their comrades with loud shouts, they hastily rode to meet Tancred with much sounding of trumpets and horns, engaging heavily in conflicts on both sides and falling with serious wounds. But Tancred's army, unequal in number and strength, turned tail, unable to bear the intensity of the battle, and with Tancred himself they took flight into the protection of the city, only just managing to slip across the narrow river bridge away from the storm of battle. On this narrow bridge Richard prince of Salerno, Tancred's nearest kin, and Robert of the town of Anzi,<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Clermont-sur-Meuse (Clermont-sous-Huy, prov. Liège, Belgium). Murray suggests, plausibly, that Giselbert had been dispossessed of Clermont by Otbert, the prince-bishop of Liège, and went on crusade with Godfrey in 1095 as an avenue of escape: Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 202.

<sup>37</sup> Prov. Potenza, Italy. Robert was later granted the revenues of the port of Arsuf (below, vii. 12). See Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 202-3.

capti ac<sup>g</sup> retenti sunt; plurimi equites et pedites de societate Tancradi alii extincti, alii uulnerati perierunt. Solus Giselbertus de Claro Monte nimium insecutus, et mediis hostibus inuolutus, in ipsius pontis angustia captus et abductus est. Quem Baldwinus et sui peremptum estimantes planctu magno lamentabantur.<sup>38</sup>

17. Crastina uero <sup>a</sup>die orta, <sup>a</sup>utrimque absentia captiuorum uirorum nobilium dolentes ac recordati quia ambo <sup>b</sup>coram Domino<sup>b</sup> deliquissent, tam<sup>c</sup> sacre uie Ierusalem deuotione uiolata, ex consilio maiorum sue legionis<sup>d</sup> pacem firmam composuerunt, captos pro captiuis inuicem sibi restituentes. Hac pace composita et uniuersis spoliis cum captiuis restitutis, Baldwinus, cum suis septingentis equitibus diuisus, consilio cuiusdam Armenici militis, Pancratii nomine,<sup>39</sup> terram Armenie ingressus, presidium mirifici operis et roboris nomine Turbaisel<sup>40</sup> obsedit.<sup>e</sup> Quod Armenici ciues uiri <sup>f</sup>Christiane professionis<sup>f</sup> uidentes, consilio clam cum ipso principe Baldwino habito, Turcis expulsis qui arci preerant, in manus eius tradiderunt, uolentes magis sub Christiano duce seruire quam sub gentili ditione. Hac itaque ciuitate cum arce presidii subiugata, et uiris suis in hac  
 351 repol|sitis, Rauene<sup>g</sup><sup>41</sup> presidium humanis uiribus inexpugnabile similiter obsedit et apprehendit. De quo Turci, captione Turbaisel exterriti, fugisse referuntur et abisse. Apprehendit et multas ciuitates cum castellis que in circuitu erant, exterritas a facie exercitus Antiochiam<sup>42</sup> tendentis,<sup>h</sup> quas et Turci diu subiugatas custodientes, nunc formidine concussi, fugitiui noctu relinquebant. Rauene itaque apprehensum Pancratio Armenico predicto commisit, uiro instabili et magne perfidie quem a uinculis imperatoris Grecorum<sup>i</sup> elapsum

<sup>g</sup> et *N*

17 <sup>a</sup> *luce exorta A* <sup>b</sup> *om. ACHN* <sup>c</sup> *N adds se after tam* <sup>d</sup> *legacionis N*  
<sup>e</sup> *obsessit N* <sup>f</sup> *Christianissimi N* <sup>g</sup> *Rauehel N* <sup>h</sup> *tendentes N*  
<sup>i</sup> *Grecie A*

<sup>38</sup> Biblical, e.g. Gen. 50: 11; Zech. 12: 11; 1 Macc. 1: 26.

<sup>39</sup> Pakrad (or Bagrat) was brother of Kogh Vasil (Basil the Robber), who held several castles east of Marash at Kesoun and Raban: see the detailed note in E. Dulaurier's edition of Matthew of Edessa, *RHC Arm* i. 35–6; WT, pp. 348–9.

<sup>40</sup> Tilbaşir, Turkey. For Baldwin's successful campaign in Armenia Albert's is the most detailed account. It was analysed exhaustively by A. A. Beaumont, and compared with those of Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Baldwin yet wrote quite briefly, the Armenian historian Matthew of Edessa, and an anonymous Syriac chronicle. He concluded that Albert's narrative was of great value and used eyewitness evidence: Beaumont, 'Albert of Aachen', FC, pp. 203–15; ME, pp. 168–70; J. Chabot, 'Édesse pendant la première croisade', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (Paris, 1918), pp. 431–42, at 436.

very brave soldiers, lingered too long, and they were captured and held back; very many cavalry and infantry of Tancred's company died, some killed at once, others dying later from their wounds. Only Giselbert of Clermont pursued too hotly and was caught up in the middle of the enemy, captured on that same narrow bridge and taken away. Baldwin and his men, thinking he had been killed, wept for him with great lamentation.<sup>38</sup>

17. When the sun rose the next day they were grieving on both sides for the absence of the noble men who had been captured and they recalled that both sides had done wrong in the Lord's sight, and their devotion to the most sacred way of Jerusalem had been violated, so on the advice of the leaders of their army they made a lasting peace agreement, with an exchange of prisoners. When this peace was made and all the booty and prisoners returned, Baldwin, keeping apart with his seven hundred cavalry, entered the land of Armenia on the advice of a certain Armenian soldier called Pakrad<sup>39</sup> and besieged a fortress of wonderful workmanship and strength called Turbessel.<sup>40</sup> The Armenian townspeople, men of the Christian faith, saw this and, when they had secretly taken counsel with Prince Baldwin himself, they handed it over into his possession, the Turks having been driven out who were in command of the citadel, because the Armenians wished rather to serve under a Christian duke than under gentile power. And so when this town with its fortress citadel had been subjugated, and his men placed in it, he laid siege to and captured in the same way Ravendel,<sup>41</sup> a fortress impregnable by human forces. The Turks, frightened by the capture of Turbessel, are reported to have fled and gone away from there. He also took many cities with their surrounding fortifications, as they were frightened by the look of the army making for Antioch.<sup>42</sup> The Turks were also guarding these, long subjugated, but now they were struck with terror and took flight by night, abandoning them. When Ravendel had thus been taken Baldwin entrusted it to Pakrad, the aforesaid Armenian, an untrustworthy man and one of great treachery, whom he detained at Nicaea

<sup>38</sup> Revanda kale, Turkey. Turbessel and Ravendel are discussed in R. Gardiner, 'Crusader Turkey: The fortifications of Edessa', *Fortress*, ii (1989), 23-35.

<sup>42</sup> Modern Antakya, provincial capital of Hatay, Turkey. The capture of this great city was an important interim objective of the expedition, since it was the key to northern Syria. It had been an important Byzantine trading centre and frontier town before its capture by the Turks in 1085, and its repossession was therefore of prime importance to Alexios Komnenos, while the crusaders knew they could not afford to leave it behind them in enemy hands as they marched on to Jerusalem.

Nicee retinuit, eo quod audisset eum uirum esse<sup>j</sup> bellicosum, et milleformis<sup>k</sup> ingenii, et quia omnis Armenia, Syria et Grecia illi note haberentur. Pancrati<sup>l</sup>us, ut erat perfidus et astutus, Turcis ad prime notissimus,<sup>i</sup> estimans robore commissi sibi presidii huius Rauene<sup>l</sup>l terram se posse obtinere, nullum de comitatu Baldwini intromittens, filium suum adolescentem illustrem in eo constituit, et tamen hoc fraude fieri, cum Baldwino ambulans<sup>m</sup> et manens<sup>m</sup> dissimulabat.

18. Tandem quidam principes qui audita Baldwini industria et nobilitate foedus cum eo pepigerant, uiri Armenici, quorum alter Fer, prepositus Turbaisel, alter Nicusus nomine dictus est,<sup>43</sup> cuius castra et predia spaciosa Turbaisel adiacebant, intellecta perfidia Pancratii<sup>a</sup> quam cum Turcis moliebatur, scientes<sup>b</sup> eum uirum noxium et facilem, Baldwino retulerunt, asserentes si tali uiro, et tam facinoroso imperatoris periuro, longius presidium Rauene<sup>l</sup>l crederet, in breui terram quam subdiderat posse amittere. Baldwinus hoc audito ab hiis uiris credulis et fidelibus sepius ipse uersutias illius expertus, presidium illi commissum requisivit. Quod Pancrati<sup>l</sup>us obstinato animo "in manu uel custodia<sup>c</sup> Gallorum reddere recusauit. Postremo Baldwinus post plurimam requisitionem presidii indignatus, quadam die sibi assistentem et contradicentem teneri iussit, uinculis astringi, tormentis affligi quousque presidium coactus redderet. Sed nec sic adhuc reddere ullius<sup>d</sup> tormenti labore aut uite necessitate compulsus est. Baldwinus, tedio tormentorum illius uictus, ad ultimum iussit ut uiuus membratim discerperetur, nisi de presidii redditione sibi satisfaceret. Qui hanc atrocem membrorum et neruorum discepcionem<sup>e</sup> metuens in manu Fer litteras filio direxit, ut presidium festinato pro uite sue et membrorum eius<sup>f</sup> liberatione Baldwino redderet. Quod et<sup>g</sup> actum est, et<sup>h</sup> Pancrati<sup>l</sup>us a uinculis absolutus, et deinceps<sup>i</sup> a collegio Baldwini dissociatus. Baldwinus<sup>j</sup> susceptum presidium custodie ac<sup>k</sup> fidei suorum Gallorum contulit, Turbaisel quod dicitur Bersabee secessit, terram et regionem undique expugnans<sup>l</sup> et sue<sup>l</sup> subiciens potestati.

<sup>j</sup> om. C      <sup>k</sup> multiformis H      <sup>i</sup> notissimis H      <sup>m m</sup> om. A

18      <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> A adds Pancrati<sup>l</sup>us before scientes      <sup>c c</sup> in custodia uel in manu C  
<sup>d</sup> illius N      <sup>e</sup> discepcionem A      <sup>f</sup> suorum H      <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>h</sup> ut N  
<sup>i</sup> deinde H      <sup>j</sup> ACHN add igitur after Baldwinus      <sup>k</sup> et ACHN      <sup>l l</sup> sueque ACHN

<sup>43</sup> Nothing more is known about Fer and Nicusus. The former had apparently been left in charge of Turbessal as part of his agreement with Baldwin.

after he had escaped from the chains of the emperor of Greece: he did this because he had heard that Pakrad was a warlike man and one whose talents took a thousand forms, and because all Armenia, Syria, and Greece were familiar to him. Pakrad, being both treacherous and cunning, was especially well known to the Turks; he thought he could hold by force the land of this fortress of Ravendel which had been entrusted to him, letting in none of Baldwin's company, and he stationed his son, a distinguished youth, in it, and yet he did this deceitfully and, staying and walking with Baldwin, he concealed it.

18. There were certain princes who had heard of Baldwin's hard work and noble birth, and so had made a treaty with him. They were Armenian men; one of them was Fer, commander of Turbessel, and the other, called by the name of Nicusus,<sup>43</sup> had fortresses and ample estates near Turbessel. At length, having found out the treachery which Pakrad had devised with the Turks, and knowing that he was an odious and resourceful man, they reported it to Baldwin, declaring that if he entrusted the fortress of Ravendel any longer to such a man, and one who had broken his oath to the emperor so criminally, he could soon lose the land he had subdued. Baldwin, when he heard this from these trusting and faithful men and because he knew Pakrad's tricks from his own frequent experience, asked for the fortress he had entrusted to him. Pakrad stubbornly refused to return it into the hands or care of the Gauls. Finally Baldwin, after making a very pressing demand for the fortress, was angry, and on a certain day he ordered the man who was resisting and defying him to be taken, to be bound with chains, and tortured until he was forced to give up the fortress. But he was still not driven to give it up by undergoing any method of torture or out of fear for his life. Baldwin, overcome by loathing of the man's tortures, finally ordered that he should be torn limb from limb while yet alive unless he gave satisfaction to him concerning the fortress's return. He, fearing the hideous rending of his limbs and sinews, sent letters to his son by Fer's hand, telling him to surrender the fortress hastily for the deliverance of his life and his limbs. This was done and Pakrad was freed from his chains and then cut off from Baldwin's fellowship. Baldwin transferred the surrendered castle to the guard and trust of his Gauls and withdrew from Turbessel, which is called Bersabee, reducing the land and region on all sides and subjecting it to his power.

352 19. Post hec diebus aliquot euolutis, et fama Baldwini longe lateque crebrescente, et uirtute bellorum suorum super omnes hostes suos diuulgata, dux ciuitatis Rohas,<sup>a</sup> que dicitur Edissa,<sup>44</sup> sita in regione Mesopotamie, episcopum eiusdem<sup>b</sup> urbis, cum duodecim prefectis maioribus ciuitatis, quorum consilio omnis status<sup>c</sup> ciuitatis et<sup>d</sup> regionis fiebat, ad ipsum Baldwinum misit, quatenus cum Gallis militibus ad urbem descenderet, terram aduersus Turcorum infestationes defenderet, et cum duce communi potentia et dominio uniuersos redditus et tributa obtineret. Qui tandem consilio accepto adqueiuit, ac<sup>d</sup> descendit cum solum ducentis<sup>e</sup> equitibus, cetera multitudine diuisa ac relictis Turbaisel, Rauenel, et<sup>f</sup> multis in locis que Turcis expulsis nunc sue suberant potestati. Cum autem uia maturata usque ad Eufraten fluuium magnum transfretare parauisset,<sup>g</sup> Pancratii consilio et instinctu, quem soluerat a uinculis, Turci et cetera hostiles acies educte et undique conglobate ad uiginti milia affuerunt obuiam transire uolenti. Sed uim et equitatum eorum comperiens, et minime nunc tot milia sufferre ualens et debellare, uia qua uenerat Turbaisel reuersus est. Dehinc Turcis dispersis ac<sup>h</sup> in sua tutamina regressis,<sup>i</sup> Baldwinus iterato ducentis assumptis equitibus Rohas profectus est, conductu fidelium uirorum, sine impedimento et hostili incursu itinere suo peracto, et Eufrate<sup>j</sup> flumine cum omni prosperitate enauigato.

20. Huius<sup>a</sup> tam egregii et nominatissimi principis aduentus fama ut aures senatorum<sup>45</sup> urbis penetrauit, gaudium et iocunditas facta est in uniuersis qui audierant, ac<sup>b</sup> in tubis et in omni genere musicorum tam maiores quam minores in occursum illius conuenerunt, omni honore et gaudio sicut tantum uirum decebat urbi inducentes.<sup>c</sup> Inducto<sup>d</sup> tam honorifice et gloriose portis ciuitatis, et hospitio decenter<sup>e</sup> cum suis constituto, dux<sup>46</sup> qui eum consilio duodecim senatorum ad resistendum aduersariis ciuitatis acciuerat, indignatus super laudibus et honoribus quos illi populus et senatus exhibuerat,

19 <sup>a</sup> Roas A; E has 'h' inserted <sup>b</sup> eundem N <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN <sup>d</sup> et ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> quingentis H <sup>f</sup> ac ACHN <sup>g</sup> parauissent N <sup>h</sup> et ACHN <sup>i</sup> reuersis H  
<sup>j</sup> Eufraten E

20 <sup>a</sup> Cuius N <sup>b</sup> et N <sup>c</sup> introducentes ACHN <sup>d</sup> introducto A <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>44</sup> Sanliurfa, provincial capital in south-east Anatolia, Turkey.

<sup>45</sup> Albert uses the classical 'senatores' for the prince's counsellors, or elders of the city.

<sup>46</sup> Named elsewhere as Thoros (or T'oros), the duke was entitled to feel vulnerable since he claimed authority as a Byzantine appointee and also recognized the suzerainty of the

19. Some days passed after this, and Baldwin's reputation was increasing far and wide, and the heroism of his battles over all his enemies was becoming known. The duke of the town of Rohas, which is called Edessa,<sup>44</sup> situated in the region of Mesopotamia, sent the bishop of that city to Baldwin himself, along with twelve of the greater governors of the town, whose advice was trusted by all ranks of the town and region, to ask Baldwin to come down to the city with his Gaulish soldiers, defend the land against the Turks' attacks, and take possession with the duke, in shared power and absolute authority, of all the revenues and taxes. He at length agreed, after he had taken counsel, and went down with only two hundred cavalry; the rest of the army was divided and left at Turbessel, Ravendel, and in many places which, now that the Turks were driven out, submitted to his power. However, when he had travelled swiftly as far as the great river Euphrates and he had set about crossing it, Turks and other hostile armies had marched out and gathered on all sides on the advice and prompting of Pakrad, whom he had released from chains; as many as twenty thousand were there, obstructing his way as he wanted to cross. But when he found out their strength and their cavalry, and as he was not strong enough now to meet and overcome so many thousands, he returned to Turbessel by the road along which he had come. Then when the Turks had scattered and gone back to their strongholds, Baldwin once again took his two hundred cavalry and set out for Edessa with his escort of faithful men. His journey was completed without hindrance and hostile attack, and the river Euphrates was negotiated with complete success.

20. As the news of the arrival of such an outstanding and very celebrated prince reached the ears of the city's senators,<sup>45</sup> it caused joy and delight in all who heard it, and with trumpets and all kinds of music they assembled to meet him, great people and lesser ones alike, escorting him into the city with all honour and joy as befitted so great a man. When Baldwin had been escorted with such honour and glory through the town gates, and when he had arranged lodgings suitably with his men, the duke,<sup>46</sup> who had summoned him to a council of the twelve senators to oppose the town's enemies, was angered over the praises and honours which the people and senate had shown to

neighbouring Turks. Furthermore he was an Orthodox Christian rather than a member of the Separated Armenian Church as were most of his subjects: J. Laurent, 'Des Grecs aux croisés: Étude sur l'histoire d'Édesse', *Byzantion*, i (1924), 404-34.

353 sub absconso<sup>f</sup> cordis sui grauitur | cepit ei inuidere, sed et cum penitus ciuitati et<sup>g</sup> regioni preesse interdixit, nec parem sibi ad aliquos fore reditus uel tributa. Dicebat enim illi plurimum auri,<sup>h</sup> argenti<sup>i</sup> et ostri, mulorum et<sup>j</sup> equorum<sup>k</sup> et armorum<sup>k</sup> copiam se daturum, si sibi et ciuibus et<sup>l</sup> regioni contra Turcorum insidias et assultus propugnator et auxiliator in locis sibi constitutis esse non negaret. Qui omnino hec ducis munera sub tam uili conuentione suscipienda refutauit, rogans ut tantum conductus sui fiducia sine periculo et iniquo machinamento ad ducem Godefridum et confratrem suum sanus et incolumis redire posset.<sup>m</sup> Hoc duodecim proceres senatores et primi ciuitatis<sup>n</sup> et cetera<sup>n</sup> multitudo<sup>o</sup> audientes, quia non auro uel argento uel ullis<sup>b</sup> preciosis muneribus posset<sup>q</sup> retineri, ducem adierunt, omnibus modis et precibus instantes ut uirum tam nobilem et propugnatorem fortissimum recedere non pateretur, nec a se alienaret, sed de regno et ciuitate socium sibi faceret, cuius protectione et militari ope ciuitas et terra semper posset defendi, et nequaquam de promissis uirum molestaret.

21. Dux quidem duodecim prefectorum et omnium conciuum constantiam et beniuolentiam erga Baldwinum uidens, eorum nolens uolens petitioni satisfecit, ac Baldwinum filium sibi fecit adoptiuum, sicut mos regionis et gentis illius habetur, nudo pectori suo<sup>a</sup> illum astringens, et sub proximo carnis sue indumento semel hunc inuestiens, fide utrimque data et accepta.<sup>47</sup> Sic utrisque firmatis paternitate et filiatione, dux Baldwinum die quadam<sup>b</sup> loco filii ammonuit ut omni militia et solidorum conuentione conuocatis suis,<sup>c</sup> pariter<sup>d</sup> ciuibus Rohas assumptis, ad munitionem Samusart<sup>e</sup><sup>48</sup> que erat iuxta Eufraten proficiscens, expugnaret Baldue<sup>f</sup><sup>49</sup> principem Turcorum qui eandem arcem ad Rohas pertinentem iniuste inuaserat, et obtinebat. Intulerat enim idem Baldue ciuibus intolerabile malum.

<sup>f</sup> asconso E; archano ACHN    <sup>a</sup> atque C    <sup>b</sup> aurum H    <sup>i</sup> N adds et before argenti    <sup>j</sup> om. A    <sup>k</sup> armorumque ACHN    <sup>l</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>m</sup> possit A  
<sup>n</sup> ceteraque ACHN    <sup>o</sup> A adds ciuitatis    <sup>p</sup> aliis N    <sup>q</sup> possit A

21    <sup>a</sup> om. N    <sup>b</sup> quadam A    <sup>c</sup> om. E    <sup>d</sup> pariterque ACHN    <sup>e</sup> Samisart A; Samusart CHN. Later: Samusarth AN; Samusart CH; Samosart E    <sup>f</sup> Baldue AEN at different times, later

<sup>47</sup> The adoption is described by Albert and, following him, mentioned by William of Tyre; it is also found in Baudri of Dol and Guibert of Nogent (who associates Thoros's wife in the ceremony), but not in the two eyewitness sources, Fulcher and Matthew of Edessa

Baldwin, and began deep down in his heart to envy him vehemently, but he also forbade him utterly to take command of the town and region, and said he would not be his own equal so far as any revenues or taxes were concerned. He said that he would give him a very great deal of gold, silver, and purple, plenty of mules and horses and weapons, if he would agree to be a champion and supporter for him and the citizens and the region against the ambushes and attacks of the Turks, in places appointed for him. Baldwin refused absolutely these gifts from the duke which were to be accepted under such a mean agreement, asking only for the assurance of a safe conduct, so that he could return safe and sound to Duke Godfrey his own brother, without danger and unfair tricks. When the twelve leading senators and the most eminent men in the town and the rest of the crowd heard that Baldwin could not be restrained by gold or silver or any precious gifts, they went to the duke, urging him in all ways and with every entreaty not to allow such a noble man and so very strong a champion to depart, nor to estrange him from himself, but to make him his ally in matters of the kingdom and town, for with his protection and military strength the town and the land could always be defended, and he should never bother the man about what he had promised.

21. In view of the twelve governors' and all their fellow citizens' steadfastness and goodwill towards Baldwin, the duke had to grant their request whether he liked it or not, and he made Baldwin his own adopted son according to the custom of that region and people, binding him to his naked chest and clothing him once for all under the garment closest to his own flesh, with pledges given and received by both parties.<sup>47</sup> With the father-and-son relationship thus confirmed on both sides, the duke one day suggested to Baldwin, in his position as son, that he call his men together, all the army and those serving for pay, taking the citizens of Edessa likewise, and set out for the fortification at Samosata<sup>48</sup> which was next to the Euphrates and conquer Balduk,<sup>49</sup> prince of the Turks, who had unjustly seized that same citadel, which belonged to Edessa, and was holding it. That same Balduk had inflicted unbearable harm on the citizens. For he

(WT, pp. 236–7; BD, p. 81 (intercalation from MS G); GN, pp. 163–4). These sources say Thoros was childless, but according to *ChA* as part of the same event Baldwin was married to the prince's daughter in a bizarre ceremony: i. 142.

<sup>48</sup> A site now submerged beneath the lake made by the building of the Atatürk dam, near Samsat (prov. Malatya, Turkey). The expedition to Samosata is confirmed by ME, pp. 168–9.

<sup>49</sup> Amir of Samosata.

Nam filios maiorum ciuitatis non paucos obsides sibi dari minis extorserat, propter annuos redditus et tributa bisantiorum que illi ad redimendas uineas et sata dare consueuerant. Baldwinus primam petitionem hanc ducis et maiorum ciuitatis non refutans, assumptis ducentis sociis, et omni ciuitatis equestri et pedestri comitatu, castrum Samusart est aggressus, multam uim in uirtute suorum hostibus inferens. Sed a Balduc et suis occurrentibus in sagittarum grandine et tubarum stridore grauiter <sup>g</sup>repugnatum est.<sup>g</sup> Nam illic  
 354 infinita manus ciuium Armenicorum effeminato]rum et<sup>h</sup> incaute et segniter dimicantium corruit, sex tantum probi et strenui milites Baldwini sagittis confixi perierunt. In<sup>i</sup> quorum exequiis Christiano more completis planctus et dolor magnus per uniuersam ciuitatem factus est. Baldwinus uidens arcem presidii Samusart insuperabilem, et in ea Turcos bello fortissimos et indefessos, apud Sanctum Iohannem<sup>50</sup> in presidio quod non longe erat ab arce, suos in lorica et<sup>j</sup> galea<sup>k</sup> et equo reliquit qui semper Turcis ad resistendum occurrerent, et belli assiduitate uexarent; ipse cum solum duodecim Gallis Rohas reuersus est.

22. Post hec paucis diebus preteritis, omnis senatus et uniuersi ciues considerantes Baldwini prudentiam et constantiam aduersus Turcorum insidias, <sup>a</sup>et multum<sup>a</sup> sub eius manu ciuitatem et eius munitiones posse saluari et<sup>b</sup> defendi, in unum conuenerunt, Costentino<sup>51</sup> de montanis accito ad commune consilium, uiro potentissimo, quatenus ducem suum interimerent,<sup>c</sup> et Baldwinum loco eius ducem et dominum exaltarent. Erat enim idem dux illis<sup>d</sup> ualde contrarius. Nam multis eos calumniis affecerat, aurum<sup>e</sup> et argentum incomparabiliter cunctis<sup>f</sup> abstulerat. Si quis<sup>g</sup> resistebat, Turcorum inimicicias et odium non solum in periculum uite sue, sed<sup>h</sup> etiam in uineis et satis suis succidendis, et in preda gregum suorum suscitabat. Hoc habito consilio, die quadam uniuersi parui et magni ciuitatis ad arma conuolant, armati et loricati Baldwinum conueniunt, ut cum eis ad interitum ducis sui contendat, asserentes eum loco eius<sup>i</sup> domnum et

<sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> repressi sunt *H*      <sup>h</sup> *om. ACHN*      <sup>i</sup> *om. H*      <sup>j</sup> *om. AH*      <sup>k</sup> galeo *C*

22    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> multumque *ACHN*    <sup>b</sup> *ac ACHN*    <sup>c</sup> interemerunt *N*    <sup>d</sup> *eis ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> *A adds eis after aurum*    <sup>f</sup> *om. A*    <sup>g</sup> *ACHN add uero after quis*    <sup>h</sup> *uerum ACHN*  
<sup>i</sup> *ducem ac dominum A*

<sup>50</sup> Not identified.

had used threats to force them to give him several of the leading citizens' sons as hostages, for the annual revenues and tributes of bezants which they had been accustomed to give him to redeem their vines and crops. Baldwin did not refuse this first request of the duke and the leading citizens; he took with him two hundred comrades and the town's entire company of cavalry and infantry, and attacked the fort at Samosata, directing a great force against the enemy in the strength of his men. But the attack was strongly resisted by Balduk and his men, who met them with a hail of arrows and a blast of trumpets. For an innumerable band of the effeminate Armenian townsmen, who were fighting carelessly and slowly, fell in that place, and as many as six of Baldwin's excellent and vigorous soldiers were shot with arrows and died. In their funeral rites, carried out according to the Christian custom, there was lamentation and great grief throughout the whole city. Baldwin realized that the citadel of the fortress at Samosata was unconquerable, and that the Turks in it were very resolute and tireless in war, so he left his men, armed with hauberks and helmets and horses, at St John,<sup>50</sup> in a fortress which was not very far from the citadel, so that they would always ride out to oppose the Turks and trouble them with constant warfare, while he returned to Edessa with only twelve Gauls.

22. A few days passed after this, then the senate and all the citizens assembled and considered Baldwin's wisdom and steadfastness against the ambushes of the Turks, and decided that the state could most likely be saved and defended under his power and his protection. Constantine,<sup>51</sup> a very powerful man, had been summoned from the mountains to the general council and he proposed that they should kill their duke and raise Baldwin to be duke and lord in his place. For the duke was very strongly opposed to them; he had often treated them dishonestly and had taken huge amounts of gold and silver from everyone. If anyone opposed him, he would encourage the enmity and hatred of the Turks not only to imperil his opponent's life, but also to mow down his vines and crops and plunder his herds. After this council had been held, one day everyone in the city, small and great, flocked to arms, and, fully armed and armoured, they spoke to Baldwin, demanding that he hurry with them to destroy their duke, claiming that by common consent they had decided that he

<sup>51</sup> Constantine, the Armenian ruler of Gargar. Matthew of Edessa's account of the plot is similar in outline, but according to him Baldwin was deeply implicated (ME, pp. 168-70).

ducem<sup>i</sup> communi consilio fieri se<sup>j</sup> decreuisse. Qui tale facinus presumere omni contradictione rennuit, cum uice filii sibi sit constitutus et nihil cause uel mali adhuc in eo repererit, unde perditionis eius consentaneus et socius fiat. Ait enim: 'Inestimabile coram Deo peccatum esset, ut in hunc uirum sine causa manum mitterem quem mihi in patrem assumpsi, cui et<sup>k</sup> fidem contuli. Sed precor uos, ne sanguine et morte eius me pollui sinatis,<sup>l52</sup> et nomen meum inter principes Christiani exercitus uilescere faciatis. Peto etiam uos ut sibi ore ad os loqui mihi liceat in solio turris, super quam usque in presens habitare uestro dono exaltatus consueuit.' Quod mox ei annuerunt. Et ecce turrim ascendens sic ei locutus est. 'Omnes ciues et prefecti ciuitatis huius in necem tuam conspirati in omni genere armorum ad turrim hanc in furore et impetu animi properant, quod doleo et moleste perfero. Sed ut aliqua ratione liberari posses, uel rerum tuarum datione, preuenire non neglexi.' Vix dux colloquentem sibi audiuit,<sup>m</sup> et ecce in circuitu turris multitudo ciuium in obsidione et impugnatione confluit, incessabili manganarum et sagittarum iactu muros et turris hostia quatientes.

- 355 23. Dux uidens anime sue angustias thesauros suos incomparabiles in ostro, in uasis aureis et argenteis, in bisantiis copiosis, Baldwino aperuit, rogans ut suscipiat, quatenus apud ciues pro uita et salute<sup>a</sup> interueniat, et nudum et<sup>b</sup> uacuum a turri exire 'et abire<sup>c</sup> patiantur. Baldwinus preces illius exaudiens,<sup>53</sup> misericordia motus super desperato, prefectos populi<sup>d</sup> obnixa suasionem adhortatur,<sup>d</sup> et instat ut duci suo parcentes non occidant, et thesauros innumerabiles quos<sup>e</sup> uiderat inter se partiri non refutent. Senatus et uniuersi ciues ad uerba Baldwini et thesaurorum promissionem minime auscultant, non uiuum, non sanum pro ulla rerum commutatione aut datione illum euadere unanimiter exclamantes, iniurias et calumnias sibi obicientes, quas sub eo et a Turcis eius instinctu sepe sustinuerunt. Dux itaque uite sue diffusus,<sup>f</sup> nec precibus suis aut ullis<sup>g</sup> preciosis donis uidens se quicquam proficere, Baldwinum a turri remisit, se per fenestram

<sup>i</sup> om. A      <sup>k</sup> etiam ACHN      <sup>l</sup> faciatis A      <sup>m</sup> exaudiuit N

23      <sup>a</sup> ACHN add sua after salute      <sup>b</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> obnixe deprecatur A      <sup>e</sup> quas E      <sup>f</sup> diffusus N      <sup>g</sup> illis N

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Isa. 59: 3.

<sup>53</sup> The phrase 'preces . . . exaudire' occurs in the Bible (e.g. Gen. 30: 17; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 8: 45, 49), and also in the liturgy, notably in votive masses, including the mass 'Pro peregrinantibus et iter agentibus' (Bruylants, *Oraisons*, ii. 528, p. 143; i. 560, pp. 185-6).

should become lord and duke in his place. Baldwin refused with every objection to undertake such a crime, because he had been appointed the duke's adopted son and had not yet discovered any sort of cause or evil in him which would make Baldwin agree with and take part in his destruction. He said: 'It would be a sin beyond estimation in the sight of God for me to raise my hand without cause against this man whom I have taken to myself as father, and to whom I have also given my pledge. But I beg of you not to let me be dishonoured by his bloodshed or death,<sup>52</sup> and make my name become worthless among the leaders of the Christian army. I also ask you to let me talk to him face to face in the upper room of the tower, where he has been used to remain up to now, raised up by your gift.' They immediately agreed to this. And so he climbed the tower and talked to him thus: 'All the citizens and senators of this state have conspired for your death and they are hurrying to this tower carrying all sorts of weapons, full of rage and passion: I am sorry I bring you this bad news. But I did not neglect to come ahead of them so that you could be delivered by some method, or by the granting away of your possessions.' Hardly had the duke heard his speech when a crowd of citizens flocked around the tower to besiege and attack, shaking the walls and the doors of the tower with an unceasing bombardment of mangonels and arrows.

23. As the duke saw that his life was in danger, he revealed to Baldwin his matchless treasures—in purple, in vessels of gold and silver, in plentiful bezants—asking him to take them and to intercede with the citizens for the duke's life and safety, so that they would allow him to leave and go away from the tower, unarmed and empty-handed. Baldwin listened to the man's entreaties<sup>53</sup> and was moved to pity by his despair; he urged the people's leaders and he insisted resolutely and persuasively that if they should spare their duke, and not kill him, then they would be able to divide among themselves the countless treasures which he had seen. The senate and all the citizens paid little attention to Baldwin's words and the promise of treasures; they were shouting out as one voice that the duke was not going to escape alive and well in return for any exchange or gift of things; they were reproaching him with the insults and injustices they had often suffered under him and from the Turks at his instigation. Therefore the duke, despairing of his life and seeing that neither his entreaties nor any precious gifts would be of any use to him, sent Baldwin from the tower and left it, letting himself down on a rope from the upper

funiculo a solio laxans exiuit. Quem mille sagittis in momento confixum mortificantes media platea proiecerunt. Caput<sup>b</sup> eius amputantes, ad ludibrium omnibus haste prefixum per omnes uicos ciuitatis detulerunt.

24. Crastina die Baldwinum<sup>a</sup> plurimum renitentem et contradicentem, principem ac ducem ciuitatis statuerunt, turrin insuperabilem cum uniueris thesauris extincti ducis in ea repertis illi contulerunt, iureiurando subiecti illi<sup>b</sup> facti, et<sup>c</sup> fideles. Baldus hac Baldwini noua promotione audita timore magno percussus est, ne in uirtute Gallorum uirorum belligerorum obsidione facta presidium<sup>d</sup> Samusart amitteret. Vnde legatione ad Baldwinum facta, arcem illi uenalem, pro numero decem milium bisantiorum obtulit, et quia abhinc et deinceps illi pro solidorum conuentione fideliter militaret. Qui ad eius uerba nequaquam adtendit, eo quod iniuste Christianis hanc arcem abstulisset, quondam ad ciuitatem Rohas non longe ante hoc tempus pertinentem. Baldus uidens feritatem et constantiam ducis Baldwini, dixit se arcem incendio consumere, obsides ciuium et prefectorum quos plurimos tenebat decollare, et semper insidias aduersus Baldwinum nocte ac die moliri. Tandem ut plerumque temporis precessit, Baldwinus audito consilio suorum Baldus talentum auri et argenti et ostra preciosa cum purpura, equos et mulos non modico precio dignos 356 contulit, et sic presidium | Samusart ab hostili manu et potestate redemit.<sup>e</sup> Ab ea denique die et deinceps Baldus Baldwino subditus factus est, in domo eius condomicus et familiaris inter Gallos constitutus.<sup>f</sup> Baldwinus arcem susceptam fidei suorum custodia muniuit, obsides illic repertos primoribus quibusque et ciuibus restituit. Post hec quia eque gentilibus et Christianis non conuenit, et inuicem semper sibi sunt suspecti, Baldwinus uxorem et filios Baldus pro fidei stabilitate requisiiuit. Qui benigne annuit, sed de die in diem adinuenta occasione obsides hos dare differebat.

25. Baldwino duce sic exaltato, et militari actione diuulgato, Balas,<sup>54</sup> qui et ipse princeps et inuasor presidii ciuitatis Sororgie,<sup>55</sup> duci Baldwino legationem misit, quatenus exercitu adunato ad ciuitatem

<sup>b</sup> Caputque ACHN

24 <sup>a</sup> om. N  
<sup>f</sup> constitutos E

<sup>b</sup> sibi AC

<sup>c</sup> ac H

<sup>d</sup> om. A

<sup>e</sup> redeunt N

<sup>54</sup> Balak ibn Bahram, cadet of the Artuqid dynasty.

<sup>55</sup> Suruç, prov. Şanlıurfa, Turkey.

room through the window. His destroyers brought him down in the middle of the street, shot with a thousand arrows in a moment. They cut off his head and carried it fixed on a lance through all the quarters of the city for everyone to mock.

24. On the following day they appointed Baldwin duke and prince of the city, although he was very reluctant and made very many objections. They bestowed on him the unassailable tower with all the dead duke's treasures found in it, and bound themselves by oath to be his subjects and faithful to him. When Balduk heard about Baldwin's new advancement he was struck by a great fear that he might lose Samosata if it was besieged by the strength of the Gauls, those warlike men. So a deputation was sent to Baldwin; Balduk offered the citadel for sale for the sum of ten thousand bezants, and said that for an agreed sum of money he would serve him faithfully as soldier from then on. Baldwin took no notice of his words, because Balduk had taken this citadel from the Christians unjustly, which formerly, not long before this time, belonged to the state of Edessa. Balduk, seeing Duke Baldwin's fierceness and stubbornness, said that he would burn down the citadel, behead the many hostages of the citizens and senate whom he held, and always set ambushes for Baldwin, night and day. At length, when some considerable time had passed, Baldwin took his men's advice and gave Balduk a large sum in gold and silver and precious clothes in royal purple, horses and mules worth no small price, and thus he bought back the fortress of Samosata from enemy hands and power. From that day on Balduk became subject to Baldwin and he was established as a member of his household and a familiar acquaintance among the Gauls. Baldwin garrisoned the fortress he received with a faithful guard of his own men; he restored the hostages he found there to the appropriate senators and citizens. After this, because it was not equally fair to both the gentiles and the Christians, and as they were always suspicious of one another, Baldwin asked Balduk for his wife and sons to ensure that he would keep faith. He willingly agreed but from day to day he found pretexts to put off giving these hostages.

25. After Baldwin had thus been raised up as duke, and his military reputation was widely known, Balak,<sup>54</sup> who was himself also a prince, and usurper of the fortress of the town of Sororgia,<sup>55</sup> sent a delegation to Duke Baldwin asking that he should come down with a joint army

que a presidio et montanis distabat et rebellis adhuc resistebat descenderet, et<sup>a</sup> presidium in eius manu ciuibus et urbe superatis absque ulla<sup>b</sup> dilatione reponeret. Erant enim ciues Sarraceni qui sibi resistebant, et tributa dare contemnebant.<sup>56</sup> Baldwinus promissis illius credens, foedere adinuicem percusso, cum omni apparatu suo urbem obsidere et expugnare disposuit, donec ciues uicti cederent et deinceps tributarii fierent. Verum ciues Baldwini aduentum et eius indignationem ex Balas suggestione intelligentes, Baldus conuentione solidorum ceterosque Turcorum milites multis premiis sibi acciuerunt, sperantes sub eorum tutamine menia urbis posse retineri ac defendi. Baldus, miles et unus de principibus Turcorum, auaricia bisantium iam corruptus, cum suis ad urbem descendit, sperans eidem urbi adhuc preesse et dominari. Baldwinus dux<sup>c</sup> hoc comperto, in manu forti die statuto ad obsidionem urbis Sororgie proficisci disposuit, cum manganis et omni armorum apparatu quibus urbs scindi et<sup>d</sup> expugnari<sup>e</sup> posset. Ciues uero<sup>f</sup> Sarraceni uires et apparatus intolerabilem audientes formidine concussi, nuncia illi miserunt, ut pacifice ad eos<sup>g</sup> descenderet, urbem sine contradictione susciperet, reditus quoque singulis annis sue dicioni<sup>h</sup> non negarent. Baldwinus precibus eorum cessit, diem statuit qua omnia hec cum pace et fide rata et credula componerentur. Baldus uidens quia ciues a defensione defecerant et timore perterriti resistere tanto principi nequieverant, urbem cum suis egressus est et Rohas ad ipsum Baldwinum simulata fide in hiis uerbis descendit: 'Nequaquam credas aut arbitreris me ideo urbem Sororgie intrasse ut ciuibus auxilium aduersus te ferrem, sed ueni ut quolibet eos consilio ab incepto rebellionis sue reuocarem, tibi<sup>i</sup> subditos et<sup>j</sup> tributarios facerem.' | Quod Baldwinus patienter accipiens, Baldus in excusatione hac manere secum ab ipso<sup>k</sup> die concessit, sed tamen minime illius fidei se credebatur.<sup>l</sup> Nec mora in manu eius urbs est reddita, ciues tributarii facti, presidium Balas quod in montanis prominebat in manu eius et suorum custodiam<sup>m</sup> reposuit. Baldwinus ciuitate cum presidio suscepta, Folkerum

25 <sup>a</sup> etiam *A* <sup>b</sup> om. *H* <sup>c</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>d</sup> aut *H* <sup>e</sup> expugnare *N* <sup>f</sup> *H*  
 adds et after uero <sup>g</sup> illos *A* <sup>h</sup> dicionem *A* <sup>i</sup> tibi que *ACHN* <sup>j</sup> ac *ACH*  
<sup>k</sup> illo *H* <sup>l</sup> credidit *A* <sup>m</sup> custodia *AN*

<sup>56</sup> Albert distinguishes between Turks and Saracens throughout his narrative, in contrast with other and later Western writers, who use 'Saraceni' indiscriminately to refer to

to a town which was at a distance from the fortress and the mountains and was still holding out for the rebels, and that when the city and citizens were overcome he should restore the fortress to Balak's hands without any delay. For the citizens were Saracens who were holding out against him, and they scorned to pay tribute.<sup>56</sup> Baldwin believed his promises, and after a treaty was agreed on both sides he arranged to besiege and attack the city with all his equipment, until the defeated citizens yielded and then became tributaries. When the citizens found out about Baldwin's approach and his anger, at Balak's instigation they summoned Balduk with an agreed sum of money, and the other Turkish soldiers with many prizes, hoping they would be able to hold and defend the city walls under their protection. Balduk, a soldier and one of the princes of the Turks, who was already corrupted by greed for bezants, came down with his men to the city, hoping he might yet become the chief and master of that same city. Duke Baldwin, knowing this, arranged to set out on the appointed day with a strong force to besiege the city of Sororgia, equipped with mangonels and all sorts of weapons with which the city could be torn apart and overcome. When the Saracen citizens learnt of Baldwin's forces and irresistible weapons they were horror-struck and sent messages to him to come down to them peacefully and to take the city without opposition; then they would not refuse the revenues each year to his authority. Baldwin yielded to their entreaties and he fixed a day for all these things to be settled with a sure and trusting peace and pledge. Balduk, seeing that the citizens had abandoned the defence and that they were terrified and they could not resist so great a prince, left the city with his men and, pretending he could be trusted, came down to Edessa to Baldwin himself, with these words: 'You should in no way believe or suppose that I entered the city of Sororgia in order to bring support to the citizens against you, but I came to dissuade them from starting their rebellion by whatever advice I could, and to make them subjects and tributaries to you.' Baldwin accepted this patiently and allowed Balduk on this excuse to stay with him from that day, but nevertheless he put little faith in his honesty. Soon afterwards the city was delivered into his hands, the citizens were made tributaries, and Balak put the fortress which stood out in the mountains into his hands and the guard of his men. When he had received the town with the fortress Baldwin left Fulcher of

Muslims: see Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild*, pp. 193–6. By Saracens, Albert probably meant the settled, Arabic-speaking peoples, as opposed to the nomadic Turks.

Carnotensem,<sup>57</sup> uirum militem et bello peritissimum, ad procuranda et tuenda menia in eis reliquit, ipse uero<sup>a</sup> Rohas in gloria magna reuersus est.

26. Tancradus qui a Baldwino diuisus Mamistre ad maritima remanserat cum adauctis sibi uiribus de nauali exercitu quem Baldwinus adduxerat, Castrum Puellarum, quod uulgariter appellatur Debaïesses, obsedit et expugnauit, similiter Castrum Pastorum expugnatum diruit. Castrum quoque Adolescentium, quod dicitur Debakelers, que in montanis Turcorum<sup>a</sup> erant presidia, in manu robustorum militum deiecit et attriuit.<sup>58</sup> Alexandriam minorem<sup>59</sup> portis et muris dirutis subiugatam obtinuit; Turcos in eis repertos in ore gladii percussit. Omnia autem castella et presidia hactenus peregrinis nocentia aut cepit, aut incendit, hostes gentiles in eis inuentos alios occidit, alios captiuos tenuit. Hostes uero qui Christianis subiugatis per montana dispersi Christianorum presidia et loca iniuste inuaserant, audita illius uirtute militari, alii fugam capiebant, alii missis equis et mulis, <sup>b</sup>aurique et argenti<sup>b</sup> donis preciosis, amicicie illius iungebantur, quatenus eum pacificum in omnibus que obtinebant reperirent. Tancradus de omnibus que offerebantur nihil refutabat,<sup>c</sup> sed sicut cautus et prouidus omnia recipiens<sup>d</sup> reponebat, memor preteritarum angustiarum et maiorum adhuc credulus futurarum.

27. Interea totus apparatus et uirtus grandis exercitus accelerabat rectitudine itineris per mediam Romaniam, per abrupta montium et decliua<sup>a</sup> uallium incedens, quem Godefridus dux, Boemundus, Reimundus comes, Robertus Flandriensis, Naimerus<sup>b</sup> episcopus de  
 358 Podio, Robertus de Nortmannia communi consilio<sup>60</sup> et pari conductu moderabantur. Hii ad ciuitatem que Marese<sup>c</sup><sup>61</sup> dicitur in manu

<sup>a</sup> om. H

26 <sup>a</sup> om. H <sup>b</sup> auri argentique ACH; auri et argentine N <sup>c</sup> refutauit A  
<sup>d</sup> suscipiens H

27 <sup>a</sup> decliua A <sup>b</sup> Naimerus E <sup>c</sup> Marese N

<sup>57</sup> Fulcher was evidently a common name in Chartres and this Fulcher must be distinguished from the historian, who had also accompanied Baldwin to Edessa (FC, pp. 163–4, 206–8), and the Folcher who had been killed in Asia Minor (i. 21 above). The death of Fulcher, count of Sororgia, ‘a brave and mighty man and a person of saintly and pure conduct’, was recorded by Matthew of Edessa in 1100–1 (ME, pp. 177–8).

<sup>58</sup> According to Cahen, in the foothills of the Amanus near the Sakaltoutan pass (the Syrian Gates) there is an Ottoman castle Kiz-Kalesi, which is a translation into Turkish of Albert’s ‘Castrum Puellarum’ (which Albert places further north at Payas). The other two

Chartres,<sup>57</sup> a warlike man and very skilled in battle, to manage and guard their defences while he himself returned to Edessa in great glory.

26. Tancred, who had been separated from Baldwin at Mamistra and had stayed on the coast, used his forces, enlarged by the navy which Baldwin had brought, to besiege and conquer the Castle of the Maidens, which is commonly called Debaïesses, and in the same way he conquered and demolished the Castle of the Shepherds; with his band of strong soldiers he also cast down and destroyed the Castle of the Young Men, which is called Debakelers, all of which were fortresses in the Turkish mountains.<sup>58</sup> He gained Alexandria the Lesser,<sup>59</sup> having overcome it and demolished its gates and walls. He put the Turks he found in these places to the sword's edge. Moreover, he either captured or burnt down all the castles and fortresses which had till then been harming the pilgrims, and of the enemy gentiles he found in them, some he killed, others he held captive. Now that the enemy, who had scattered through the mountain regions after overcoming the Christians, and had occupied the Christians' fortresses and places unjustly, heard of his warlike strength, some took flight, others sent mules and horses and precious gifts of gold and silver, and were joined in friendship with him, so that they might find him peaceable in all the lands they possessed. Tancred refused none of all these things which they were offering, but like a cautious and provident man he accepted everything and stored it away, remembering the difficulties of the past and believing greater ones were yet to come.

27. Meanwhile the great army was hastening with its entire equipment and strength on a direct route through the middle of Rûm, marching through steep mountains and sloping valleys. It was governed by Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, Count Raymond, Robert of Flanders, Adhémar bishop of le Puy, Robert of Normandy, who took counsel together<sup>60</sup> and led as equals. These men, coming down in a strong company to the town which is called Marash,<sup>61</sup> were

castles have romanticized names but, Cahen believed, doubtless preserved the memory of some real fortresses: *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 148–9. A. W. Lawrence claimed 'de Bakelers' was a corruption of Baghras (now Bakras, prov. Hatay, Turkey), a castle which guarded the Belen pass north of Antioch: 'The castle of Baghras', in T. S. R. Boase, ed., *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 34–83, at 41.

<sup>59</sup> Iskenderun (Alexandretta), prov. Hatay, Turkey.

<sup>61</sup> Kahramanmaraş (provincial capital, Turkey) situated on a crossroads in the foothills of the Taurus mountains: Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 137–8.

<sup>60</sup> 2 Macc. 15: 36.

forti descendentes, hospitio pernoctauerunt, tabernacula in locis uirentibus ante urbis menia extendentes, nullam uim Christianis illic<sup>d</sup> ciuibus inferentes, sed pacifice ab urbe uite necessaria uenalia suscipientes. Turci qui aduentum tantorum ac tot principum intellexerant ab urbis presidio aufugerunt quam iniqua ui et iniustus tributis ante multos hos annos subpresserunt.<sup>e</sup> Hac in regione Maresc, uxor Baldwini nobilissima quam de regno Anglie ortam<sup>f</sup> eduxit,<sup>g</sup> diutina corporis molestia aggrauata, et duci Godefrido commendata, uitam exalauit, sepulta catholicis exequiis,<sup>h</sup> cuius nomen erat Gudwera,<sup>i 62</sup> Vdelardus<sup>j</sup> similiter de Wizan<sup>63</sup> infirmitate correptus ibidem obiit, honorifice illic<sup>k</sup> sepulchro conditus, miles inreprehensibilis, et in omni bellorum consilio et actione utilis, de domo ducis Godefridi semper secretorum illius ante omnes conscius.

28. Egressi a montanis et regione Maresc predicti principes cum uniuersis<sup>a</sup> sequacibus legionibus compererunt a quibusdam Christianis Syrie sibi occurrentibus ciuitatem Artesiam<sup>b 64</sup> non procul abesse, rebus uite necessariis locupletem sed a Turcis obsessam.<sup>c</sup> Hoc comperto Robertus de Flandria, assumptis secum uiris bello cautissimis, Rotgero de Roseit,<sup>65</sup> Gozelone filio comitis Cononis<sup>d</sup> de Monte Acuto, cum mille loricatis ab exercitu exurgens, ad Artesiam descendit ciuitatem, muro et<sup>e</sup> menibus et presidio turrato munitissimam, in qua Turci manentes Armenicos Christianos seruili iugo subegerant. Vrbi itaque et eius<sup>f</sup> menibus appropinquantes in signis erectis cuiusque coloris pulcherrimis, in galeis eniis auro lucidissimis, totam regionem fama sui aduentus concusserunt. Turci in menibus Artesie et presidio causa defensionis et repugnationis repentina hac Gallorum congressione<sup>g</sup> perterriti, astiterunt, portas ciuitatis obice et seris munientes. Verum ciues Armenici quos idem Turci longa seruitute depresserant, secum in eisdem munitionibus<sup>h</sup> reminiscentes iniuriam suarum quas ab eisdem Turcis diu pertulerant, in raptione<sup>i</sup>

<sup>d</sup> om. N    <sup>e</sup> oppresserunt ACHN    <sup>f</sup> om. H    <sup>g</sup> duxit A    <sup>h</sup> obsequiis H  
<sup>i</sup> Gudwera A    <sup>j</sup> Udelradus A; Udelardus CHN    <sup>k</sup> illuc N

28    <sup>a</sup> omnibus H    <sup>b</sup> Arthesiam AHN    <sup>c</sup> possesam ACHN    <sup>d</sup> Cononis om.  
 N. Later: Cuno- CHN; Cuno- AHN    <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>f</sup> om. N    <sup>g</sup> egressione N  
<sup>h</sup> H adds constituti after munitionibus    <sup>i</sup> raptu ACHN

<sup>62</sup> Godevere (or Godechilde) was daughter of the Norman lord Ralph of Tosny (OV, iii. 128; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 203).

<sup>63</sup> Wissant (dép. Pas-de-Calais, France). Udelard had been in Eustace of Boulogne's contingent: Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 231.

quartered for the night there, spreading out their tents in the green places in front of the city walls, and not using any force on the Christian citizens there, but receiving peacefully from the city necessary supplies for sale. The Turks, who had learnt of the arrival of such great princes in such great numbers, fled from their occupation of the city which they had suppressed by undue force and unfair tributes for many years past. Baldwin had brought his noble wife from her English homeland, and in this region of Marash her bodily ills daily grew worse. She was entrusted to Duke Godfrey, but she breathed her last and was buried with Christian rites: her name was Godevere.<sup>62</sup> Udelard of Wissant<sup>63</sup> died there in the same way, carried off by sickness, and was buried with honour in a grave in that place. He was an irreproachable knight, useful in every council of war and in action, a member of Duke Godfrey's household and always privy to his secrets before anyone else.

28. When they left the mountains and region of Marash, with all their troops following, the aforesaid leaders learnt from some Christians of Syria who met them that the town of Artah<sup>64</sup> was not far away, rich in the necessities of life but occupied by Turks. When he learnt this, Robert of Flanders rose from the army, taking with him some men who were very careful in warfare—Roger of Rozoy,<sup>65</sup> Gozelo son of Count Cono of Montaigu—and a thousand armoured men, and they went down to the town of Artah which was very well fortified with a wall and ramparts and a turreted fortress, and where the Turks had brought the remaining Armenian Christians under the yoke of slavery. And so, as they approached the city and its ramparts, holding high beautiful banners of every colour, their bronze helmets shining as brightly as gold, the news of their arrival alarmed the whole region. The Turks who were on the ramparts of Artah and in the fortress intending to defend and resist stood stock still, terrified at this sudden attack by the Gauls, and they secured the town gates with a bar and bolts. The Armenian citizens, whom those same Turks had long oppressed with slavery and who were now with them within those same defences, called to mind the injustices which they had borne

<sup>64</sup> Artah, near Reyhanlı (prov. Hatay, Turkey), was a well-fortified town in the 12th c. but is deserted today (Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 134).

<sup>65</sup> Rozoy-sur-Serre (dép. Aisne, France). See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 227. Roger was to make a career in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, but also to become a hero of the 14th-c. *Godefroid* chanson, where he is described as lame (line 6873): *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon*, ed. F. de Reiffenberg, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1846–54), iii, p. clvii.

uxorum et filiarum, in actione ceterorum nefariorum, in exactione iniustorum tributorum, nunc freti aduentu et auxilio Christianorum, eosdem Turcos inuadentes, in ore gladii peremerunt, capita eorum amputantes, a<sup>j</sup> fenestris et menibus eiecerunt, portasque urbis confratribus Christianis aperientes, aditum reddiderunt tutum in  
 359 occisione gentilium, in extinctorum cor|porum eiectione. Benigne et omni pia susceptione fideles fratres inducunt, armis et sarcinis familiariter<sup>b</sup> eos exspoliantes,<sup>i</sup> cibis diuersis et amicis potibus recreantes,<sup>m</sup> et commoda hospitalitate retinentes,<sup>n</sup> equis et mulis<sup>o</sup> eorum pabula sufficienter amministrant.<sup>p</sup>

29. Ab hac urbis statione usque ad Antiochiam decem miliaria computantur, per que fama noue cedis <sup>a</sup>Turcorum ueloci pede<sup>a 66</sup> transuolans, Turcos ab Antiochia et de cunctis finibus eius ad uiginti milia congregatos acciuit usque ad predictam munitionem Artesie. Ex hiis milibus Turcorum astutiores et agiliores triginta, equis in modum uenti currentibus insidentes, in dolo precesserunt, post terga relictis insidiis totius legionis, quatenus in arcu corneo et osseo Gallos e presidio lacescere et protrahere ualerent. Galli equidem fraudes et latentes insidias ignorantes, pede et equo, armis muniti et lorice induti, illis mediis occurrerunt campis ut cum hostibus committerent. Sed non aliquis successus<sup>b</sup> illis ullo conflictu potuit contingere. Nam Turci qui erant in insidiis transuerso itinere uiam in graui multitudine anticipant, ne Galli egressi reditum aut refugium ad urbem habentes, momentaneo interitu suffocarentur. Hoc uiso repentino impetu et inproviso, Robertus de Flandria et Rotgerus, 'et ceteri' capitales exercitus, fortiter sociis ammonitis et in unum conglobatis, per medias densas acies Turcorum a campi planicie frenis reductis transuolantes, rigidis hastis hostes irruperunt. Irrupit<sup>d</sup> et omnis societas uirili audacia quousque incolumes a manibus inimicorum intra portas et menia elapsi sunt. Turci uero elapsos in portis grandine mille sagittarum insecuntur, portas cum eis intrare conantes. Sed retrusi a limine in manu ualida licet exigua, portas intrare cum

<sup>i</sup> e ACHN      <sup>k</sup> famialiter E      <sup>l</sup> exonerantes ACHN      <sup>m</sup> recreant ACHN  
<sup>n</sup> retinent ACHN      <sup>o</sup> N adds et after mulis      <sup>p</sup> amministrantes ACHN

29      <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> successis N      <sup>c</sup> ceterique ACHN      <sup>d</sup> irruiit H

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Ps. 13 (14): 3; Prov. 6: 18; Rom. 3: 15.

from those same Turks for a long time—the rape of their wives and daughters; the other crimes they committed; the levying of unjust tributes—and now, relying on the arrival and support of the Christians, they attacked the Turks and killed them with the sword's edge, they cut off their heads and threw them from the windows and walls, and, opening the city gates to their Christian brothers, they delivered up a safe entrance by their massacre of the gentiles, by their throwing out of dead bodies. They led in their faithful brothers courteously and received them with every proper ceremony, relieving them of their weapons and packs in a friendly way, and refreshing them with different foods and pleasing drinks, and detaining them with agreeable hospitality, and they provided their horses and mules adequately with fodder.

29. The distance from where this city stands to Antioch is reckoned to be ten miles: the news of this latest slaughter of Turks sped the distance on winged feet<sup>66</sup> and summoned Turks from Antioch and from all their territories—some twenty thousand of them gathered—to the aforesaid fortification of Artah. Thirty of the more cunning and nimble out of these thousands of Turks, riding horses which galloped like the wind, went ahead as a trick, leaving behind them in ambush the entire legion, so as to be able to provoke and draw out the Gauls from the fortress using the bow of horn and bone. The Gauls, of course, knowing nothing of the tricks and hidden ambush, went out on foot and on horseback, armed and armoured, and met them in the middle of the plain to do battle with their enemies. But no successful outcome was possible for them in any conflict. For the Turks, who lay in ambush across their route, took the road before them in a great horde, so that the Gauls, who had come out and had no way of returning or taking refuge in the city, would be killed instantly. When he saw this sudden and unexpected attack Robert of Flanders and Roger and the other army chiefs, after warning their comrades forcefully and gathering as one, sped on a tight rein from the level plain through the middle of the dense Turkish battle lines, and charged the enemy with lances held rigid. The whole company also charged with such manly boldness that they escaped from the enemy's hands unharmed inside the gates and ramparts. The Turks pursued the men who had escaped inside the gates with a hail of a thousand arrows, trying to enter the gates with them. But they were pushed back from the threshold by a strong, though small, band, and

Gallis nequaquam permissi sunt. Multi tamen in repentinis sagittarum ictibus hinc et hinc armigeri, equites<sup>e</sup> et pedites, multi quoque et equi grauati sunt. Turci ergo uidentes nil se profecisse, et adhuc in copiis suis confidentes, obsidionem circa predictam urbem constituerunt. Sed fideles inclusi ex sufficientia ciborum in arce reperta, murali<sup>f</sup> robore firma et inexpugnabili, tuti et quieti resederunt. Illic in presidio Artesie Gozelo filius comitis Cononis languore grauissimo occupatus post dies aliquot uita decessit, et a confratribus Christianis debitum sepulture honorifice et catholice suscepit.<sup>67</sup>

360 30. Interea non longo interuallo maturabat uiam magnus exercitus Christianorum, inter quos latenter exploratores degebant qui ab exercitu occulte uisa oportunitate subtrahiti, Turcis referebant que audierant et intellexerant de aduentu et consiliis catholice legionis. Delatores predicti audientes quia ab Artesia fama obsidionis suorum ad <sup>a</sup>aures principum Godefridi Boemundi ceterorumque<sup>a</sup> peruenerat, et quia ad subueniendum hiis consilium tenuerant,<sup>b</sup> festinato ad castra Turcorum redierunt, iam Romanos, Francigenas et Theutonicos in proximo aduentare nunciantes, nec uires eorum sustinere posse nec a manibus<sup>c</sup> eorum eripi, nisi cito ciuitate relicta in sua remearent<sup>d</sup> tutamina. Nequaquam tamen hiis sinistris nunciis ammoniti expauescunt, freti nimium in tot suis predictis milibus, sed per integras unius diei horas urbem impugnant,<sup>e</sup> et in assultibus plurimis laborant, sed laborem<sup>f</sup> incassum consumunt, Gallis ab arce et menibus non parce resistentibus.

31. Dehinc nocte relata et tenebris incumbentibus plurimis consiliis inuicem habitis, consilium repertum est ut primo diluculo apparente ad pontem fluminis Ferne<sup>68</sup> reditum pararent, et Antiochiam urbem turribus murisque<sup>a</sup> fundatam et humanis uiribus insuperabilem securi intrarent, ne, ponte preuento et flumine ab exercitu Christianorum, periculum uite expugnati paterentur. Vix Antiochiam predicti Turci subierant, cum sequentis lucis crepusculo magnus

<sup>e</sup> A adds et before equites      <sup>f</sup> mirabili N

30    <sup>a</sup> principes Godefridum Boemundum ceterosque ACHN      <sup>b</sup> inierant H  
<sup>c</sup> menibus C      <sup>d</sup> remanerent N      <sup>e</sup> expugnant N      <sup>f</sup> ACHN add suum after laborem

31    <sup>a</sup> muris E

<sup>67</sup> According to *ChA* Gozelo ('Gosson') was killed in battle at Artah: *ChA*, i. 144–5, lines 2511–14, 2524–5.

<sup>68</sup> The Orontes (al-ʿĀṣī) rises in modern Lebanon and flows through Syria and Turkey, reaching the sea south-west of Antioch at the crusaders' Port of St Symeon.

they were in no way allowed to enter the gates with the Gauls. Many armed men, both cavalry and infantry, were wounded on this side and that in the sudden bombardment of arrows, also mules and horses. The Turks, therefore, seeing that they had not succeeded, and still trusting in their numbers, decided on a siege around the aforesaid city. But the faithful people shut inside remained safe and calm because they had a sufficient supply of food, discovered in the fortress, and the strength of the walls was sure and unassailable. There in the fortress of Artah Gozelo, son of Count Cono, was overtaken by a very great lassitude and after some days departed from life, and from his Christian comrades he received the honourable and Catholic burial which was due to him.<sup>67</sup>

30. Meanwhile it was not long before the great army of Christians hastened on their journey. Spies were lurking among them who saw their chance and withdrew themselves secretly from the army. They reported to the Turks what they had heard and found out about the approach and the plans of the Christian army. These informers, hearing that news from Artah of their comrades' siege had reached the ears of the princes Godfrey, Bohemond, and the rest, and that they had made a plan to rescue them, returned in haste to the Turkish camp, announcing that the Romans, Franks, and Germans were already close and were coming nearer, and the Turks could neither withstand their forces nor be rescued from their hands unless they left the town and returned quickly to their own defences. Yet the Turks were not at all terrified by these dark warnings; their very many thousands made them overconfident and they attacked the city throughout every hour of one day, and worked on many assaults. But they squandered the effort in vain, as the Gauls fought back resolutely from the citadel and the ramparts.

31. Then, when night returned and darkness was falling, they held many councils among themselves, and a plan was devised that as first dawn appeared they would set about returning to the bridge on the river Orontes<sup>68</sup> and they would enter safely the city of Antioch, which was made secure by towers and walls and could not be overcome by human forces, and, with the bridge and river defended from the Christian army, they would not suffer the danger to their lives of being conquered. The aforesaid Turks had only just sneaked into Antioch when, at dusk on the following day, the great army of

exercitus catholicorum<sup>b</sup> in terminos Artesie castra applicuit, illic<sup>c</sup> pernoctans in leticia et iocunditate. Illic ex decreto maiorum mille et quingenti uiri loricati electi<sup>d</sup> ad Artesiam sunt directi<sup>e</sup> ad auxilium confratrum qui erant in arce, ut sic sani et incolumes commixtis uiribus et copiis communi uia minus de hostili impetu solliciti ad exercitum repedarent. Ciuitate Artesia fideli Christianorum tuitione munita, ad exercitum sine ulla offensione sunt reuersi. Rediit<sup>f</sup> et Tancradus ab Alexandria minori et maritimis regionibus, redierunt et uniuersi quibusque<sup>g</sup> locis ad subiugandam terram et castella et ciuitates<sup>h</sup> premissi et dispersi, preter Baldwinum fratrem ducis Godfridi, qui ad meridianam plagam profectus in terram Armenie |  
 361 expugnaturus Turcos, Turbaisel et Rauenel et cetera presidia sue ditioni subiciebat. Idem uero Baldwinus sic de die in diem bellis et triumphis magis ac magis accrescens, ex consilio duodecim prefectorum ciuitatis, uxorem nobilissimam de genere Armenico magnificis et legalibus duxit nuptiis, filiam principis<sup>i</sup> cuiusdam et fratris<sup>j</sup> Costentini, nomine Taphnuz, qui in montanis presidia et munitiones plurimas obtinebat, quorum uniuersorum heredem Baldwinum constituit.<sup>69</sup> Sexaginta etiam milia bisantiorum illi dare spondit, de quibus conuentionem solidorum militibus suis soluens, terram potenter aduersus<sup>k</sup> Turcorum incursus<sup>l</sup> retineret. Spondit quidem, sed tantum septem milia illi dedit, que uero restabant de die in diem differebat. Nuptiis siquidem Baldwini inestimabili apparatu celebratis<sup>m</sup> decretum est consilio maiorum ciuitatis et regionis, ut idem Taphnuz cum genero suo de statu terre et utilitate ciuitatis tractaret, eo quod uir esset prouecte etatis<sup>70</sup> et sanioris consilii, "et sic" se inuicem mutuo honore preuenirent. Quod et actum est.

32. Postquam in unum<sup>a</sup> conuentum congregati sunt,<sup>a</sup> non ultra ab hac die diuisi sunt, propter copias Turcorum inestimabiles, qui a montanis et omni Romania profugi ad urbem Antiochiam que erat<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Christianorum A      <sup>c</sup> ibidem ACHN      <sup>d</sup> N adds et after electi      <sup>e</sup> missi A  
<sup>f</sup> Redit ACHN      <sup>g</sup> quibus N      <sup>h</sup> A adds et after ciuitates      <sup>i</sup> om. H      <sup>j</sup> et  
 fratris cuiusdam A      <sup>k</sup> aduersum H      <sup>l</sup> insidias uel incursus C      <sup>m</sup> celebratis H  
 " " sicque ACHN

32      <sup>a</sup> " conuenerunt congregati ACHN; conuentus congregati sunt E      <sup>b</sup> H adds inestimabilis murorum firmitate et after erat

<sup>69</sup> William of Tyre says Baldwin married the daughter of Taftoc, who was brother to Constantine and son of Reuben (Roupen) of Armenia (WT, p. 453). During the 19th c. the bride was awarded the name 'Arda', but there is no contemporary authority for this: FC, pp. 241-2 n. 7.

Christians pitched camp in the district of Artah, spending the night there in happiness and joy. There on the decree of the leaders one thousand five hundred armoured men were chosen and sent to Artah to the assistance of their comrades who were in the citadel, so that in this way they might retreat safe and sound to the main army with their strength and forces combined, and worry less about enemy attack on the journey together. With the town of Artah defended by the faithful protection of the Christians, they returned to the army without any trouble. Tancred also returned from lesser Alexandria and the coastal regions, and everyone returned from whatever places they had been sent and scattered in order to subdue the land and the castles and the towns, except Baldwin, Duke Godfrey's brother, who had set out from the southerly region into the land of Armenia to conquer the Turks, and was engaged in bringing Turbessel and Ravendel and other fortresses under his authority. This same Baldwin—whose wars and victories were increasing so, more and more, day after day—took in a splendid and legal marriage, on the advice of the twelve senators of the state, a very noble wife from an Armenian family, daughter of a certain prince who was brother of Constantine, called Taphnuz, who occupied many fortresses and defences in the mountains, to all of which he appointed Baldwin his heir.<sup>69</sup> He also promised to give him 60,000 bezants, paying an agreed sum of money out of this for his soldiers, so he would hold the land effectually against Turkish attacks. He promised, but he only gave Baldwin 7,000, putting off from day to day paying the rest he owed. Since Baldwin's wedding had been celebrated with incalculable pomp, it was proclaimed on the advice of the more important men of the city and region that this same Taphnuz should discuss with his son-in-law the situation in the land and the circumstances of the town, because he was a man of advanced age and sensible advice, and so they would hold one another in mutual esteem.<sup>70</sup> And this was done.

32. After they had gathered in one body, from that day onwards they were not separated, because of the Turks' countless forces, who, having fled from the mountains and all Rūm, had hastened for defence to the city of Antioch, which was unassailable. Without

<sup>70</sup> In her notes to *ChA* Duparc-Quioe suggests that the chanson's 'Old Man of the Mountains' is the result of Graindor de Douai's eliding Albert's references to Taphnuz's living in the mountains (previous paragraph) and to his advanced age ('Li Viels de la Montaigne', line 2457), *ChA*, i. 140, 141.

inexpugnabilis pro defensione properauerant. Nec mora episcopus Podiensis Naimerus sermonem ad populum faciens, huiusmodi exhortatione uniuersos paterne ammonuit et docuit, iuxta quod instans necessitas, et creberrima fama uicine nimium Antiochie exigebat. 'O<sup>c</sup> fratres et filii karissimi, Antiochiam ciuitatem nimium uicinam, ut compertum habemus, scitote fundatam murali munitione firmissima, que ferro uel iactu lapidis rescindi non potest, inaudita<sup>d</sup> et insolubilis cementi opere et mole magnorum lapidum<sup>e</sup> constructa. In hac omnes hostes Christiani nominis, Turcos, Sarracenos, Arabitas, e montanis Romanie<sup>f</sup> et ex omni parte a facie nostra fugientes conuenisse procul dubio agnouimus.<sup>g</sup> Vnde cauendum summopere nobis est, non<sup>h</sup> ultra aliquos ex nostris diuisionem facere, nec temere precurrere, sed in communi et unanimi uirtute in crastino usque ad pontem Ferne nos commeare consilio cautissimo diffiniuimus.<sup>71</sup>

- 362 33. Omnis igitur<sup>a</sup> populus uenerabilis sacerdotis ammonitioni adqueuit, et crastino sole exorto, cum sociis ab Artesia receptis, Tancrado, Welfone Buloniense, a maritimis cum<sup>b</sup> uniuersis Gallorum sociis relatis, cum camelis et asinis, <sup>c</sup>et omnibus<sup>c</sup> uehiculis sarcinarum, rerumque necessariarum, in uno commeatu et armorum fiducia usque ad pontem fluuii Ferne, quod dicitur Farfar, profecti sunt, relictis asperis alpibus uallibusque gratissime et opulentissime Romanie. Hac etenim die Robertus Nortmannorum comes<sup>d</sup> prelectus est cum suis milibus exercitum preire sicut mos est in omni exercitu militari, quatenus si aliqua uis aduersariorum latuisset, nunciaretur catholice legionis ducibus et principibus, et<sup>e</sup> ad arma, loricas et parandos cuneos quantocius properarent. Huius inter milia Rotgerus de Barnauilla, Euerardus<sup>f</sup> de Poisat,<sup>72</sup> milites in omni negotio militari laudabiles, signa preferentes equitatum regebant, quousque ad ipsum prenotatum pontem sine dilatione constiterunt. Pons denique iste mirabili arte et antiquo opere in modum arcus formam accepit, subter quem Farfar fluuius Damasci,<sup>73</sup> Ferna<sup>g</sup> uulgariter dictus, cursu rapidissimo alueum perluit. In utraque pontis fronte due prominebant turres, ferro

<sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> inauditi ACHN      <sup>e</sup> N adds magni after lapidum      <sup>f</sup> Romania E  
<sup>g</sup> cognoscimus A; cognouimus H      <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN

33      <sup>a</sup> ergo N      <sup>b</sup> om. H      <sup>c</sup> omnibusque ACHN      <sup>d</sup> princeps A      <sup>e</sup> ut ACHN      <sup>f</sup> Euerhardus ACHN      <sup>g</sup> Farna N

<sup>71</sup> Cf. ChA, lines 2541-7 (i. 146).

<sup>72</sup> Everard III, son of Hugh I of Le Puiset (dépt. Eure-et-Loir, France): see J. La Monte, 'The lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades', *Speculum*, xvii (1942), 100-18, at pp. 100-1.

delay bishop Adhémar of Le Puy, making a speech to the people, gave them all a fatherly warning, and told them, with encouragement of this sort, to which the present emergency and constant news from nearby Antioch were driving him: 'O dearest brothers and sons, be sure that the very nearby town of Antioch, as we have on good authority, is secured with a very strong defensive wall which cannot be broken down with iron or by stone-throwing, being built in an unheard of way, both from indestructible masonry and with a massive structure of great rocks. In it we understand without a doubt that all the enemies of the Christian name, Turks, Saracens, Arabs, have come together, fleeing before us out of the mountains of Rûm and from every direction. For this reason we must be extremely careful not to make any further division of our men, or rashly to go on ahead; but we have made a limited decision, on the wisest advice, that tomorrow we shall travel in one single-minded force as far as the bridge on the Orontes.'<sup>71</sup>

33. All the people, therefore, agreed with the honoured priest's suggestion and at sunrise the next day, with comrades they welcomed from Artah, Tancred and Welf of Boulogne, who had come back from the coastal regions with all the Gaulish comrades, with camels and donkeys and all the waggons of baggage and provisions, they set out in one convoy, confident of their armed strength, to the bridge on the river Orontes, which is called Farfar, leaving behind them the rough, high mountains and valleys of very pleasing, very rich Rûm. On this day, in fact, Robert count of Normandy was appointed to go in advance of the army with his thousands, as is the custom in every well-conducted army, so that if any opposition force had hidden it would be reported to the generals and leaders of the Christian army, and they would hasten to put on weapons and armour and take up battle formations as quickly as possible. In this band, among the thousands, Roger of Barneville and Everard of Le Puiset,<sup>72</sup> praiseworthy knights in every military engagement, were bearing the standards and controlling the cavalry, until they took up position without delay at the aforesaid bridge. This bridge took the form of an arch of wonderful craft and ancient workmanship, beneath which the river Farfar of Damascus,<sup>73</sup> commonly called Orontes, scoured the river bed with its very swift flow. On each side of the bridge two towers overhung, indestructible by iron and perfectly adapted for

<sup>73</sup> Damascus (Dimashq, capital of Syria) is on the river Barada, not the Orontes.

insolubiles et ad resistendum aptissime, in quibus Turcorum semper erat custodia.<sup>74</sup> Subsecuta est societas duum milium peditum uiros egregios, qui etiam ad pontem consistentes<sup>b</sup> minime transire permissi sunt. Nam Turci qui in<sup>i</sup> turribus pontis<sup>j</sup> ad centum defensionis causa constituti erant, fortiter in arcu et sagittarum grandine transire uolentibus obsistebant,<sup>k</sup> equos crebris uulneribus ledebant, sessores equorum trans loricarum tegmina uolatili sagitta plurimos transfigebant.

34. Orta hinc et hinc tam graui contentione hiis transire uolentibus, illis econtra transitum atrociter prohibentibus et adhuc preualentibus, septingenti Turci qui ab Antiochia acciti exierant, uidentes <sup>a</sup>constantiam et<sup>a</sup> defensionem suorum in ponte, in equis celerrimis nimium bello animati aduolantes, uada preoccupant, ne quispiam Christianorum transeundi licentiam obtineat. Equites et pedites |  
363 Christianorum, uidentes copias Turcorum loricorum in fluminis ripa ad resistendum diffusos, diffunduntur et ipsi spaciose altera in ripa, et, utraque parte sagittis uirili conatu intortis et immissis, longa fit concertatio. Homines et equi quamplures confixi in utraque ripa moribundi cadentes deficiebant. Tandem plurimum Turcis preualentibus et sagittarum noticia et luctamine preeuntibus et perdurantibus exercitus fidelium armis et equis paratus ad subueniendum premissis sociis undique accelerabat. Sed nec tunc<sup>b</sup> Turci a ripa recedentes, maluerunt mori quam cedere, incessanti conatu sagittarum transmitti uolentibus obsistentes.

35. Episcopus uero Podiensis, qui audita tam graui contentione magnum precessit exercitum, uidens corda suorum metu fluxa aliquantulum deficere lesione equorum pectorumque suorum transfixione, sermonem iterat, populumque in Dei uiui nomine sic roborat ad defensionem: 'Ne timueritis impetum aduersariorum. State uiriliter, insurgite contra hos canes remordaces.'<sup>a</sup> Iam enim hodie pro uobis pugnabit Deus.<sup>75</sup> Ad hec uerba et monita tam preclari pontificis, facta scutorum testudine, et tectis galea capitibus, indutis

<sup>a</sup> subsistentes *A*      <sup>i</sup> in *om. N*      <sup>j</sup> ponti *H*      <sup>k</sup> resistebant *A*

34    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> constantissimam *A*      <sup>b</sup> tunc *om. A; H* adds quidem after tunc

35    <sup>a</sup> remordentes *A*

<sup>74</sup> Cf. the description of the bridge in *ChA*, lines 2566–8 (i. 148). It is often called the Iron Bridge, a mistranslation of 'pons ferreus' or bridge on the river Far: *GF*, p. 28 n. 1. William of Tyre corrected this mistake (p. 243).

defence, in which there was always a garrison of Turks.<sup>74</sup> A company of two thousand infantry followed after these distinguished men, and they also took up position at the bridge, not being allowed to cross. For the Turks, of whom a hundred or so had been posted in the bridge towers to defend them, were fighting back vigorously with bows and a hail of arrows against those who were wanting to cross; they struck the horses with frequent wounds, they pierced with flying arrows very many of the horses' riders through the covering of their hauberks.

34. A serious a dispute arose on this side and that, with these men wanting to cross, those on the other side fiercely forbidding the crossing and so far winning. Seven hundred Turks, who had been summoned and had come out from Antioch, seeing their men's steadfastness and defence on the bridge, galloped up on swift horses, very excited by the battle, and took possession of the fords to stop any of the Christians from being able to cross. The Christian cavalry and infantry, seeing the forces of armoured Turks spread out for defence on the river banks, themselves spread out widely on the other bank, and, as on both sides arrows were twisted and loosed in bold endeavour, the struggle was a long one. Very many men and horses were shot on both banks and, fatally wounded, were falling and failing. At last when the Turks were emerging very much the winners, and were outdoing and outlasting in the accuracy and effectiveness of their arrows, the army of the faithful, provided with weapons and horses, came quickly from all parts to the assistance of the comrades they had sent in advance. But even then the Turks did not retreat from the bank; they preferred to die rather than to yield, resisting those who wanted to cross with an unceasing assault of arrows.

35. The bishop of Le Puy heard of this very serious conflict, so he went before the great army. He saw that the hearts of his men were weak from fear and failed them a little because of the injuries to the horses and the wounds to their own chests, so he addressed the people and strengthened them for defence in the name of the living God, thus: 'You should not fear the enemy's attack. Stand firm, rise against these tormenting dogs. For now, today, God will fight for you.'<sup>75</sup> At these words and warnings of so distinguished a bishop a shield roof

<sup>75</sup> Exod. 14: 14 and *passim*.

lorica pectoribus, fortiter pontem penetrant. Hostes hastis a ponte retrudentes in fugam conuertunt. Alii, totum uidentes auxilio sibi conuenisse exercitum, nimium freti uada intrantes equis tranant, alii pedibus uadis repertis, transire aquas properant ex desiderio bellum<sup>b</sup> committendi, ictus percussorum et fundibularios sustinentes, <sup>c</sup>et ceco<sup>c</sup> aggressu Turcos impetentes, et a statione effugantes, in altero fluminis sicco litore consistunt. Walo dapifer regis Francie<sup>76</sup> equo et lancea Turcos incurrit. Reinoldus Beluacensis, tiro asperimus, minime iacula sagittantium curans, in medio<sup>d</sup> hostium lancea et gladio precurrens, seuissimas strages operatur. Miscentur utrinque uehementi impetu agmina fidelium et infidelium, et belli labore<sup>e</sup> feruescunt, cedes stragesque crudescunt.<sup>f</sup> Boemundus, Godefridus, Reimundus, Robertus, Rotgerus acies et signa bellica diuersi coloris pulcherrima moderantur, donec Turci equis celerrimis fugam ineuntes Antiochiam sunt reuersi, per deuexa montium et loca sibi nota uiam accelerantes. Christiani uictores, ab insecutione et plurima strage<sup>g</sup> inimicorum reuertentes, nec ulterius hostes<sup>h</sup> insequentes, eo quod nimium proxima menia Antiochie uiderentur, et omnium gentilium uires in ea<sup>i</sup> confluxissent, iuxta fluuium Ferne pernoctauerunt. Predas et spolia | usquequaque<sup>j</sup> contraxerunt, plurimos de exercitu Petri, quos Turci per regionem Antiochie diuiserant, a uinculis excusserunt.<sup>77</sup> Hec nuncia sinistra, <sup>k</sup>et euentum<sup>k</sup> suorum in contraria uersum, Darsianus princeps<sup>78</sup> et caput ciuitatis comperiens, uultu deiecto, corde metu contrito, magnis artatur doloribus quid acturus sit <sup>l</sup>in diuersa<sup>l</sup> mentem<sup>m</sup> uoluens, <sup>n</sup>ne<sup>o</sup> sibi eueniat, quod et Solimanno in amissione urbis Nicee euenit.<sup>79</sup> Nec mora, consiliis creberrimis inuigilans, escas comportare, arma et uires sociorum congregare sine intermissione studet, portas<sup>p</sup> et menia fideli <sup>q</sup>et tuta<sup>q</sup> custodia munire non cessat.

<sup>b</sup> belli ACHN      <sup>c</sup> cecoque ACHN      <sup>d</sup> immedio E      <sup>e</sup> sudore H; sudore deleted, labore inserted A      <sup>f</sup> operantur H      <sup>g</sup> cede A      <sup>h</sup> hostem H      <sup>i</sup> eo N  
<sup>j</sup> undique A      <sup>k</sup> euentumque ACHN      <sup>l</sup> om. H      <sup>m</sup> N adds nolens after mentem      <sup>n</sup> inuoluens H      <sup>o</sup> si H      <sup>p</sup> portam N      <sup>q</sup> om. H

<sup>76</sup> Probably Walo of Chaumont; see ii. 23 above.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *ChA*, lines 2751–5 (i. 156), which further specifies that the freed captives were Germans ('Alemans').

<sup>78</sup> Yaghisiyān had been appointed amir, or ruler, of Antioch by the Saljūq sultan Malik-Shah. In the political fragmentation following Malik-Shah's death in 1092 he had achieved a large degree of practical autonomy: P. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades* (London, 1986), pp. 14–15.

was made, heads were protected by helmets, breasts by hauberks, and they attacked the bridge boldly. The enemy withdrew their lances from the bridge and took flight. Some Christians, seeing that the whole army had come to their aid, put too great reliance on them and they entered the fords and swam their horses across; others, discovering the fords on foot, made haste to cross the waters because they were keen to wage war; although they sustained wounds from blows and slingshots, they attacked the Turks in a blind assault and put them to flight from their position, then they stationed themselves on dry land on the other side of the river. Walo, steward of the king of France,<sup>76</sup> attacked the Turks with horse and lance. Rainald of Beauvais, a very rough recruit, took very little notice of the archers' shafts, and hurried on ahead into the midst of the enemy with lance and sword, engaging in very brutal massacres. The divisions of faithful and infidels were completely mixed up in the violent attack, and they grew hot with the exertion of battle; the slaughter and massacre grew worse. Bohemond, Godfrey, Raymond, Robert, and Roger governed the battle order and the war standards, which were of many colours and very beautiful, until the Turks, taking flight on swiftest horses, turned back to Antioch, speeding their way through the steep mountain slopes and places known to them. The Christian victors turned back from pursuit and very great slaughter of their adversaries, and they chased the enemy no further, because the ramparts of Antioch seemed to be much too near and the forces of all the gentiles had poured in there, and they spent the night next to the river Orontes. They collected plunder and spoils from everywhere and they freed from chains very many of Peter's army, whom the Turks had kept apart all over the region of Antioch.<sup>77</sup> When Yaghi-Siyan,<sup>78</sup> prince and chief of the city, heard this bad news and the turn of events against his men, his expression was downcast, his heart was worn down by fear, and he was weighed down by great sorrows, turning his mind to different solutions, what he should do so that the same thing would not happen to him as had happened to Suleyman when he lost the town of Nicaea.<sup>79</sup> Without delay, brooding over many different plans, he plotted ceaselessly to bring in food, to collect together weapons and troops of allies, and he went on protecting the gates and ramparts with a trusty and safe garrison.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *ChA*, line 2808 (i. 159).

36. Postera illucescente die, dux Godefridus, Boemundus et uniuersi capitanei exercitus exurgentes,<sup>a</sup> armis et loriceis atque galeis rursus<sup>b</sup> induti, iter intermissum ad urbem Antiochiam iterare uniuersos ammonent cum omni necessario apparatu, et omni genere armentorum, 'et uehiculis<sup>c</sup> cibariorum, quibus tantus opus habet<sup>d</sup> exercitus. Hiis in unum conglobatis et uie preparatis, prouidus antistes in hoc modo loquitur, dicens: 'Viri fratres et filii dilectissimi, uerba que ad uos refero diligenter uos audire et adtendere non pigeat. Vrbs Antiochia proxima est 'et uicina nobis.<sup>e</sup> Quatuor inter nos et hanc sunt miliaria. Hec urbs mirifica est<sup>f</sup> opus nobis<sup>g</sup> inauditum regis Antiochi,<sup>80</sup> immanissimis saxis et turribus fundata, quarum numerus trecente sexaginta computatur. In hac Sansodoniam<sup>h</sup> filium regis Darsiani principem fortissimum dominari scimus, et ammiraldos quatuor nobilissimos ac<sup>i</sup> potentissimos<sup>j</sup> acsi reges ex imperio Darsiani accitos conuenisse comperimus, et se suosque pre timore aduentus nostri in manu forti preuidisse et armasse. Horum nomina sunt Adorsonius,<sup>k</sup> Copatrix, Rosseleon,<sup>l</sup> Cazcornuz.<sup>m 81</sup> Quorum omnium Darsianus rex caput et dominus esse refertur. Hii quatuor ammiraldi,<sup>n</sup> ex triginta ciuitatibus que in circuitu longe lateque ad Antiochiam pertinentes regi Darsiano tributarie suberant, quatuor ditiores dono et gratia ipsius Darsiani in beneficio tenent, singuli singulas cum centum castellis, qua de causa nunc ammoniti ab ipso Darsiano, rege Syrie et totius Armenie, non in<sup>o</sup> modica uirtute ad defendendam<sup>p</sup> urbem dominam harum omnium urbium et regnorum aduenisse perhibentur. Vnde et nobis necesse est ut caute et ordinate ambulemus.<sup>82</sup> Sero ut notis commisimus bellum. Fatigati sumus, | equi exhausti uiribus sunt. Godefridus dux, Boemundus, Reinardus de Tul, Petrus de Stadeneis, Euerardus de Poisat, Tancredus, Warnerus<sup>q</sup> de Greis, Henricus<sup>r</sup> de Ascha<sup>s</sup> ad conducendum et regendum exercitum in fronte precedant, factis aciebus. Robertus Flandriensis Robertusque comes Nortmannorum, Stephanus Blesensis, Reimundus comes,

36 <sup>a</sup> euigilantes uel exurgentes C <sup>b</sup> om. N <sup>c</sup> uehiculisque ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> haberet ACHN <sup>e</sup> nobisque uicina ACHN <sup>f</sup> et ACEHN <sup>g</sup> om. A  
<sup>h</sup> Sansodoniam H <sup>i</sup> et HN <sup>j</sup> fortissimos N <sup>k</sup> Adorsonis N <sup>l</sup> Roselelon A  
<sup>m</sup> Cazcornutus ACH; Carcornutus <sup>n</sup> admiral-, E here and below <sup>o</sup> om. N  
<sup>p</sup> defendendam H <sup>q</sup> Warner- A here, but Werner- later <sup>r</sup> Henricus AE, later  
<sup>s</sup> Asca HN, later

<sup>80</sup> Antioch was founded by Seleucus I Nicator c.300 BCE and named for his father.

<sup>81</sup> Shams al-Dawla is thought to have been in Damascus at this time, raising reinforcements. When he set out to relieve his father he was accompanied by Duqāq and

36. When the following day dawned Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, and all the captains of the army got up and put on their weapons and hauberks and helmets again, and told everyone to resume their interrupted journey to the city of Antioch with all the necessary equipment and all the kinds of livestock and the cartloads of food of which so great an army has need. When these men were assembled and ready for the journey the prudent bishop spoke to them in this way, saying: 'Men, most beloved brothers and sons, do not be reluctant to listen carefully and take heed of the things I am saying to you. The city of Antioch is very near and close to us. There are four miles between us and the town. This wonderful city is the incredible work of King Antiochus,<sup>80</sup> built with most enormous rocks and towers, reckoned to number three hundred and sixty. We know that Sansadonias, son of King Yaghi-Siyan, rules as very strong prince in this city, and we have found out that four amirs, very noble and very powerful as if they were kings, have been summoned and have come together at Yaghi-Siyan's command, and they and their men, because of their fear of our approach, have taken warning and have armed in a strong force. Their names are Adorsonius, Copatrix, Rosseleon, Cazcornuz.<sup>81</sup> King Yaghi-Siyan is reported to be head and lord of all of them. These four amirs, out of thirty states from far and wide around, which belong to Antioch and have submitted as tributaries to King Yaghi-Siyan, hold four of the more wealthy in benefice by gift and favour of Yaghi-Siyan himself, each one with a hundred castles. Because of this they have now been summoned in considerable strength by Yaghi-Siyan himself, king of Syria and all Armenia, to defend the city, mistress of all these cities and realms, and they are said to have arrived. And so we must proceed in a careful and orderly fashion.<sup>82</sup> We joined battle, as you know, late in the day. We are tired and our horses' strength is exhausted. Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, Rainald of Toul, Peter of Astenois, Everard of Le Puiset, Tancred, Warner of Grez, and Henry of Esch are going ahead to bring together and control the army in the vanguard when the battle order has been drawn up. Robert of Flanders and Robert count of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, Count Raymond, Tatikios, member of the emperor of

Tughtigin and a sizeable army. The amirs named by Albert in this passage do not equate to any known historical figures, and one of them, 'Rosseleon', seems to be the fabulous 'Rouge Lion' of *ChA* (*passim* i. 242-443).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. 1 Macc. 6: 40.

Tatinus familiaris imperatoris Constantinopolis, Adam filius Michaelis,<sup>83</sup> Rotgerus de Barnauilla, si gratum foret consilium extremas acies equitum et peditum moderantes<sup>c</sup> tueantur.<sup>d</sup>

37. Hoc itaque consilio, cunctis ab antistite et ceteris uiris astutis ordinatis, regia uia usque ad ipsos muros horribilis Antiochie unanimiter in splendore clipeorum aurei coloris, uiridis, rubei, cuiusque generis, et in signis erectis, auro distinctis, omni opere ostreo uisu decoris, in equis bello aptissimis, in loriceis et galeis splendidissimis proficiscuntur, tabernacula potenter extendentes iuxta locum qui dicitur Altalon.<sup>84</sup> Illic pomeria et arbores diuersi generis in securi et ascia succisas extirpauerunt,<sup>85</sup> terram protensis papilionibus occupantes. Hiis locatis, certatim indulgent operi ciborum, cornibus mille et mille perstreptentes, prediis et pabulis equorum undique insistentes, quorum fragor et strepitus usque ad terminum miliarii ferme posse audiri referebatur. Nec mirum, cum numerus tanti exercitus trecentis milibus<sup>86</sup> uirorum pugnatorum ab uniuersis proculdubio computaretur, absque sexu femineo, et pueris sequentibus quorum milia plurima esse uidebantur. In hoc Christianorum aduentu et obsidione recenti, illo die tanto silentio urbs conqueuit, ut nec sonus nec strepitus ab urbe audiretur, et uacua urbs<sup>a</sup> a defensoribus crederetur, cum feta nimis armis et gentilibus<sup>b</sup> copiis in omnibus turribus et presidiis redundasset.

366 38. Dies<sup>a</sup> Mercurii erat,<sup>a 87</sup> quando ingressi sunt terram Antiochie et muros illius obsederunt. Hac die, Tancradus primus secus Altalon sedem ponit.<sup>b</sup> Iuxta | hunc Rotgerus de Barnauilla socius augetur. Adam filius Michaelis iuxta cum suis sequacibus ordinatur, ne hac in parte Turcis aliqua necessaria inferantur. Ad portam uero que respicit ad Persidem plagam<sup>88</sup> ubi<sup>c</sup> iuga montium deficere incipiunt Boemundus cum robustorum manu locum occupat, ibique firmato presidio tutus morabatur. Tatinus uero familiaris imperatoris aliquantulum

<sup>c</sup> om. A

37 <sup>a</sup> ciuitas ACHN <sup>b</sup> gentiliū H; gentibus N

38 <sup>a</sup> " quarte ferie illuxit ACHN <sup>b</sup> posuit A <sup>c</sup> ibi N

<sup>83</sup> Not identified, but cf. *ChA*, the 'twelve couplets' printed after the main text, line 10 (i. 471), where 'Adan le fil Michiel' precedes Tancred and Bohemond in the list of barons.

<sup>84</sup> Not identified.

<sup>85</sup> In a note to the parallel passage in William of Tyre (p. 252), Huygens points out that

Constantinople's household, Adam son of Michael,<sup>83</sup> Roger of Barneville—if the plan is acceptable—will govern and protect the rearmost battle lines of cavalry and infantry.<sup>7</sup>

37. So, according to this plan, when everyone had been positioned by the bishop and the other shrewd men, they set out of one accord on the royal road to the very walls of dreadful Antioch, splendid with their shields of gold colour, green, red, and every shade, and with their banners held high, picked out in gold and visibly ornamented with all kinds of workmanship in royal purple, on horses very suitable for war, wearing quite magnificent hauberks and helmets. They put up their tents in strength next to the place which is called Altalon.<sup>84</sup> There they cut down apple trees and trees of other kinds with axe and hatchet and uprooted them,<sup>85</sup> taking over the ground with their swelling tents. When these were pitched they eagerly indulged in the business of nourishment, making a lot of noise with thousands of horns, everywhere pursuing plunder and horse fodder. Their din and noise, it was reported, could be heard almost as far as a mile away. No wonder, when the number of so great an army may be reckoned by all beyond doubt at three hundred thousand<sup>86</sup> fighting men, not counting women and children following, of whom there seemed to be very many thousand. At this approach of the Christians and fresh siege the city was quiet that day with such a great silence that neither sound nor noise could be heard from the city, and the city might be thought to be empty of defenders when in fact it was overflowing, full of very many weapons and gentile troops in all its towers and fortresses.

38. It was Wednesday<sup>87</sup> when they entered the land of Antioch and besieged its walls. On that day Tancred first took up position beside Altalon. Next to him his ally Roger of Barneville was added. Adam son of Michael was stationed next to him with his followers, so that no supplies could be brought in by the Turks on this side. Then at the gate which looked back towards the Persian plain,<sup>88</sup> where the mountain ridges began to run out, Bohemond took up his place with a band of hardy men, and there, with his position established, he stayed

the cutting down of orchards during a siege, though common enough, was contrary to Scripture: Deut. 20: 19–20.

<sup>86</sup> The early editions had six hundred thousand, a figure for which there is no authority in extant manuscripts. Since Albert had written of only four hundred thousand at Nicaea (ii. 25) it appears a copyist's mistake undermined his veracity.

<sup>87</sup> 21 Oct. 1097 (*GF*, p. 28).

<sup>88</sup> William of Tyre says it is 'now' called St Paul's Gate (*WT*, p. 251).

remotius ab urbe in campo Combrus nomine tentorium fixit, semper fuge intentus.<sup>89</sup> Ante eundem Tatinum Baldwinus comes Hainaicorum<sup>d</sup> sedem posuit cum sua manu. Robertus dehinc Nortmannorum comes, Robertus Flandriensis ad obsidendos muros cum omni sua militia ordinantur. Stephanus Blesensis pariter ad cingendam urbem iuxta predictos principes suo sedit in ordine. Hugo Magnus regis Francie Philippi frater similiter cum suis sociis ad hanc obsidionem consedit.<sup>90</sup> Vrbs hec Antiochia ut aiunt ad plenum duo in longitudine continet miliaria, unum et semi<sup>e</sup> in latitudine, quam prefluit amnis prefatus Farfar, muris et turribus occupatus, quorum quarumque munimen et opus usque in supercilium montis extenditur, ubi principalior arx et magistra urbis et omnium turrium fundata preminet. In circuitu huius<sup>f</sup> arcis quatuor insuperabiles turres posite ob custodiam medie arcis in medio sedentis referuntur, quarum prefati ammiraldi quatuor semper custodes et defensores regis Darsiani attitulati sunt.

39. Adhuc ad ipsam Antiochiam obsidendam quam tam spaciosam audistis ad portam que dicitur Waiferii<sup>a</sup> <sup>91</sup> a modernis, que insuperabilis est, ipse antistes assidet, sociato sibi comite Reimundo, cum quibus Prouinciales et<sup>b</sup> Wascones, et omnes sequaces eorum consederunt. In loco ulteriori, ubi postea pons ex nauium copulatione constructus est, Godefridus dux super ripam fluminis portam unam ciuitatis<sup>92</sup> cum innumeris milibus Lotharingis,<sup>c</sup> Saxonibus, Alemanis, Bawariis, gladio seuissimis obsedit. Cum duce eodem Reinardus de Tul, Petrus de Stadeneis qui Mamistre a Baldwino fratre ducis sequestrati ad exercitum et ducem redierunt. Cono etiam de Monte Acuto, Heinricus de Ascha, fraterque eius Godefridus milites semper hostibus infestissimi ad prohibendum Turcis introitum et egressum pariter consederunt. Hiis frequentior et maior labor incumbabat.

367 40. Super hunc predictum amnem qui longissimo alueo usque in mare protenditur, preterlabens muros, ab ipsa urbe pons porrigitur

<sup>d</sup> Hainaicorum *H*      <sup>e</sup> semis *ACHN*      <sup>f</sup> eius *N*

39    <sup>a</sup> Waifarui *H*; Warferui *N*      <sup>b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> Lotharingiis *A*

<sup>89</sup> Only Albert and *ChA* give Tatikios' position: the chanson says 'en un camp qui plains est de sablon' (line 2920 (i. 166)). However, while Albert refers to his future flight, in the chanson he still 'ot cuer de lion'. Combrus has not been identified.

<sup>90</sup> Albert's description of the disposition of the blockading forces is largely supported by Radulf of Caen (*RC*, pp. 641-3). For an analysis and plan, see France, *Victory*, pp. 225-6 and 221, fig. 8.

in safety. Then Tatikios, of the emperor's household, pitched his tent a little further from the city on the plain called Combrus, all the time intending to flee.<sup>89</sup> In front of that same Tatikios Baldwin count of Hainaut took up position with his contingent. Next Robert count of the Normans and Robert of Flanders were appointed to lay siege to the walls with all their military company. Stephen of Blois was likewise settled in his place to surround the city next to the princes already mentioned. Hugh the Great, brother of King Philip of France, in the same way took up position with his allies at this siege.<sup>90</sup> This city of Antioch, so they say, is fully two miles in length, one and a half in width. The aforesaid river Farfar flows past it and embraces walls and towers, whose defence and siege work extends right to the ridge of the mountain where a more important citadel stands, established as mistress of the city and of all the towers. Around this fortress are said to be positioned the four insuperable towers, for the purpose of guarding the middle citadel in their midst, and they have given their names to the four amirs mentioned above, who were always King Yaghi-Siyan's guardians and defenders.

39. The bishop himself also assisted at the besieging of that same Antioch, which you have heard is so large, at the gate which is called *Waiferii*<sup>91</sup> by modern people, which is unconquerable. Count Raymond was allied with him, and with them Provençals and Gascons and all their followers took up position. In a further place, where afterwards a bridge was built by joining ships, Duke Godfrey besieged one gate of the town on the bank of the river,<sup>92</sup> with countless thousands of Lotharingians, Saxons, Swabians, Bavarians, murderously fierce. With this same duke were Rainald of Toul and Peter of Astenois, who had been separated from Baldwin the duke's brother at Mamistra and had returned to the army and the duke. Cono of Montaigu, Henry of Esch, and his brother Godfrey, soldiers always very dangerous to the enemy, likewise took up position to forbid entry and egress to the Turks. The more frequent and greater task fell to these men.

40. Over this river we mentioned, which reached right to the sea through a very long channel, flowing past the walls, a stone bridge

<sup>89</sup> William of Tyre calls it the Dog Gate ('porta canis'), p. 252. The name is possibly a corruption of 'Farfari', from the colloquial name for the river, or a mishearing of line 2910 in the *ChA* (l.165): 'vers pont de Fer'.

<sup>92</sup> Later called the 'porta ducis': cf. WT, p. 252.

lapideus, opus antiquum sed minime turratum, qui prorsus terminata legione hac ex parte inobsessus remansit. Per hunc siquidem pontem sepius Turci egrediebantur, et necessaria, uidente exercitu, cum suis erumpentes et remeantes inferebant, et populum Iesu Christi per regiones et montana dispersum ad querendum uictum uel pabula equorum, eodem ponte emissi frequenter illius dispersione comperta trucidabant. Similiter ab ipsa porta Waiferii quam presul Naimerus Reimundusque obseruabant, pons alius etiam<sup>a</sup> infestus, ingenio<sup>b</sup> antiquorum fundatus, porrigitur trans paludem quandam satis lutulentam et profundissimam ex impetu et inundatione assidui fontis iuxta urbem extra muros emanantis. Per hunc pontem interdum exercitui<sup>c</sup> insidiarum oblito, aut in die aut noctis in obscuro, Turci egredientes sagittas intorquebant, aut in impetu aliquos gladio<sup>d</sup> percutiebant, subitoque recursu per eundem pontem in urbis presidium euadebant. Huius<sup>e</sup> pontis infestationem episcopus et omnis primatus conquerens, inito consilio, ad eius destructionem conspirauerunt,<sup>f</sup> ac die statuto cum instrumento malleorum ferreorum, cum lignibus et securibus a castris exilierunt, sed nequaquam uis eorum in huius pontis dampnatione<sup>g</sup> preualuit. Erat enim opus insolubile, antiquorum cementis et ingeniis fundatam. Hinc frustrato in conamine malleorum exercitu, machinam ex strue lignorum et<sup>h</sup> uimineo opere intextam componere principes decreuerunt, cuius ligaturas ferro fabricatas et connexas coriis equinis, taurinis,<sup>i</sup> camelinis operuerunt, ne igne cum pice et sulphure iniecto a Turcis combureretur.<sup>93</sup> Hanc uero perfectam usque in medium pontem ad portam Waiferii uiloricorum deducentes, Reimundum comitem custodem et magistrum machine constituerunt.

41. Turci hac uisa structura ad menia contententes, sagittis et manganarum iactu in ponte luctantes Gallos ferunt, quatenus sic percussos a ponte et machina arcere ualerent. Similiter ex aduerso  
 368 Christiani in sagittis et baleari arcu | resistentes, fortiter hostes in

40 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> A adds etiam before ingenio <sup>c</sup> exercitu N <sup>d</sup> om. A  
<sup>e</sup> Cuius H <sup>f</sup> conspirarunt A <sup>g</sup> dampnationem ACHN <sup>h</sup> om. N <sup>i</sup> N adds  
 et before taurinis

<sup>93</sup> The engine is described in the *ChA*, lines 3211–8 (*ChA*, i. 179–80).

stretched from the city itself, of ancient workmanship but not much turreted, and this bridge remained entirely unbesieged on this side, as the army finished before it. In fact the Turks used to come out frequently across the bridge and, with the army watching, they broke through with their men and came back, bringing in supplies, and they were often sent out by that same bridge and slaughtered the people of Jesus Christ who had scattered through the districts and the mountains to look for sustenance or fodder for the horses, because the Turks realized they were scattered in this way. In the same way, from that very *Waiferii* gate which bishop Adhémar and Raymond were watching, another bridge was also dangerous, built by the genius of the ancients, stretching across a certain marsh, muddy enough and very deep from the rush and flooding of a spring which flowed incessantly next to the city outside the walls. Now and then the Turks would come out across this bridge, either in daylight or in the darkness of night, and would hurl arrows at the army who had forgotten their ambushes, or they would put some to the sword in a charge, and would escape by a hasty retreat across that same bridge into the protection of the city. The bishop and the entire leadership, complaining bitterly about the problem of this bridge, took counsel and plotted for its destruction, and on the appointed day they provided themselves with iron hammers, mattocks, and axes and left the camp. But their strength was in no way powerful enough for the ruin of this bridge. For it was an indestructible piece of craftsmanship, built with the masonry and skill of the ancients. When the army was thwarted here in its attempt with hammers, the princes ordered them to build a siege engine from a pile of timbers and interweave it with wickerwork. Its ties were made of iron and connected; then they covered them with the skins of horses, of bulls, of camels, so that the engine would not be set alight by the Turks throwing on fire with pitch and sulphur.<sup>93</sup> When they had finished this engine they brought it right down onto the middle of the bridge at the *Waiferii* gate by means of a force of armoured men, and they appointed Count Raymond guardian and master of the engine.

41. When they saw this structure the Turks hurried to the ramparts and struck the Gauls with arrows and by firing ballistas as they struggled on the bridge, so that they could keep the men off the bridge and the engine by thus striking them. Similarly from the other side the Christians were fighting back with arrows and crossbows,

menibus impugnant, quousque filium cuiusdam ammiraldi sagitta trans iecur perfodiunt. Illius uero interitu et fidelium repugnatione Turci indignati, ampliori ira feruescunt, et tandem in unum collecto robore suorum, repente portam aperientes egressi uiriliter machinam assiliunt, custodes subito instant et expugnant, ignem<sup>a</sup> piceasque faces, et sulfureum fomentum fortiter machine ingerunt, totam eam in fauillam redigentes.<sup>94</sup> Custodes uero<sup>b</sup> machine periculum uite sue metuentes, licet inuiti exire coguntur in fugam precipites uix defensi et elapsi. Peregrinorum autem<sup>c</sup> milites et principes uidentes se hac arte nil proficere, sequenti die instrumenta trium manganarum opponunt ponti, que portam Waiferii et turrim porte eiusque menia crebro iactu et impetu saxorum quaterent et attererent, murosque exteriores qui erant ante murale in plurima frustra<sup>d</sup> minuerunt, quod Franci *barbicanas* uocant.<sup>95</sup> Sed nec sic in contritione porte preualuerunt. Cum uero nil<sup>e</sup> proficerent, quadam die ex communi consilio robora arborea ingentia,<sup>f</sup> et uix<sup>f</sup> mobilia et saxa miri ponderis et<sup>g</sup> magnitudinis, in uirtute et conatu mille loricatorum trans pontem porte aduoluerunt, impedimento Turcis exire et nocere uolentibus.

42. Ex hiis ambobus pontibus cum plurima damna et incursiones exercitui Christianorum ingruerent, sed nunc porta et ponte Waiferii robore lignorum et saxis immanissimis occupato et obstructo, frequentius ex eo ponte quem in altera parte ciuitatis trans fluuium Farfar locatum diximus, de quo Turcorum egressus erat, insidie fierent ad perdendos fideles, et qui pre urbis amplitudine inobsessus remanserant, pontem ex nauibus componi<sup>a</sup> constituerunt<sup>b</sup> in funium retinaculis, per quem ad portum Symeonis heremite<sup>96</sup> liberum iter haberent. Nam antea lento nauigio ex utraque ripa expectantes singillatim et tarde transibant. Nunc uero hac de causa pons iste naualis constructus est, ut egressis Turcis per pontem lapideum Farfar in insidias Christianorum per hunc ligneum pontem Galli

41 <sup>a</sup> igneam C    <sup>b</sup> autem ACHN    <sup>c</sup> itaque ACHN    <sup>d</sup> frustra H    <sup>e</sup> nichil A  
<sup>f</sup> uixque ACHN    <sup>g</sup> ac CHN

42 <sup>a</sup> componere N    <sup>b</sup> statuerunt uel constituerunt C

<sup>94</sup> The attack on the siege engine is recounted in vivid detail in *ChA*, including the use of Greek fire (lines 3253–73). After this episode the two narratives diverge: see Duparc-Quoic's note, i. 182.

<sup>95</sup> Ducange, s.v. 'barbacana', gives 1163 as first usage; he lists Albert as first to use 'barbicana'. He further suggests an Arabic origin for the word. Cf. RC, p. 641.

attacking the enemy on the ramparts vigorously, till they pierced the son of a certain amir with an arrow through the liver. The Turks, angry at his death and at the Christians' resistance, raged more furiously, and at last, when they had gathered their forces together, they suddenly opened the gate and sallied forth. Once out they vigorously leapt upon the siege engine and at once pursued and overcame the guards. They boldly hurled into the machine fire and torches of pitch, and warm sulphur, reducing the whole thing to ashes.<sup>94</sup> The guards of the machine, fearing for their lives, were forced to come out, although unwilling, and they only just managed to protect themselves and escape in headlong flight. The soldiers and princes of the pilgrims, moreover, seeing they were getting nowhere, on the next day set the equipment of three ballistas before the bridge, which would shatter and wear away the *Waiferii* gate and its tower and its ramparts with repeated bombardment and attacks with rocks, and would weaken the outer walls, which stood before the walls and which the Franks call barbicans,<sup>95</sup> into very many pieces. But they were not able to break down the gate in this way. Since nothing was of any use, one day they decided on a plan together and, using the strength and effort of a thousand armoured men, they rolled across the bridge to the gate some enormous oak trees, scarcely movable, and boulders of extraordinary weight and size as an obstacle to the Turks who wanted to come out and do them harm.

42. Very many injuries and attacks had assailed the army of Christians from both these bridges, but now, the *Waiferii* gate and bridge being filled and blocked by the strength of timber and by enormous rocks, ambushes were set more often to destroy the faithful from that bridge which was in another part of the town across the river Farfar (we have described its position) by which there was a way out for the Turks and which remained unbesieged because of the size of the town. The Christians, therefore, decided to construct a bridge out of boats with rope ties, by means of which they would have free access to the port of St Symeon the hermit.<sup>96</sup> For previously they had crossed over from one bank to the other one by one and slowly on a sluggish boat, watching anxiously. Now, this boat bridge was built for this reason, so that when the Turks had set out across the stone bridge over the Farfar to ambush Christians, the

<sup>96</sup> Ancient Seleucia Pieria, now Çevlik, south-west of Antioch on the coast (prov. Hatay, Turkey).

festinanter occurrentes suis subuenirent a portu maris escas afferentibus, et Turcos sine mora repellerent. A ponte lapideo predicti fluminis usque ad pontem nauium funibus et uimineis cratibus aptatum dimidium miliare computatur.

369 43. Ponte autem ex nauium collectione et coniunctione perfecto, Christiani tam milites quam pedites quadam die trecenti transmeant fluuium Farfar ad querenda pabula equorum et uictui necessaria. Quod Turci agnoscentes, et a menibus speculantes, per pontem urbis<sup>a</sup> lapideum raptim sociis collectis, armis et faretris<sup>b</sup> sumptis,<sup>c</sup> in equo pariter exeuntes, ex improviso assunt Christianis in tergo ad pabula missis. Quorum plurima corpora amputatis capitibus humi prostrata reliquerunt, ceteros quibus fugiendi facultas erat, usque ad nouum pontem insecuntur. Felices, qui tam crudeles hostes euadere potuerunt. Alii ad uada contendentes undis perituri inuoluti suffocantur a facie Turcorum fugientes, quibus pons nouus pre multitudine transeuntium<sup>d</sup> negabatur.

44. Hoc tam graue infortunium ad proceres exercitus ut est peruentum, ad quinque ferme milia armati, quamplures lorica induti et equis insidentes e tentoriis aduolant, ad reprimendos hostes temerarios. Heinricus filius Fredelonis de Ascha castello,<sup>97</sup> audius hostes insequi, sicut erat bello et actis nominatissimus, trans flumen equo naut, licet lorica et galea<sup>a</sup> et clipeo<sup>a</sup> grauatus. Nam transitum naualis pontis pre longa mora expectare nequiebat. Caput uero huius temere uada intrantis cum equo fluctus profundissimi operuerunt. <sup>b</sup>Sed tamen, <sup>b</sup>Deo protegente cuius gratia uitam<sup>c</sup> opponebat periculo, uiuens et sospes in equo adhuc residens cum ceteris tranantibus siccum litus recepit, et in persecutione Turcorum nimium perdurans, usque ad ipsum urbis pontem socios equites et pedites imperterritus insequi adhortatur.<sup>d</sup> Turci itaque alii retenti sunt, alii uix elapsi, socias uires que erant ad pontem Farfar et in porta conglobate ad auxilium sibi <sup>e</sup>magno fragore uociferationis<sup>e</sup> excierunt.<sup>f</sup> Equosque et frena in exitu et fremitu subuenientium reicientes, Gallos hactenus se

43 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> pharetris ACHN <sup>c</sup> assumptis A <sup>d</sup> fugientium A

44 <sup>a</sup> clipeoque ACHN <sup>b</sup> attamen ACHN <sup>c</sup> om. N <sup>d</sup> hortatur A  
<sup>e</sup> magna uociferatione A <sup>f</sup> excierunt A

<sup>97</sup> While not himself a crusader, Fredelo figures in the background not only as father of Henry and Godfrey, but also as accomplice of Giselbert of Clermont in the depredations which upset the prince-bishop of Liège and indirectly led to Giselbert's participation in the expedition: see above, iii. 16, and Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 48.

Gauls would run hastily across this wooden bridge and help their men who were bringing food supplies from the seaport, and would drive back the Turks without delay. The distance from the stone bridge over the Farfar to the bridge of boats equipped with ropes and a wicker framework was half a mile.

43. Now, when they had finished making the bridge by bringing and joining together boats, three hundred Christians, both knights and foot soldiers, crossed the river Farfar one day to look for fodder for the horses and for vital supplies. The Turks, realizing this, and watching from the ramparts, hastily assembled allies, took weapons and quivers, and mounted their horses to sally forth likewise across the stone bridge of the city, and they appeared unexpectedly behind the Christians sent out to forage. They left very many of the Christians' bodies thrown to the ground with their heads cut off; they pursued others, who had the opportunity to flee, all the way to the new bridge. Lucky men, who were able to escape so cruel an enemy. Others who were making for the fords because the new bridge was denied to them on account of the great number of people fleeing, were suffocated when the current swept them away to die as they fled before the Turks.

44. When news of this great disaster reached the army chiefs nearly five thousand armed, as many put on hauberks, and they swept out of the tents on horseback to force back the audacious enemy. Henry, son of Fredelo<sup>97</sup> of the castle of Esch, keen to pursue the enemy, as he was very famous in warfare and deeds, swam across the river on horseback although he was weighed down by hauberk and helmet and shield, for he could not wait to cross the ship bridge because of the long delay. The very deep waters closed over his head as he recklessly entered the waves with his horse. Nevertheless, with God protecting him, whose favour placed life before danger, he reached dry land alive and unhurt and still sitting on his horse, along with the others who swam across, and, continuing tenaciously in the pursuit of the Turks, he was undaunted as he urged his comrades, cavalry and infantry, to chase them right to that very town bridge. And so some of the Turks were held back, others escaped with difficulty, and they summoned to their aid with a loud noise of shouting their allied forces who were gathered at the Farfar bridge and on the gate. And in the rush and noise of the relieving troops they were giving their horses their heads, and they turned into a serious rout the Gauls who had up till then been

insectantes in fugam grauissimam retulerunt, usque ad ipsum pontem quem ex nauibus composuerunt. Hac remordatione et inundatione Turcorum grauissima, et celeri fuga ac<sup>g</sup> reuersione<sup>h</sup> Christianorum ad pontem, plurimi peditum interierunt, a Turcis sagitta confixi. Plures  
 370 post terga mortem mo|mentaneam uidentes sola aqua liberari sperantes undis<sup>i</sup> profundi fluminis inferuntur. Quorum non modica pars ab amne submersa et suffocata periclitari et mori uisa est. Alii uero e<sup>j</sup> ponte pre pressura fugientium cum ipsis equis et<sup>k</sup> galeis et<sup>l</sup> lorice<sup>m</sup> corruiebant, qui submersi undis et extincti non ultra reperti sunt.

45. Sic Turcis sepe <sup>a</sup>a porta et ponte hoc<sup>a</sup> ad nocendum populis egredientibus, et a porta hac per quam postea urbs est tradita que sursum in montanis sita exitum prebebat, principes exercitus consilium inierunt, quatenus Tancradus illic locato presidio custodiam ageret, et ab utraque porta Turcos egredi audentes repente reprimeret. <sup>b</sup>Et hac<sup>b</sup> pro custodia per singulos menses in conuentione quadraginta marcas argenti<sup>c</sup> ab exercitu reciperet. Qui dum die quadam in presidio in montanis locato iuxta aras Turcorum custodiam ageret trans fluuium Farfar, eo scilicet in loco quo longe ab urbe fere semimiliario alueum<sup>d</sup> proluit, Turcos sicuti erant soliti uada transeuntes fortiter incurrit, ac<sup>e</sup> cum eis prelio commisso, tandem preualens, quatuor ex Turcis gladio occidit, ceteros trans flumen in fugam remisit, usque ad locum quo armenta illorum<sup>f</sup> herbis pascebantur. Hiis trans<sup>g</sup> flumen fugatis, predam de armentis cum camelo uno abduxit, et ad presidium nouum quod firmauerat in uictoria hac reuersus est.

46. Hiis duabus portis una uersus montana, altera ad pontem lapideum Tancradi custodia obseruatis,<sup>a</sup> et Christiano exercitu sedato et<sup>b</sup> a rebus bellicis aliquantulum securo, <sup>c</sup>et aliquibus<sup>c</sup> sociis interdum aleis pre otio intendentibus, contigit quadam die filium comitis Cuonradi<sup>d</sup> de Luezelenburch,<sup>e</sup> Adelberonem nomine clericum et archidiaconum Metensis ecclesie,<sup>98</sup> iuuenem nobilissimum de regio

<sup>g</sup> om. A; et H      <sup>h</sup> om. A      <sup>i</sup> undi C      <sup>j</sup> a C      <sup>k</sup> om. A      <sup>l</sup> ac CHN  
<sup>m</sup> lorica H

45      <sup>a</sup> a ponte hoc et a porta H      <sup>b</sup> Hacque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> alueum AC  
<sup>e</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> eorum A      <sup>g</sup> ultra ACHN

46      <sup>a</sup> seruatis A      <sup>b</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> aliquibusque ACHN      <sup>d</sup> Cunradi AC;  
 Cûnradi H; Conradi N      <sup>e</sup> Lûzelenburg C

<sup>98</sup> A. V. Murray observes that the name Adalbero had been considered auspicious for bishops since the time of Adalbero, bishop of Augsburg (d. 909), and was apt to be given to

pursuing them, driving them back to the very bridge they had made of ships. Very many infantry died, shot by Turkish arrows in this severe harrying and driving into the water by the Turks, and the swift flight and retreat of the Christians to the bridge. Many at the rear, seeing that death was imminent and putting their only hope of escape in the water, were carried into the waves of the deep river. Not a few of them were seen to be submerged by the water and to risk drowning and death. Others, with their very horses and shields and hauberks, were falling from the bridge because of the pressure from those fleeing, and they sank under the waters and died, and were never seen again.

45. With the Turks making these frequent sorties to harm the Christians from the gate and this bridge, and from the gate through which the city was afterwards betrayed, which was placed to provide an exit up into the mountains, the princes of the army took counsel and decided that Tancred should keep watch there in a specially positioned garrison post, and force back any Turks who dared to come out from either gate. And for this watch duty he would receive from the army every month the agreed sum of 40 marks in silver. One day while he was keeping watch across the river Farfar at the post in the mountains next to the Turks' sacred sites, that is to say in the place where the river channel was almost half a mile from the city, he attacked the Turks in strength while they were crossing in their accustomed way, and joined battle with them, in which he eventually prevailed, killing four of the Turks with the sword and sending the rest fleeing back across the river to the place where their herds were grazing. When these had been put to flight across the river he carried off booty from the herds, along with one camel, and returned in triumph to the new garrison post which he had established.

46. With Tancred keeping watch on these two gates, the one towards the mountains and the other towards the stone bridge, and the Christian army quiet and somewhat unconcerned with warlike things, and with some of the comrades meanwhile taking to dicing because of the leisure, it happened one day that the son of Count Conrad of Luxembourg, named Adelbero,<sup>98</sup> a clerk and archdeacon of

younger sons destined for the Church by the families of Ardenne-Verdun, Bar, and Luxembourg. Adalbero, bishop of Metz 1047-72, was the archdeacon's uncle. This supports Albert's picture of a rather worldly career churchman: Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 178-9.

371 sanguine et proximum Heinrici<sup>f</sup> tercii Romanorum imperatoris,<sup>g</sup> al earum ludo pariter recreari et occupari, cum matrona quadam<sup>h</sup> que magne erat ingenuitatis et<sup>i</sup> formositatis, in uiridario<sup>j</sup> pomiferis arboribus plenissimo, sed | et herbarum habundantia densissimo ut silua, quod iuxta sedem et eandem portam urbis habebatur quam dux Godefridus et Theutonicorum comitatus obsidione premebat. Hiis,<sup>k</sup> ut dictum est, otio et ludo intentis, Turci solliciti insidiarum et necis Christianorum clam e porta procedunt,<sup>l</sup> et caute se abscondentes inter altam et supereminentem herbam<sup>m</sup> et arborum<sup>n</sup> densitatem, archidiaconum et sibi colludentem matronam subito clamore nescios et stupefactos<sup>o</sup> incurrunt, sagittis infigentes, sociosque qui iudices ad ludum conuenerant iam pre timore oblitos al earum dispergunt et uulnerant. Et ipsius quidem archidiaconi caput amputatum per portam raptim et in momento hoc facto repedantes secum detulerunt, matronam uero uiuam et intactam armis rapientes traxerunt in urbem, per totam noctem immoderate libidinis sue incesto concubitu eam uexantes, nihil<sup>p</sup> in ea humanitatis exhibentes. Tandem tam abhominabili et sceleratissima commixtione plurimorum abusam ad menia deducentes, capitali sententia peremerunt. <sup>q</sup>Cuius caput<sup>r</sup> continuo mangelis suis imponentes, una cum capite archidiaconi<sup>s</sup> procul a muris in medios proiecerunt campos. Amborum itaque capita inuenta duci Godefrido allata sunt et monstrata.<sup>t</sup> Qui archidiaconi recognito<sup>u</sup> sepulchrum corporis illius iam humati iussit aperiri, et caput proprio loco restitui, ne tam nobilissimi uiri membra insepulta remanerent.

47. Dehinc alio die Turci successu sue fraudis gaudentes et similem deceptionem adhuc se Christianis inferre arbitantes, a porta egressi et inter scirporum<sup>a</sup> densitatem<sup>b</sup> et fragiles<sup>c</sup> calamos palustris loci clanculum accedentes, peregrinis quibusdam in predicto pomerio insurrexerunt, solita feritate et uociferatione. Sed a militibus undique subuenientibus<sup>d</sup> retrusi et in fugam coacti sunt. Nullus quidem ab hiis percussus tunc aut uulneratus est, preter Arnolfum de Tirs castello, qui eques semper bello feruidus fuit et prouidus, licet nunc incautus, et sine tegmine scuti et indumento ferri ad clamorem peregrinorum

<sup>f</sup> Henrici A    <sup>g</sup> Augusti ACHN    <sup>h</sup> quedam C    <sup>i</sup> ac CHN    <sup>j</sup> uiridario A  
<sup>k</sup> Hic ACH    <sup>l</sup> exeunt A    <sup>m</sup> arborumque ACHN    <sup>n</sup> obstupefactos ACHN  
<sup>o</sup> nichilque ACHN    <sup>p</sup> Caput uero eius H    <sup>q</sup> archidiani H    <sup>r</sup> A adds sunt after monstrata  
<sup>s</sup> ACHN add capite after recognito

47    <sup>a</sup> cirporum E    <sup>b</sup> fragilesque ACHN    <sup>c</sup> conuenientibus A

the church at Metz, a very high-born young man of royal blood and related to Henry III, emperor of the Romans, was also taking his recreation and occupied playing dice with a certain woman of great birth and beauty in a pleasure garden full of apple trees, but also as dense as a forest with an abundance of plants, which was next to the position and that same city gate which Duke Godfrey and the Germanic company were blockading. While these two, as I have said, were intent on resting and playing dice, the Turks sneaked out of the gate with the idea of ambushing and killing Christians, and, hiding themselves carefully among the tall and towering plants and the density of trees, they attacked with a sudden shout the archdeacon and the woman playing with him, catching them unaware and by surprise; they shot them with arrows and scattered and wounded the comrades who were there as judges of the game, and who now forgot about dice games in their fear. The Turks cut off the archdeacon's head, and having done this they suddenly and instantaneously retreated, taking the head with them. They seized the woman alive and unhurt by force of arms and dragged her into the city, where they tormented her all night with the unchaste intercourse of their excessive lust, showing no kindness towards her. At last they led the woman they had abused with this very abominable and most wicked coition to the ramparts and they put her to death. Then they put her head in their mangonels together with the archdeacon's and they hurled them far from the walls into the middle of the plains. And so the heads of both were found and taken to Duke Godfrey and shown to him. He recognized the archdeacon's and ordered the grave to be opened where his body had already been buried, and the head to be restored to its proper place, so that the parts of such a noble man should not remain unburied.

47. Then another day the Turks, pleased with the success of their deception and thinking to carry out a similar one against the Christians, came out of the gate and secretly approached among the thickness of the rushes and the slender reeds of the marsh. They rose up against some pilgrims in the aforementioned orchard with their usual fierceness and noise. But soldiers came from all sides to aid the pilgrims and the Turks were forced back and put to flight. No one was hit by them then, or wounded, except Arnulf of castle Tirs, who was a knight always spoiling for a fight and usually careful, though now he was careless and rushed into the orchard when he heard the

subito in pomerium contenderit, ubi a ceco et uolatili telo sagitte cuiusdam Turci letali uulnere transfixus et<sup>d</sup> mortuus est. Dux ergo suique contubernales moleste ferentes a pomerio hoc Turcos Christianis moliri insidias, et tam egregios uiros illic in dolo cecidisse, decreuerunt ut<sup>e</sup> in ferramentis et securibus Christiani de exercitu conuenientes radicitus hoc exstirparent, herbas, scirpos<sup>f</sup> et calamos meterent, ne qua fraudulenta manus illic ultra latere aut nocere posset. Turci quidem dolositates suas hac in parte<sup>g</sup> et ab hac porta populum <sup>h</sup>Iesu Christi<sup>h</sup> precauere uidentes, rursus per pontem |  
 372 Farfar exeuntes, inuigilabant perditioni peregrinorum per pontem nauium transmeantium, lignorum sarmentum comportantium, herbas et pabula equorum querentium, et quosquos a specula<sup>i</sup> montis hac et illac pro necessariis rebus uagari prospiciebant,<sup>j</sup> ilico insequentes gladiis<sup>k</sup> et sagittis<sup>k</sup> interimebant.

48. Dum<sup>a</sup> uero he cedes, insidie, incursiones, mane, meridie, uespere, et<sup>b</sup> singulis diebus fierent, et cottidiana lamenta super occisis in castris audirentur, nec Tancradus totiens hostibus occurrere ualeret pre diuersis opinionibus hostilis fraudis, et quia eo ignorante sepe ab urbe per pontem erumpebant, Hugo comes de Sancto Paulo de<sup>c</sup> regno Francie pietate motus est super hac cottidiana strage fidelium, sibi<sup>d</sup> et ceteris<sup>d</sup> potentibus famulantium et necessarias res afferentium. Vnde filium suum Engelrandum,<sup>e 99</sup> tironem armis agilem, paterna suggestione ammonuit, et ceteros sibi familiares, quatenus in una uoluntate secum accensi, pauperes suos et<sup>f</sup> confratres Christianos a tot Turcorum cedibus et assultibus liberare et ulcisci uelint, et abstertere totiens insequentes hostes. Hiis factis et uoluntariis inuentis, ipse grandaeus pater primus<sup>g</sup> arma et equum requirens ascendit,<sup>h</sup> et pontem<sup>h</sup> nauium in noctis umbra transiens in latibulo uallis iuxta montana cum dilectissimo filio et secum assumptis sociis occultatus, summo mane Christianum peditem reliquit in campestri planitie, ubi Turcorum oculis manifeste pateret.<sup>i</sup> Turci itaque non immemores sue crudelitatis et cedis Christiane, ab urbe per pontem prefati<sup>j</sup> fluuii Ferne<sup>k</sup> uel Farfar rursum procedentes, in montis uertice sicut soliti

<sup>d</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>e</sup> om. A    <sup>f</sup> cirpos E    <sup>g</sup> porta H    <sup>h k</sup> Dei uiuentis H; illum Christi N    <sup>i</sup> speculo E    <sup>j</sup> perspiciebant A; conspiciebant H    <sup>k k</sup> om. A

48    <sup>a</sup> Cum N    <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>c</sup> ex ACHN    <sup>d d</sup> ceterisque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> Engelrandum ACHN    <sup>f</sup> atque ACHN    <sup>g</sup> om. A    <sup>h k</sup> pontemque ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> appareret A    <sup>j</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>k</sup> om. H

<sup>99</sup> Engelrand's role at Antioch is greatly enhanced in *ChA*: see *ChA*, i. 149 and *passim*.

pilgrims' shouting without the protection of his shield or putting on his sword. There he was mortally wounded by the blind and randomly shot arrow of some Turk, and he died. The duke, therefore, and his tent mates took it ill that the Turks were setting ambushes for Christians from this orchard, and that such eminent men had died there by trickery, and they ordered that Christians should come from the army with axes and hatchets and root it out, cut down plants, rushes, and reeds so that no deceitful band would any longer be able to hide there or do harm. Some Turks, seeing that Jesus Christ's people were taking precautions against their tricks in this part and from this gate, came out again across the Farfar bridge intent upon the destruction of the pilgrims crossing on the ship bridge, who were collecting brushwood and searching out plants and fodder for the horses, and they pursued instantly and killed with swords and arrows anyone they spotted from the mountain lookout who was wandering here and there for necessary supplies.

48. So, while these massacres, ambushes, and attacks took place morning, noon, and night and on every single day, and a daily lament over those killed might be heard in the camp, and Tancred was unable to attack the enemy so often because of different ideas about enemy trickery, and because they would often sally forth across the bridge when he was unaware, Hugh of Saint-Pol in the kingdom of France was moved to pity by this daily slaughter of the faithful who were serving him and the other nobles and bringing in necessary supplies. For this reason he made the fatherly suggestion to his son Engelrand,<sup>99</sup> a recruit who was swift to arms, and to the rest of his household, that, fired with him to a single purpose, they would deliver and revenge their poor and brother Christians from so many Turkish massacres and attacks, and frighten away the enemies who were so often pursuing them. When these things had been done and volunteers had been found, the aged father himself was the first to call for weapons and horse and to mount, and, crossing over the ship bridge in the darkness of night, he concealed himself in a hiding place in a valley next to the mountains with his beloved son and the companions he had taken with him. When morning came he left a Christian foot soldier on the level plain where he would be clearly visible to the Turks. The Turks, therefore, with their own cruelty and Christian slaughter in mind, set out again from the city across the bridge over the river Orontes or Farfar and halted on the mountain

erant, consistunt, de quo a montanis usque ad montana per camporum planitiem longe spectacula ferme ad duo miliaria dantur. Illic solum peregrinorum uagantem et sarmenta legentem contemplantes, ad eius interfectionem uelocitate equorum conuolant, et subito clamore exterritum usque ad montana et fructecta profugum sectantes<sup>i</sup> insidias latentium comminus Christianorum preterierunt. Peregrino uero iam in montanis absconso, uiam remensi sunt hii quatuor Turci, iuxta Christianorum insidias fiducialiter redire sperantes. Sed extimplo comes et sui a ualle exurgentes, in eosdem irruerunt equorum uelocitate, duos in momento attritos solo relinquentes, equis et armis eorum abductis, alios uero duos uite<sup>m</sup> reseruantes, uinctos ad exercitum perduxerunt. Concurrent undique peregrini, nobiles et ignobiles, ad uidendum<sup>n</sup> captiuos Turcos, gloriam Deo dantes super hoc prospero successu.<sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup>Et laudes<sup>b</sup> multiplicant comiti Hugoni <sup>q</sup>filioque eius<sup>q</sup> Engelrando, quorum prudentia et uirili audacia tam noxii aduersarii capti et adtriti sunt.

- 373 49. Primores uero Turcorum et omnis manus eorum audita suorum contritione doloribus acuunt iras, consilia incunt, quibus in breui in ultione suorum Christianis<sup>a</sup> crudeliora damna rependant. Vnde quadam die audaciores animoque ferociore<sup>b</sup> ex milibus suis electi ad lacescendos Christianos usque ad pontem nauium uiginti premissi sunt, in equis uento uelocitate similibus. Qui multis et propinquis discursibus in littore iuxta pontem preludentes et sagittas intorquentes, totum post se exercitum commouere conati sunt, ut uires sociorum <sup>c</sup>ab urbe raptim exundantes,<sup>c</sup> graui martyrio aliquos sicut<sup>d</sup> soliti erant conturbarent. Fideles autem Christi satis et sepius experti fallacias illorum compescuerunt ab insecutione<sup>e</sup> temeraria populum. Sed ne eos tedio belli uictos<sup>f</sup> astruerent,<sup>g</sup> Engelrandum filium predicti Hugonis, cum quibusdam sociis obuiam Turcis premiserunt. Qui etiam suo more equos in discursibus flectentes, dolosos hostes mutuo conflictu fallere temptarent.<sup>h</sup> Nec mora pontem transeuntes equos uexant hinc et illinc diuersis inter se discursibus, et hii alterna infestatione hastas dirigunt ad feriendum, hii sagittas intorquent ad configendum. Postremo post plurimam cursuum contentionem,

<sup>i</sup> insectantes ACHN

<sup>m</sup> om. C

<sup>n</sup> uidendos ACHN

<sup>o</sup> euentu H

<sup>p</sup> Laudesque ACHN

<sup>q</sup> eiusque filio A; et filio eius CHN

49 <sup>a</sup> Christiana N

<sup>b</sup> feruenciores A

<sup>c</sup> raptim ex urbe inundantes H

<sup>d</sup> sicuti A

<sup>e</sup> insecutione A

<sup>f</sup> incertos N

<sup>g</sup> assererent ACHN

<sup>h</sup> temptabant A; temptarunt CHN

top, as was their custom, from where there was a long lookout for almost two miles from one mountain range to another across the level plains. There they observed the lone pilgrim going to and fro collecting brushwood and they charged their horses at speed to kill him, they frightened him with a sudden shout, then in the course of chasing the fugitive all the way to the mountains and scrubland they passed close by the ambush of the hiding Christians. The pilgrim had already taken cover in the mountains, so these four Turks took the road back near the Christians' ambush, hoping confidently to return. But immediately the count and his men rose out of the valley and rode at them at speed, leaving two destroyed in a single moment, whose horses and armour they took away, and taking the other two alive, whom they brought back in fetters to the army. The pilgrims ran from all sides, nobles and lesser men, to see the Turkish prisoners, giving glory to God for this favourable outcome. And they heaped praises on Count Hugh and his son Engelrand, by whose wisdom and manly courage such criminal opponents had been captured and destroyed.

49. The Turkish leaders and all their horde heard about the destruction of their men and their anger was sharpened by grief. They took counsel as to who would shortly avenge their fellows and pay the Christians back with crueller losses. So one day twenty who were more bold and fierce in spirit were chosen out of their thousands to challenge the Christians, and they were sent ahead to the ship bridge on horses whose speed was like the wind. They rehearsed with many runs to and fro on the shore next to the bridge, and shot arrows, then they tried to mobilize the whole army in pursuit so that the forces of their Turkish allies, rushing out suddenly from the city, could inflict martyrdom on some of them as they were accustomed to do. But Christ's faithful had sufficient and frequent enough experience of their stratagems and they restrained the people from rash pursuit. But so that none could claim the Christians were beaten by war weariness, they sent out Engelrand, son of the aforesaid Hugh, to meet the Turks with some comrades. They also in their own style would turn their horses to and fro, trying to trick the cunning enemy into a pitched battle. At once they crossed the bridge and spurred their horses to races to and fro among themselves, and some took turns to aim lances to strike, some shot arrows to pierce. At the very last, after much strife and

honor et laus uictorie Engelrando, Deo auxiliante, collata est. Nam Turcum ceteris insigniorem et seuiorem cursu exuperans, in conspectu patris sui<sup>i</sup> et omnium qui conuenerant ad perspicendum rei euentum, altero constituti in littore, equo deiciens hasta perfodit, ceterosque illius casu<sup>j</sup> et infortunio concussos et mox in fugam uersos<sup>k</sup> cum Christianis sodalibus<sup>l</sup> acriter insecutus est, sed non longe a ponte propter insidias<sup>m</sup> sepius ab urbe occursantes, et insequentibus resistentes. Saluo abhinc filio recepto, aliisque consociis, cor longeuū patris in nimiam erigitur leticiam, omniumque fauore et plausu maiorum ac<sup>n</sup> minorum gloriosus iuuenis attollitur, suique coadiutores et conuictores.

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50. Inter hec assidui Martis ludibria, et creberrimas incursiones, mora aliquanti temporis transacta, populus Dei rebus et escis attenuari cepit, pre defectione urbium et regionum quas in circuitu tantus exhausserat exercitus. Vnde cottidie fame inualescente, et exercitu pre indigentia moriente et<sup>a</sup> precipue humili populo, | miserabiles gemitus et dolores piissimum antistitem et uniuersos principes legionis pulsant, et sollicitant, quatenus super hiis miseriis consulant, quomodo populus possit sustentari. Nulla tandem uia reperta qua populo subueniretur, uisum est omnibus, ut in terram Sarracenorum opulentissimam,<sup>b</sup> adhuc preda intactam, Boemundum, Tancradum<sup>100</sup> et Robertum Flandriensem cum comitatu equitum et peditum mitterent, ad contrahendas predas et necessaria, quibus fames extinguī et populus ab inopia possit releuari. Tancradus iam tunc custodia peracta a montanis ad exercitum reuersus fuerat. Boemundus uero et Robertus, idemque Tancradus, sicut decretum erat a principio neminem magnum aut paruum contradicere quicumque imperaret exercitus, quindecim milia peditum, duo<sup>d</sup> equitum electorum in armis assumētes regna gentilium sub spacio dierum trium ingressi, 'predarum pecorum et uniuersi<sup>e</sup> generis armentorum copias inauditas contraxerunt, quas sine impedimento biduo abducentes.<sup>f</sup> Sed die tertia uespere<sup>g</sup> superueniente fatigati itinere et onere rapinarum

<sup>i</sup> om. A    <sup>j</sup> om. H    <sup>k</sup> om. N    <sup>l</sup> N adds uersus after sodalibus    <sup>m</sup> H adds Turcorum after insidias    <sup>n</sup> et A

50    <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> om. H    <sup>d</sup> A adds et before duo    <sup>e</sup> et pecorum uniuersique ACHN    <sup>f</sup> abduxerunt ACHN    <sup>g</sup> om. A

<sup>100</sup> According to *GF* (p. 30) Bohemond and Robert were the two leaders of this expedition—not Tancred—and they set out on 28 Dec. 1097 with a force of over 20,000

charging to and fro, with God's help the honour and praise of victory were bestowed upon Engelrand. For he overcame a Turk who was more remarkable and fiercer in the charge than the rest; he cast him down from his horse and pierced him with his lance, all in full view of his father and of all who had gathered to see the outcome of the affair and were standing on the other bank. Then with his Christian comrades he eagerly pursued the rest, who were stunned by their companion's fate and misfortune and were soon put to flight, but the Christians did not go far from the bridge on account of the raids which frequently took place from the city and deterred pursuers. When the son came back safe from this, and his other comrades, the heart of his aged father was raised to very great happiness, and the glorious youth was lifted on high by the favour and acclamation of all, great and small, along with his assistants and co-victors.

50. A period of some time was spent in these sports of ever-present Mars, and in very frequent attacks, then the people of God began to run short of supplies and rations because of a shortage in the cities and regions which such a great army had exhausted all around. So, with hunger growing daily more severe, and the army dying from want, and especially the humble people, wretched groans and laments assailed the most pious bishop and all the princes of the great army, and they were distressed, so they conferred about these problems and how the people could be nourished. Yet no way was found by which the people could be helped, and it seemed a good idea to all that they should send Bohemond, Tancred,<sup>100</sup> and Robert of Flanders with a company of cavalry and infantry into the very wealthy land of the Saracens, which was as yet untouched by looting, to seize plunder and supplies by which hunger could be assuaged and the people relieved from want. Tancred had then already returned to the army from carrying out guard duty in the mountains. Bohemond and Robert, and that same Tancred, in accordance with a decree made at the beginning of the expedition, that no one great or small was to oppose whatever the army commanded, took fifteen thousand infantry and two thousand selected armed cavalry and entered the gentiles' lands for a period of three days. They seized incredible quantities of plunder, of herds and every sort of livestock, which they carried off without hindrance over two days. But when the evening of the third day arrived they were tired by the travelling and weighed down by the

cavalry and infantry. Although Albert appears make a point of Tancred's participation, his role in events is not described.

grauata omnis societas in campestri planicie iuxta montana quiescere decreuerunt.

51. Interea fama et clamor omnium in circuitu regionum ad aures gentilium primatum festinans a diuersis partibus et montanis sedibus tot milia exegit ad persequendum Boemundum, Robertum, et populum eorum et predas excutiendas, quot<sup>a</sup> dictu et auditu mirabile est. Boemundo siquidem hec ignorante, nichilque aduersitatis affuturum estimante, sed secure pariterque Roberto somniantem, prima diei aurora predicta inimicorum affuerunt milia, a quibus se suosque sic obsessos uiderunt, ac si siluam densissimam ex omni parte accreuisse mirarentur. Hiis uisis stupefacti et uite diffisi, subito in unum conuocatis equitibus ad latus suum, bellum se committere, et tot milium uires non posse sustinere profitentur. Vnde facta scutorum testudine, et densata fronte militum<sup>b</sup> aditum et fugam explorant, quo rarior et debilior coadunatio<sup>c</sup> uisa est. Mox strictis mucronibus et frenis impetu laxatis unanimiter irruentes, obstantes penetrant acies, ac solam fugam meditantes, celeriter ad montana contendunt, relictis desolatis peditibus cum omni collectione predarum et spoliolum. Hiis per abrupta montium et deuia ereptis, plurimis tamen ex eorum sequacibus retentis et adtritibus, gentilium acies miseros et profugos pedites inuoluerunt, quos<sup>d</sup> gladiis et sagittis consumere non pepercerunt, plures tamen captiuantes, armisque exspoliantes, predas et omnia sibi suisque<sup>e</sup> ablata reducentes.<sup>f</sup>

375 52. Hac miserrima adtritione<sup>a</sup> Boemundo disturbato, et ad exercitum et confratres in humilitate lacrimosi uultus relato, luxit populus uehementer, mulieres, iuuenes, pueri, patres, matres, fratres et sorores, qui dilectissimos amicos, filios et cognatos amiserunt. Robertus quidem Flandriensis, qui cum ipso Boemundo in terram Sarracenorum descenderat ad depredandum, et nunc Boemundo cum copiis suis adtrito et in fugam misso, ab eo diuisus recesserat licet inuitus, sequenti die ducentis equitibus readunatis, Turcis<sup>b</sup> et Sarracenis<sup>b</sup> dispersis et secure gradientibus ex aduerso occurrit. Cum quibus fortiter dimicans, uictoriam gloriose hiis in fugam

51    <sup>a</sup> quod CN    <sup>b</sup> milium C    <sup>c</sup> adunatio A    <sup>d</sup> quorum N    <sup>e</sup> om. A  
<sup>f</sup> reducebant ACHN

52    <sup>a</sup> contritione H    <sup>b b</sup> Sarracenisque ACHN

burden of booty and the whole fellowship decided to rest on the level plain next to the mountains.

51. Meanwhile the rumour and noise from all the regions round about wasted no time in reaching the gentile chiefs' ears and it brought out so many thousands from different parts and mountain posts to pursue Bohemond, Robert, and their people and to take away the plunder that it is amazing to say and hear. Since Bohemond knew nothing of this and foresaw no difficulty, but was sleeping soundly, as was Robert, when at first light on this day the thousands of enemy were at hand and they saw that they and their men were surrounded by them, they were amazed that they had increased on all sides like a very thick forest. When they saw them the Christian leaders were stupefied and despaired of their lives, so they assembled the cavalry at their side, declaring openly that they could not join battle and withstand the strength of so many thousands. Accordingly, they made a shield roof and a massed front rank of knights and they reconnoitred possibilities of access and flight, but these made their assembly seem even thinner and weaker. Soon they drew their swords, gave their horses their heads and charged together, they penetrated the opposing battle line and, intent only on flight, they made swiftly for the mountains, leaving the infantry deserted with all the plunder and spoils they had collected. Once these soldiers had taken themselves off through the steep mountain slopes and out-of-the-way places, yet leaving very many of their followers captured and destroyed, the gentile battle lines swept down on the wretched and fleeing infantry and did not hesitate to cut them down with swords and arrows. Some, however, they captured, they robbed them of their weapons and took back the plunder and everything which had been stolen from them and their people.

52. Bohemond was troubled by this wretched loss, and he returned to the army and his brother soldiers humbly, his face tear-stained. The people lamented violently: women, youths, boys, fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters, who had lost their very beloved friends, sons, and relatives. Robert of Flanders had also gone down into Saracen territory with that same Bohemond to plunder, and now that Bohemond had been defeated with his forces and put to flight, and he had been separated from him and had returned, albeit unwillingly, he reassembled two hundred cavalry on the following day and rode against the Turks and Saracens who were scattered and marching carelessly. He fought with them vigorously, put them to flight, and

conuersis obtinuit, ac<sup>c</sup> cum immensis copiis predarum quas illic Turci fugientes reliquerant ad castra Antiochie est reuersus, multo solamine populum releuans, in hac Boemundi calamitate desperatum. Modico dehinc tempore transacto, et paucis diebus preda Roberti consumpta, nec ultra aliquo audente longe ab exercitu predam querere pre crudeli occisione sociorum Boemundi, amplior et ualidior fames in populo cepit multiplicari, et inestimabilis mortalitas humilis plebis fieri, et exercitus adtenuari. Nec mirum. Nam solus paniculus qui antea denario Luculensis monete poterat mutuari nunc duobus solidis uendebatur indigentibus. Bos duabus marcis uendebatur, qui paulo ante decem solidis poterat comparari; agniculus quinque solidis appreciabatur.<sup>101</sup> Sic itaque grauissima penuria cogente populum Dei uiui, plurimi uagabantur, se subtrahentes in omnem regionem Antiochie ad querendas escas, trecenti aut ducenti conspirati ad defensionem contra Turcorum assultus, et ad equam diuisionem omnium rerum quas reperire aut rapere possent. Turci, audita et intellecta populi angustia <sup>d</sup>et famis<sup>d</sup> miseria et Boemundi recenti contritione permaxima, et exercitus uagatione assidua, per uicinas oras exiliunt a porta ex ea parte urbis que in montanis prominebat inobsessa, grandi differente interuallo a porta quam Boemundus obseruabat, per decliua<sup>c</sup> rupium descendentes, et fideles Christi circumquaque diffusos insequentes et atroci nece<sup>f</sup> consumentes.

53. Quadam igitur die, inualescente inedia et urgente plures nobiles et ignobiles, quidam Tullensis ecclesie archidiaconis nomine Luodwicus<sup>a</sup> <sup>102</sup> defectione sui stipendii compulsus et famis gladio expugnatus, cum ceteris clericis et laicis | inopia coactis,<sup>b</sup> numero trecentis, ab exercitu secessit in loca ubertate alimentorum diffamata, sita iuxta montana<sup>c</sup> Antiochie interuallo trium miliariorum, ubi secure predari<sup>d</sup> et morari arbitrabantur. Turci autem comperto illorum abscessu per delatores qui assidue inter populos falsa fraternitate habitabant, ad sexaginta milites armatos ab eadem predicta parte urbis et porta clam per notas semitas montium egressi persecuti sunt peregrinos usque ad

<sup>c</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>d</sup> et famisque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> decliua A      <sup>f</sup> cede H

53      <sup>a</sup> Lûdewicus A; Lûdwicus C; Lûdowicus H; Ludowicus N      <sup>b</sup> coactus A  
<sup>c</sup> in montanis H      <sup>d</sup> depredari N

<sup>101</sup> The anonymous author of *GF* also refers to the terrible famine and high prices. He describes native Christians profiteering by selling an ass's load of provisions for 120 shillings (*GF*, p. 33).

won a glorious victory, and he returned to the camp at Antioch with enormous supplies of plunder which the fleeing Turks had left behind there, bringing much comfort to the people, whom Bohemond's disaster had made desperate. A short time after this, since Robert's loot had been consumed in a few days, and no one dared any longer to seek plunder far from the army because of the cruel slaying of Bohemond's companions, the famine among the people began to grow more widespread and severe, and a very great mortality happened to the humble people, and the army began to be weakened. No wonder. For a single little loaf which previously could be purchased for a penny of Luccan money was now sold to the poor for two shillings. An ox was sold for two marks, which a short time before could be obtained for ten shillings; a little lamb cost five shillings.<sup>101</sup> So, with this very serious scarcity afflicting the people of the living God, many wandered to and fro, taking themselves away into all the region of Antioch to look for food, three hundred or two hundred acting together for defence against Turkish attacks, and for the fair division of all the things they managed to find or to capture. When the Turks heard and understood the people's anguish and the misery caused by famine, and Bohemond's recent disastrous defeat, and the army's energetic pillaging, they sallied forth from the gate into the surrounding countryside from that part of the city which jutted out into the mountains and was not besieged, a very great distance from the gate which Bohemond was watching, and they went down through the sheer rocks, pursuing Christ's faithful who were scattered all around and destroying them with a horrific slaughter.

53. One day, as the famine grew and became more pressing on many both noble and lesser men, a certain archdeacon of the church at Toul, called Louis,<sup>102</sup> was forced by the disappearance of his pay and brought low by the sword of hunger, along with three hundred other clerics and laypeople also compelled by want, to leave the army for a region which was rumoured to be rich in food supplies, situated next to the mountains of Antioch at a distance of three miles, where they believed they would be safe to plunder and stay. However, the Turks discovered their departure through spies who lived constantly among the army in false friendship, and some six hundred cavalry set out secretly in pursuit of the armed pilgrims from that same part of the

<sup>102</sup> Louis is known only from this story, although, as Murray says, it is likely he travelled with Rainald of Toul (AA ii. 1): *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 217.

locum quo uiam constituerant spe recuperandi<sup>e</sup> alimenta. Quos ferociter<sup>f</sup> inclamantes aggrediuntur, sagitta perforantes trans caput et latus ac uiscera, uniuersos ut lupi oues laniantes, et fuga dispergentes. Archidiaconum uero nequiquam<sup>g</sup> fugam<sup>h</sup> ad montana conantem quidam Turcus uelocissimo equo consecutus sagitta celeri transfixit. 'Et educto<sup>i</sup> ense, ex utraque parte colli grauissimo uulnere illius secuit scapulas, et sic sanguinis riuo in terram defluente, spiritum uite emisit. Hanc crudelissimam famam primores exercitus ut compererunt spiritu meroris consternati sunt, indignati tot cedes a Turcis per portam inobsessam singulis diebus fieri, et nunc amplius dolentes nece tam egregii<sup>j</sup> archidiaconi, et creberrimos<sup>k</sup> ululatus in perditione quorumque amicorum audiri.

54. Inter hec plurima aduersa adhuc recentia, impius rumor aures totius sacre legionis perculit, qualiter post deuictam et captam Niceam filius regis Danorum, Sueno nomine,<sup>103</sup> nobilissimus et forma pulcherrimus, per aliquot dies retardatus et benigne ab imperatore Constantinopolis susceptus et commendatus, per mediam Romaniam securus iter agebat, audita Christianorum uictoria, qui socios mille et quingentos uiros belligeros secum in auxilium obsidionis Antiochie abducebat.<sup>a</sup> Sed a Solimanno qui in montanis uictus Gallos euaserat, inter Finiminis et Fernam<sup>104</sup> urbes Romanie hospitatus, in media densissima silua iunctorum et calamorum recubans, in grandine sagittarum occisus est, totusque comitatus illius eodem martyrio ab iniquis carnificibus consumptus est. Nec mirum si uniuersi Turcorum uiribus oppressi interierunt. Nam quorundam iniquorum Christianorum, Grecorum scilicet,<sup>b</sup> proditione propalati,<sup>c</sup> improuisi<sup>d</sup> a Solimanni manu e montanis adunata circumuenti sunt. 'Sed tamen<sup>e</sup> filius regis Sueno multa armorum defensione resistens, multos Turcorum gladio strauit, strauerunt et sui. Sed ad ultimum fessi et armis exuti, ineffabilem aduersariorum multitudinem sufferre non ualentes, pariter sagittis

<sup>e</sup> recuperabili *N*      <sup>f</sup> fortiter *A*      <sup>g</sup> nequaquam *AEN*      <sup>h</sup> fuga *A*  
<sup>i</sup> Eductoque *ACHN*      <sup>j</sup> nobilissimi *H*      <sup>k</sup> creberrimes *N*

54    <sup>a</sup> adducebat *H*      <sup>b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> *H* adds sunt et after propalati      <sup>d</sup> improuise  
*ACHN*      <sup>e</sup> Attamen *ACHN*

<sup>103</sup> The romantic story of Svend is told only by Albert (and, following him, WT). It has therefore sometimes been labelled a fiction, but the prince has been identified as one of the many sons of the Danish king Svend II Estridson (1047–c. 1074) and the story of his crusade accepted: *Danmarks Riges Historie*, ed. J. C. H. Steenstrup et al., 6 vols. (Copenhagen,

city mentioned above, along paths known to them, to the place to which they had decided to go in the hope of replenishing their food supplies. They fell upon them with fierce cries, shooting arrows through head and side and bowels, tearing all of them to pieces as wolves do sheep, and scattering them in flight. The archdeacon tried in vain to escape to the mountains, but a Turk rode quickly after him and pierced him with a swift arrow. And he took out his sword and from both sides of his neck he cut his shoulderblades, wounding him very severely, and so, with a stream of blood spilling onto the ground, he gave up the ghost. When the army leaders heard this cruel news they were overcome by a feeling of grief, angry that the Turks had inflicted so many massacres day after day by way of the gate which was not blockaded, and now mourning the more because of the killing of so eminent an archdeacon, and because repeated lamentations were to be heard for the loss of their friends.

54. While these many disasters were still fresh, a wicked rumour reached the ears of all the sacred army that after the conquest and capture of Nicaea the son of the king of Denmark, called Svend,<sup>103</sup> high born and very handsome, had been detained for some days and graciously received and honoured by the emperor of Constantinople, after which he continued his journey through the middle of Rūm confidently, having heard of the Christians' victory, bringing with him fifteen hundred warlike comrades to assist at the siege of Antioch. But Suleyman had given the Gauls the slip after his defeat and taken refuge in the mountains between Philomelium and Ferna,<sup>104</sup> cities of Rūm, and as the prince was lying down in the middle of a very dense thicket of rushes and reeds he was killed by a hail of arrows, and all his company was destroyed by the wicked killers in that same martyrdom. It is no wonder that they were all overcome by the Turkish forces and died. For their presence was betrayed by certain wicked Christians, that is to say Greeks, and they were surrounded unawares by Suleyman's band, which had come together from the mountains. Nevertheless, the king's son Svend resisted with great strength of arms, scattering many of the Turks with his sword, and his men did so too. But in the end they were weary and stripped of their weapons, and they could not withstand the unspeakable multitude of enemies, and

1904-7), i. 473, 505. See also *Annalista Saxo*, MGH SS, vi. 730: 'preterque hos frater regis Danorum cum duobus episcopis aliisque perplures totius Europe principis'.

<sup>104</sup> Not identified.

377 confixi <sup>f</sup>decollati sunt.<sup>f</sup> | Ibidem matrona quedam Florina nomine, filia ducis Burgundie, Philippensium principi copulata, nunc uero miserabiliter uiduata, in eodem comitatu Danorum erat, sperans post triumphum fidelium tanto <sup>g</sup>et tam<sup>g</sup> nobili sociari marito.<sup>105</sup> Sed spem hanc Turcorum abruptit ferocitas. Nam eandem in mulo sedentem sex confixerunt sagittis, uersus montana fugientem. Que licet percussa non tamen a mulo lapsa est, semper euadere mortem credens, dum tandem cursu superata cum filio regis capitali sententia extincta est. Turci igitur milites Solimanni gaudentes suo<sup>h</sup> uictorici<sup>i</sup> euentu et cede Christianorum immanissima, ad lacus calidorum fontium qui ibidem iuxta Finimis fumabant, celeriter aduolant. Qui mendicos et febricitantes peregrinos in hiis ad curandum debile corpus reperientes, sagitta transfixerunt, totam undam sanguineam<sup>j</sup> reddentes. Aliosque sub unda caput ab ictu ferientis abscondentes seuo fine dimersionis suffocari cgebant.

55. Hiis creberrimis Turcorum insidiis et assiduus a porta predicta exitibus <sup>a</sup>et suorum<sup>a</sup> miserimis casibus primores exercitus conturbati, acuuntur ira ampliori, et portam prefatam, que<sup>b</sup> difficultate montium et inequalitate scopulorum obsideri non poterat, hoc obstaculo impediri consulunt,<sup>c</sup> uidelicet ut munitionem quandam in dorso cuiusdam silicis stantis ad radicem montium locarent, firmissimum<sup>d</sup> uallo et congerie lapidum. Nam penuria illic erat lignorum. In hac ergo custodiam quisque primorum statuto tempore agebat, <sup>e</sup>et Turcorum<sup>e</sup> exitum a porta per montana et uallium notas semitas et specula<sup>f</sup> silicis et munitione contemplabatur,<sup>g</sup> et per planiciem regionis descendentes extemplo persecuti, a Christianorum cede arcebant. Facta denique ipsa predicta munitione ac comite<sup>h</sup> Reimundo in ordine uicis sue custodiam in ea faciente, quadam die collocatis in absconso insidiis suorum militum, Turci equites ferme ducenti armati et<sup>i</sup> loricati in prima aurora<sup>j</sup> exurgentes, a solita porta

<sup>f f</sup> interierunt H      <sup>a a</sup> tamque ACHN      <sup>h</sup> N adds uel prospere after suo  
<sup>i</sup> prospere C      <sup>j</sup> sanguinem H

55      <sup>a a</sup> suorumque ACHN      <sup>b</sup> qui N      <sup>c</sup> statuunt A      <sup>d</sup> firmissimo H  
<sup>e e</sup> Turcorumque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> speculo E      <sup>g</sup> contemplabantur A      <sup>h</sup> comiti ACN  
<sup>i</sup> ac N      <sup>j</sup> H adds diei after aurora

<sup>105</sup> Florina is not recorded in William of Tyre or elsewhere. J. Riley-Smith surmises that she was the daughter of Eudes I and Sibyl of Burgundy (*First Crusaders*, pp. 95, 247), while J. M. Jensen has suggested tentatively that the tale might be a garbled record of the participation of the bishop of Funen (Fiona), one of the two mentioned by the *Annalista*

all alike were shot with arrows and killed. In that same place a certain woman called Florina, daughter of the duke of Burgundy, who used to be married to a prince of *Philippi* but was now unfortunately widowed, was in that same company of Danes, hoping she would be joined in marriage to that same great nobleman after the triumph of the faithful.<sup>105</sup> But the savagery of the Turks cut off this hope. For they shot her with six arrows as she rode on her mule, fleeing towards the mountains. Although she was hit she did not fall off her mule; she still thought she could escape death until at last she was overtaken in her flight and put to death with the king's son. The Turks, therefore, Suleyman's soldiers, rejoicing at their victorious outcome and the immense slaughter of Christians, rode swiftly to a lake of warm springs which steamed there next to Philomelium. They found needy and fever-stricken pilgrims bathing in the waters to cure their weak bodies, and they pierced them through with arrows, turning all the water bloody. And they forced others, who hid their heads beneath the water to avoid the blows they struck, to suffocate in cruel death by drowning.

55. The army leaders were troubled by these frequent Turkish raids and the constant sorties from the unguarded gate and the wretched fates which befell their fellows, and their anger grew sharper, and they resolved to block the aforementioned gate, which they had not been able to besiege because of the difficulty of the mountains and the unevenness of the rocks, with this obstacle, that is to say, they would position a fortification on the ridge of a certain standing rock at the foot of the mountains, well fortified with a rampart and pile of stones. For there was a shortage of timber there. In this fortification, accordingly, each of the leaders kept watch for an agreed time, and the Turks' going out from the gate through the mountains and known paths of the valleys was observed from the lookout on the rock and from the fortification, and as they were going down across the plains of the region they could be suddenly pursued and prevented from slaughtering Christians. Then, when this same fortification had been made and it was Count Raymond's turn to stand guard in it, one day, after secretly setting ambushes of their soldiers, about two hundred armed and armoured Turkish cavalry sallied forth at first light of dawn; leaving from their usual gate and riding down the mountain

*Saxo* (see above): 'Danmark og den hellige krig: En undersøgelse af korstogsbevægelsens indflydelse på Danmark ca. 1070–1169', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, c (2000), 285–328 at pp. 295–6.

egressi et per deuexa montium descendentes repentino assultu ad munitionem contendunt, custodes in ea inpugnantes,<sup>k</sup> et murorum congeriem destruere moliuntur, quia eorum egressioni et insidiis contraria erat. Illis tandem frustra circa nouam munitionem laborantibus, insidie comitis Reimundi in equis uelocissimis surrexerunt, ad auxilium sociorum qui erant in presidio contententes. Et Turcos, iam diem adultam metuentes et sursum<sup>l</sup> regredi ad portam properantes, uehementi insecutione oppresserunt. Solumque iuuenem de nobili parentela procreatum retinuerunt, ceteri fuga elapsi sunt. Capto autem iuvene, ceteris fugatis, milites comitis Reimundi in castra ad exercitum regressi sunt in leticia et uictoria. Turci<sup>m</sup> in tristitia ad suos remeantes, aliquot diebus quicuerunt, non temere ab illo die Christianos circumuagos insequi presumentes.

- 378 56. Crastina uero<sup>a</sup> die Christiani principes hunc ortum ex nobilibus Turcorum comperientes et <sup>b</sup> plurimo dolore<sup>b</sup> infligere corda suorum, eundem iuuenem carnalibus cognatis suis<sup>c</sup> in una arce turrium ad defensionem a rege Darsiano constitutis presentauerunt, si forte pietate moti in redemptionem illius arcem cui preerant redderent, et Christianos clanculum intromitterent. Illis uero arcem omnino negantibus, sed pecuniam nimiam pro redemptione et uita illius offerentibus, Christianis autem omnia contradicentibus preter urbem et arcem, quia sciebant illum<sup>d</sup> ex altis parentibus, corda cognatorum mollescere ceperunt, et priuata colloquia inter se et Christianos haberi, quousque res propalata ad aures Sansadonie filii regis Darsiani peruenit, quod in redemptione capti<sup>e</sup> adolescentis inter cognatos illius et Christianos concordia fieret, per quam urbs tradita<sup>f</sup> nisi precauerent, cito posset amitti. Darsianus itaque rex filiusque<sup>g</sup> eius Sansadonias hec tandem<sup>h</sup> persentientes, habito cum primatibus suis consilio, uniuersos cognatos capti iuuenis fratresque illius, et uniuersos familiares eius ab ipsa turri cui preerant iussit expelli, ne per eandem turrim pro redemptione propinqui urbs Christianis intromissis traderetur. Hiis expulsis consiliis eorum patefactis, Christiani nullam ultra spem reddende turris habentes, eo quod nimium

<sup>k</sup> repugnantes *N*<sup>l</sup> rursum *A*<sup>m</sup> *ACHN* add quoque after Turci56 <sup>a</sup> om. *ACHN*<sup>b</sup> plurimos dolores *E*<sup>c</sup> om. *N*<sup>d</sup> eum *ACHN*<sup>e</sup> captiui *A*<sup>f</sup> om. *H*<sup>g</sup> et filius *ACHN*<sup>h</sup> om. *ACHN*<sup>i</sup> egerunt *N*

sides they made purposefully for the fortification in a sudden assault, attacking the garrison within, and they endeavoured to pull down the piled up stones of the walls, because they had opposed their sorties and raids. At length, as they laboured in vain around the new fortification, Count Raymond's raiding party charged on swift horses, hurrying to the relief of their comrades who were in the garrison. And they overpowered with a violent attack the Turks who were already anxious about the full daylight and making haste to ride back up to the gate. They captured only one young man, born of noble family; the rest escaped. And with this one young man captive, and the rest put to flight, Count Raymond's soldiers returned to the army in the camp in happiness and victory. The Turks went back to their fellows in sadness, and for a few days they were quiet, from that day on, not daring rashly to pursue Christians as they roamed around.

56. On the following day the Christian princes, realizing this same young man was born of the Turkish nobility and he might affect the hearts of his people with very great grief, presented him to his blood relations who had been stationed in one of the high towers by King Yaghi-Siyan for defence, to see if they would be moved by pity and would surrender the citadel they commanded to ransom him, and would secretly let the Christians in. His kinsmen entirely refused to hand over the tower, but offered a great deal of money for the youth's ransom and life; however, the Christians refused to consider anything except the city and the citadel, because they knew he was of high parentage. The hearts of his relatives began to soften, and secret talks were held between them and the Christians, until the affair became common knowledge and reached the ears of Sansadonias, King Yaghi-Siyan's son, that peace might be made between his relations and the Christians for the ransoming of the captured youth, through which, unless they were careful, the city could be betrayed and soon lost. Therefore King Yaghi-Siyan and his son Sansadonias, when they perceived plainly at last what was going on, took counsel with their chiefs and ordered all the relatives of the captured youth, and his brothers, and all his household to be expelled from that same tower which they commanded, so that the city would not be betrayed by admitting Christians through that tower as ransom for their kin. Once these people had been expelled and their plans revealed, the Christians had no longer any hope of the tower being surrendered, because everything had been done too openly, so they put the youth

inpalam omnia egerint,<sup>i</sup> post longam fatigationem et diuersos illi illatos cruciatus, fere sub unius mensis spacio uexatum in aspectu omnium Turcorum ante urbis menia trahentes, misellum <sup>i</sup>et uix<sup>j</sup> palpitantem pre tormentis amputato collo peremerunt. Et precipue ex accusatione Grecorum fidelium occisus est, qui referebant hunc plus mille Christianorum propriis manibus mortificasse.

57. Hiis finitis et Christianorum aliquantulum persecutione ex noua munitione et istius decollatione repressa, Christiani principes aduersitates suorum Boemundique et societatis adtrite recolentes, et<sup>n</sup> famis pestilentiam, clademque mortalitatis in populo considerantes, ex peccatorum multitudine hec fieri asserebant. Qua de causa concilio<sup>b</sup> habito cum episcopis et omni clero qui aderant, decreuerunt omnem iniustitiam et feditatem de exercitu abscondi, uidelicet ut nullus in pondere aut mensura, nec in auri uel argenti cambitione,<sup>c</sup> nec in  
379 alicuius rei mutatione, | aut negocio confratrem Christianum circumueniret; nullus furtum presumeret; nullus fornicatione siue adulterio contaminaretur. Si quis uero hoc mandatum transgrediretur, deprehensus seuissima pena affligeretur, et sic populus Dei ab inquinatis<sup>d</sup> et immundis sanctificaretur. Hoc quidem decretum plurimi transgredientes, seuere a iudicibus constitutis correpti sunt, alii uinculati, alii uirgis cesi, alii tonsi<sup>e</sup> et cauteriati, ad correctionem et emendationem totius legionis. Deprehensi ibidem in adulterio uir et femina coram omni exercitu denudati, et post terga manibus reuinctis<sup>f</sup> a percussoribus grauiter uirgis uerberati, totum circuire coguntur exercitum, ut seuissimis plagis illorum uisis, a tali et tam nefario scelere ceteri absterreantur.

58. Hac iusticia in populo Dei<sup>a</sup> corroborata ex maiorum sententia, quatenus ira Dei placaretur, dux Godefridus iam a uulneris sui infirmitate conualuit, quem in terram Sarracenorum et Turcorum direxit exercitus, ad repetendas predas et spolia que Boemundus adtritrus et profugus deseruit, ut gaudium ex infortunio ieiuine et adtenuate plebi reportaret. Quod Deo annuente actum est. Sed non multas predarum contraxit copias. Nam Sarraceni et gentiles ab eo

<sup>i j</sup> uixque ACHN

57 <sup>a</sup> ac ACHN <sup>b</sup> consilio N <sup>c</sup> concambio A <sup>d</sup> inquinamentis A  
<sup>e</sup> tunci E <sup>f</sup> deuinctis A

58 <sup>a</sup> om. A

to death by beheading, dragging him before the city walls in full view of all the Turks: by this time he was wretched and scarcely breathing on account of torture, since for not much less than a month constant baiting and different torments had been inflicted on him. In particular he was executed following the accusation of Greek Christians, who reported that this man had killed over a thousand Christians with his own hands.

57. When these things were done, and the persecution of the Christians arising from the new fortification and the youth's execution had been somewhat curbed, the Christian princes gave consideration to the sufferings of their men and of Bohemond and the weakened fellowship, and reflected upon the affliction of famine and the devastating mortality among the people, and they claimed these things arose from the great number of sins. For this reason a conference was held with the bishops and all the clergy who were there, and they declared that all injustice and wickedness was to be cut out from the army, meaning that no one was to cheat a Christian brother in weight or measure, nor in changing gold or silver, nor in purchase of anything, nor in business; no one was to commit theft; no one was to take part in fornication or adultery. Anyone disobeyed this order would be subject to the most severe penalties if caught, and thus God's people would be sanctified from filth and impurity. When, indeed, many of the pilgrims disobeyed the decree they were severely sentenced by the appointed judges: some were put in chains, others flogged, others shaved and branded for the correction and improvement of the whole army. In that place a man and woman were caught in the act of adultery and they were stripped in the presence of all, and their hands were tied behind their backs and they were severely whipped with rods by floggers, and were forced to go around the whole army so that their savage wounds would be seen and would deter the rest from so very wicked a crime.

58. This justice among God's people was enforced by the will of the leaders, so that God's anger might be assuaged. Duke Godfrey was now recovered from the illness caused by his wound and the army sent him into Saracen and Turkish territory to seek out again the plunder and spoils which Bohemond had abandoned when he was defeated and fled, so that he might carry back to the famished and weakened people joy from ill-fortune. With God's approval this was done. But he did not bring back much plunder. For since that time

tempore quo Boemundus terram eorum intrauit, predasque abduxit, prouisi armenta sua cum uniuersis rebus et pecuniis per montana et loca inuestigabilia absconderunt. Reimundus similiter et ceteri principes ex decreto exercitus missi sunt. Sed paucas predas contraxerunt, propter diffugium quod Sarraceni cum rebus, armentis et pecudibus per montana et longinquam regionem faciebant.

59. Huius<sup>a</sup> autem longe obsidionis aliquo transacto curriculo, et grauissimis penis affecto populo, in laboribus uigiliarum, famis et pestilentie, et<sup>b</sup> frequentia incursantium Turcorum, ammirabilis Babilonie rex,<sup>106</sup> quoniam inter se et Turcos grauissima<sup>c</sup> diu ante expeditionem hanc Christianorum erat discordia et odium, per abbatem quendam Christianorum legatione et intentione cognita, de  
 380 pacis et | regni sui adinuicem<sup>d</sup> confederatione, quindecim legatos lingue diuersi generis peritos ad exercitum Dei uiuentis direxit, hec ferentes nuncia: 'Rex ammirabilis Babilonie gauisus aduentu uestro, et prospere adhuc uos<sup>e</sup> egisse, salutem principibus magnis et humilibus Christianorum. Turci gens extera mihi et regno meo infesti, sepe terras nostras inuasere, Ierusalem urbem que nostre est ditionis retinentes. Sed nunc uiribus nostris hanc ante aduentum uestrum recuperauimus, Turcos eiecimus, foedus et amicitiam uobiscum percutimus, genti Christianorum urbem sanctam et turrim Daud, et montem<sup>f</sup> Syon restituemus, de Christiane fidei professione discutimus. Que si discussa placuerit, hanc apprehendere parati sumus. Si<sup>g</sup> autem in lege et ritu gentilitatis<sup>h</sup> perstiterimus, foedus tamen quod adinuicem habuerimus minime irrumperetur. Precamur et monemus ne ab hac ciuitate Antiochia<sup>i</sup> recedatis, quousque in manu uestra restituatur imperatori Grecorum et Christianis iniuste ablata.'<sup>107</sup> Winemarus qui Mamistre a Baldwino et Tancrado recesserat ad maritima, iterato nauigio Laodiciam cum omni armatura naualis exercitus properauit. Quam uallatam nauali obsidione et expugnatam in uirtute suorum apprehendit, nil auxilii et respectus de omnibus que adquisierat Christianis confratribus Antiochie

59 <sup>a</sup> Cuius *N* <sup>b</sup> ac *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> grauis *ACHN* <sup>d</sup> inuicem *A* <sup>e</sup> om. *A*  
 // montemque *ACHN* <sup>f</sup> Sin *A* <sup>h</sup> gentilitatis nostre *A* <sup>i</sup> Antiochie *AHN*

<sup>106</sup> Albert always uses 'Babylonia' to refer to the Fātimid dynasty ruling in Cairo. The effective ruler was al-Afdāl, vizier 1094–1121.

<sup>107</sup> There is no doubt that the Egyptians, who maintained good relations with the Byzantines and were implacably opposed to the Turks, suggested an alliance to the Franks,

when Bohemond had entered their land and carried off booty the Saracens and gentiles had prudently hidden their herds with all their possessions and money throughout the mountains and inaccessible places. In the same way Raymond and the other princes were sent out on the army's orders. But they collected few spoils because the Saracens had dispersed with their possessions, herds, and flocks throughout the mountains and distant region.

59. When this long siege had gone on for some time, and the people had undergone very heavy punishment in terms of the burden of keeping watch, of famine and disease and frequent Turkish attacks, the king amir of Egypt,<sup>106</sup> because there had been very severe discord and hatred between him and the Turks long before this expedition of the Christians, and knowing the Christians' intentions by means of a certain abbot sent as emissary, sent fifteen envoys who were skilled in different languages to the army of the living God, about a mutual alliance for peace and his kingdom, bearing this message: 'The marvellous king of Egypt, who rejoiced at your arrival and that you have done well so far, sends greetings to the great and small princes of the Christians. The Turks are a race foreign to me and dangerous to my kingdom; they have frequently invaded our lands and held on to Jerusalem, a city which is subject to us. But now with our forces we have recovered this city before your arrival, we have thrown out the Turks, we have struck a treaty and a friendship with you, we shall restore the holy city and the Tower of David and Mount Sion to the Christian people, and we shall have discussions about acknowledging the Christian faith. If, when we have discussed it, it pleases us, then we are prepared to embrace it. If, however, we should persist in the law and the ritual of the gentile faith, yet the treaty which we have between us shall not be broken. We entreat and we warn you not to withdraw from this city of Antioch until that which was unjustly stolen is restored to the emperor of the Greeks and to the Christians.'<sup>107</sup> Winemer, who had withdrawn to the coast from Baldwin and Tancred at Mamistra, sailed again for Latakia with all the military equipment of the navy. He laid siege to the walled town by sea and overcame it by his forces and captured it, not offering or granting any help or consideration to his Christian brothers who were

but Albert's report of the message is invented. In particular, the Egyptians had not yet recaptured Jerusalem from the Turks: this is clear from the other Latin sources, and also from Ibn al-Athir (IA, *RHC Or* i. 193-5). Albert's invented speech may be compared with Robert the Monk's (equally fictitious) one: RM, pp. 791-2.

consedentibus<sup>j</sup> conferens aut imperciens. Laodiciam denique apprehensam dum secure obtineret, suique commilitones et compyrate otio uacarent, de<sup>k</sup> bonis terre et ciuitatis fruerentur, a Turcopolis et militibus regis Grecorum ex industria cesi sunt, et exuperati, arx ciuitatis recuperata, ipse Winemerus captus et in custodia carceris constitutus est, duce Godefrido <sup>l</sup>et ceteris<sup>l</sup> principibus hec Antiochie adhuc ignorantibus.<sup>108</sup>

60. Interea Turci obsessi in urbe Antiochia opem querere non tardantes et amicos ammonere, a montanis et finitimis regionibus magnas et copiosas uires Turcorum contraxerunt, quorum in breui triginta milia <sup>a</sup>in unum congregata sunt.<sup>a</sup> Disposuerant enim obsessi in animo et consultu suo ab ipsis exterioribus primo diluculo assultum fieri in populum sanctum Dei, deinde interiores urbis ad roborandum et augendum assultum ex impetu affore, Christianos armis et sagittarum grandine fatigare,<sup>b</sup> quousque cesis collis consumerentur in ore gladii. Tam nefandorum consiliorum et scelerate conspirationis delatio peruenit in castra catholicorum uirorum, God-  
 381 efridi ducis et episcopi Podiensis ceterorumque prima|tum, quibus pre inopia annone et diuturna lassitudine diuersaque clade, non amplius quam mille ualentes equi habebantur. Nunc ad hanc curam et angustiam profertur sententia antistitis, que in hoc modo fuit: 'Viri Christianissimi, et qui estis flos electus Gallie, quid modo sit utilius in consilio uidere nescio, nisi ut spem in nomine<sup>c</sup> Iesu habentes illis ex improviso occurratis. Gentiles quamuis usquequaque adunati in tot milibus ut audistis superueniant, nullis aggrauati laboribus, nec longo itinere a terra sua egressi et fatigati sint,<sup>d</sup> iam<sup>e</sup> usque Harich<sup>f109</sup> ciuitatem profecti, tamen non est difficile in manu Dei tot milia concludi et a uestris<sup>g</sup> paucis copiis consumi.' Ad hec uerba pontificis Godefridus dux, in officio belli semper indeficiens, in auditu et presentia clam conuocate legionis sic respondit: 'Dei uiui, et Domini<sup>h</sup>

<sup>j</sup> considentibus AH      <sup>k</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>l</sup> ceterisque ACHN

60    <sup>a</sup> \* contraxerunt in unum A      <sup>b</sup> premere A      <sup>c</sup> H adds Domini after nomine  
<sup>d</sup> sunt H      <sup>e</sup> iamque A      <sup>f</sup> Barich A      <sup>g</sup> nostris N      <sup>h</sup> ACN add nostri after Domini

<sup>108</sup> Latakia (al-Lādhiqiyyah, Syria) is classical Laodicia. Its history during this time remains obscure. C. W. David set out as clearly as possible the contradictions within and between the sources (*Robert Curthose*, pp. 230–44). Raymond of Aguilers was in a position to be well informed, and according to his account an English force held Latakia throughout the siege of Antioch and did send help to the crusaders. This agrees more closely with Albert's second version of events (see below, v. 24, vi. 55), and to some extent with Anna

besieging Antioch from all the things he had gained. Then, while he possessed captured Latakia in safety, and his fellow soldiers and co-pirates enjoyed some leisure, and they delighted in the benefits of the territory and town, they were intentionally struck down and overwhelmed by the Turcoples and soldiers of the Greek king; the town's citadel was recaptured, Winemer himself was taken and put under guard in prison, while Godfrey and the other princes at Antioch as yet knew nothing about it.<sup>108</sup>

60. Meanwhile the Turks who were besieged in the city of Antioch were not slow to seek assistance and to warn their friends, and they brought together from the mountains and adjoining regions great and numerous forces of Turks, of whom in a little while thirty thousand were gathered together. For the besieged had arranged in their intention and resolution that at first light an attack on the holy army of God would be made by these external forces, then those within the city would set on to strengthen and increase the attack, to harass the Christians with weapons and a hail of arrows, until they were all fatally wounded and put to the sword's edge. Information about the wicked plans and criminal conspiracy arrived in the camp of those Catholic men, Duke Godfrey and the bishop of Le Puy and the other leaders, among whom there were no more than a thousand fit horses, on account of the shortage of corn and the long-term weariness and other harm. Now the bishop put forward his ideas for this anxiety and distress, in this manner: 'Most Christian men, and you who are the chosen flower of Gaul, I do not know what it may be useful to suggest as a plan now, except that you have hope in Jesus' name and attack the enemy unexpectedly. Ever so many gentiles have come together from all sides in so many thousands and are close by, as you have heard. They are not weighed down by labours, nor have they left on a long journey from their own land and become tired; they have set out for the town of Harim,<sup>109</sup> yet it is not difficult for so many thousands to be confined in God's hand and destroyed by your few forces.' To these words of the bishop Duke Godfrey, always unflagging in the service of war, replied thus in the hearing and presence of the army which had secretly been called together: 'We are

Komnene, who reports that Alexios wrote to Raymond of Toulouse to demand he hand over Latakia (RA, p. 108; AC, ed. Leib, iii. 34; trans. Sewter, p. 353). However, R.-J. Lilie dates the letter to the spring of 1102: *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204* (Oxford, 1993), p. 265.

<sup>109</sup> Ḥārīm (prov. Idlib, Syria).

Iesu Christi sumus cultores, cuius nomini militamus. Hii in uirtute sua; nos uero in nomine Dei uiuentis adunati sumus.<sup>110</sup> In cuius gratia confidentes, impios et incredulos impetere non dubitemus; quia siue uiuimus siue morimur Domini sumus.<sup>111</sup> Sicut enim salutem et uitam diligimus, sic oportet ne inpalam uerbum istud fiat, ne hostes solliciti et prouidi de aduentu et impetu nostro, minus exterreantur et nobiscum preliari non expauescant.'

61. Hec duce monente et exhortante, septingenti equites uiri preliatores eliguntur, quos tamen res prorsus latebat, preter aliquos<sup>a</sup> primores exercitus. Defecerant enim plerisque equi, pre diuersis plagis ut prediximus, et paucissimi ualentes fuere equi. Vnde alii iumentis, alii mulis et asinis prout necessitas exigebat<sup>b</sup> insidentes, intempeste noctis silentio iter mouerunt, per pontem nauium trans-euntes, Turcis hiis ignorantibus qui in presidio Antiochie ad defensionem morabantur. Boemundus,<sup>c</sup> Tancradus, Robertus Flan-driensis, Robertus de Nortmannia, una cum duce Godefrido in loco decreto pariter conuenerunt. Rotgerus uero de Barnauilla pariter conuocatus affuit, qui in insidiis Turcorum assiduus et sepius strages exercens, apud eosdem Turcos<sup>d</sup> notissimus<sup>e</sup> et famosus laudem adeo obtinuit, ut sepius inter Christianos et ipsos de omni conuentione utrimque captiuorum et cuiusque rei negotio internuncius audiretur. Ipse<sup>f</sup> pariter antistes socius in omni ammonitione sancta sequebatur ad confortandos uiros. Hiis uero per noctem iam superata uia, et ad castra Turcorum propiantibus, Boemundus quidam<sup>112</sup> de genere  
382 Turcorum qui ueritate agnita<sup>g</sup> que | Christus est<sup>113</sup> baptismi gratiam percepit, et a Boemundo principe recenter de sacro fonte leuatus nomine eius est uocatus, Waltherus<sup>h</sup> de Dommedart premittuntur, cautissime gradientes, quousque iam primo diei crepusculo gentem innumerabilem ad auxilium Antiocenorum uenientem inspectant, et a silua et fructetis<sup>i</sup> undique uiam<sup>j</sup> properare. Hii autem ut hostes a longe speculantur reditum parant, ad septingentos socios laxis frenis reuolant, rem ut erat aperientes, sed omnem terrorem bono solamine adimenes.

61 <sup>a</sup> quosdam A <sup>b</sup> exhibebat H <sup>c</sup> N adds et after Boemundus <sup>d</sup> om. A  
<sup>e</sup> nominatissimus A <sup>f</sup> N adds autem after Ipse <sup>g</sup> cognita ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> Waltherus C <sup>i</sup> ACHN add a before fructetis <sup>j</sup> om. A

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Ps. 19 (20): 8.

<sup>111</sup> Rom. 14: 8.

<sup>112</sup> The convert Bohemond is also found in Raymond of Aguilers (RA, pp. 158-9) and Robert the Monk (RM, p. 875). See also below, iv. 15-6.

<sup>113</sup> 1 John 5: 6.

followers of the living God and Lord Jesus Christ, for whose name we serve as soldiers. These men are gathered in their own strength: we are gathered in the name of God.<sup>110</sup> Let us trust in his favour and not hesitate to attack the wicked and unbelieving foe, because whether we live or die we are the Lord's.<sup>111</sup> For as we love safety and life, so this word of yours should not be proclaimed, lest the enemy, being careful and forewarned about our approach and attack, will be less frightened and not greatly afraid to join battle with us.'

61. With the duke warning and encouraging in this way, seven hundred cavalry, good fighting men, were chosen, from whom, however, the affair was utterly hidden other than from some leaders of the army. Very many of them lacked horses, on account of different misfortunes as we have said, and very few horses were fit. So some were riding packhorses, others mules or donkeys, just as necessity drove, when they moved off in the silence of the dead of night, crossing over the ship bridge, with the Turks who remained in the fortress of Antioch to defend it unaware of these developments. Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, together with Duke Godfrey, all met in the appointed place. Roger of Barneville had also been called up and was there: he was very active against Turkish raids and frequently brought about defeats, and he had gained such renown among those same Turks as a remarkable and famous soldier that he was frequently employed between the Christians and them as mediator in any settlement of prisoners on both sides, or negotiation of any matter. Likewise the bishop himself followed as their comrade and as a reminder of all holy things to strengthen the men. These men completed the journey during the night and were approaching the Turkish camp. A certain Bohemond<sup>112</sup>—a Turk who had perceived the truth which is Christ<sup>113</sup> and received the grace of baptism, and, since he had recently been raised from the holy spring by Bohemond the prince, was called by his name—and Walter of Domedart were sent ahead, creeping up very cautiously, so that in the very first light of day they observed the infinite army coming to relieve the Antiochenes, and how they hastened their journey from the woods and scrubland on all sides. Once these two had looked at the enemy from a distance they prepared their return and rode back to their seven hundred comrades at a gallop, reporting exactly how things stood but taking away all fear with good consolation.

62. Antistes uero egregius, auditis uerbis Walteri et Boemundi, ammonet socios, metu et anxietate aliquantulum hesitantes, ne dubitent mori pro eius amore cuius uestigia cum signo sancte crucis sunt secuti, et cuius gratia<sup>a</sup> patriam, cognationem et omnia reliquerunt, certi quia cum Domino Deo<sup>b</sup> Sabaoth, quem hodie hic mori contigerit, celos possidebit. Iam hac beata ammonitione roborati unanimiter decreuerunt malle mori quam inimicis uiliter terga dare. Ad hec comes Reimundus hilari animo uibrata hasta, clipeo pectori obducto, Godefridus dux non minus estuans desiderio conserendi prelia, ceterique septingenti uiri bellicosi ex improviso per medios aduolantes infringunt, et eorum multitudinem copiosam disturbantes, palmam Deo donante uictores accipiunt, Turcis adtritris et in fugam conuersis. Dei etiam auxilio et misericordia nerui arcuum eorum pre pluuiis molli<sup>c</sup> ac defecti nil poterant, quod illis magno fuit impedimento, et fidelibus in triumpho augmento. <sup>d</sup>Victores igitur Christiani facti uidentes se<sup>d</sup> preualuisse, et paucos suorum cecidisse, ab equis descendentes capita occisorum amputant, sellis alligant, sociis nonnullis in castris circa<sup>e</sup> Antiochiam rei euentum expectantibus <sup>f</sup>in magna leticia<sup>f</sup> afferunt cum mille equis ualentibus et spoliis multis que deuictis hostibus acceperunt. Affuerunt in eodem prelio nuncii regis Babilonie, qui etiam capita Turcorum amputata in sellis ad exercitum detulerunt. Contigit<sup>g</sup> hec uictoria Christianis in manu paucorum precedenti die capitis ieiunii.<sup>114</sup> Ipsis itaque fidelibus in magna gloria repedantibus ad populum suum et ad tentoria in pratis Antiochie relictis, Turci qui obsessi auxilium adtrite multitudinis<sup>h</sup> operiebantur, in menibus suis stantes a longe contemplantur uictri|ces aquilas fidelium, quas sue expectate gentis estimantes, subito clamantium fragore et cornicinum strepitu ad arma festinant, e portis fortiter exundant, putantes ab intus et deforis in momento omnem illam sacram consumi legionem. Sed comminus appropiantibus Christianis et uisis capitibus Turcorum, exuuiis quoque et caballis eorum recognitis, fragorem et tubarum sonitum compresserunt, gaudere cessauerunt et in munitionem celeri fuga relati sunt. Christiani uero ad augendum Turcis dolorem capita Turcorum

62    <sup>a</sup> gratiam H    <sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> N adds sunt after molli    <sup>d d</sup> Videntes igitur Christiani se uictores A    <sup>e</sup> om. H    <sup>f f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> ACHN add autem after Contigit

<sup>h</sup> H adds auxilium after multitudinis

<sup>114</sup> The Lake Battle took place on 9 Feb. 1098.

62. When the eminent bishop heard what Walter and Bohemond had to say he told his comrades, who were wavering a little from fear and anxiety, that they should not hesitate to die for love of Him whose footsteps they had followed with the sign of the holy cross, and for whose favour they had left their homeland, kindred, and everything, certain that he who happened to die here today would possess the heavens with the Lord God of Hosts. Strengthened now by this blessed advice they declared as one that they would rather die than despicably turn their backs on the enemy. At these words Count Raymond cheerfully brandished his lance and brought his shield up to cover his chest, Duke Godfrey was burning no less with the desire to join battle, and the other seven hundred warlike men galloped unexpectedly through the midst of the enemy and broke their lines, throwing their great multitude into confusion, and by God's gift they received the palm as victors, while the Turks were destroyed and put to flight. By God's help and mercy also, the strings of their bows were unusable because they were wet and weak from the rain, which was a great problem to the Turks and an increase in triumph to the faithful. Therefore, when the Christians saw they had prevailed as victors, and few of their number had fallen, they dismounted and cut off the heads of those killed, tied them to their saddles and carried them back in great happiness to their many comrades who were awaiting the outcome in the camp around Antioch, along with a thousand fit horses and many spoils they took from the defeated enemy. The king of Egypt's envoys were in that same battle and they also took back to the army on their saddles the cut-off heads of Turks. This victory happened to the Christians in a band of few on the day before Ash Wednesday.<sup>114</sup> While these faithful were returning in great glory to their people and to the tents they had left on the plains of Antioch, the Turks who were besieged and were waiting for assistance from the destroyed army were standing on the ramparts, and they saw from a distance the victory banners of the faithful, which they believed to be those of the expected army, so they quickly hastened to arms with the sound of shouting and the blast of trumpets and spilled out of the gates in strength, thinking that the entire holy army would be destroyed instantly from inside and outside. But as the Christians drew near and they saw the heads of the Turks, and recognized also their equipment and ponies, they suppressed the noise and sounding of trumpets, stopped rejoicing and fled back swiftly into the defences. Then to increase the Turks' grief the Christians hurled some Turkish

trans menia et muros iactauerunt, cetera ferme ducenta, hastis et palis infixis in aspectu omnium circumstantium<sup>i</sup> ad menia extulerunt.

63. Crastina uero<sup>a</sup> die relata<sup>b</sup> principes fidelium consiliis inuigilant, leti de recenti uictoria, quatenus presidium cuiusdam machine locarent iuxta prefatum pontem ciuitatis qui porrigitur trans fluuium Farfar, ut sic auferrent locata machina introitum et exitum ab urbe commeantibus et escas inferentibus, et insidias per eundem pontem Christianis molientibus. Tandem consilio reperto Boemundum principem Sicilie et<sup>c</sup> Euerardum de Poisat, Reimundum comitem de Prouincia, Warnerum de Greis, ad portum<sup>d</sup> maris qui dicitur Symeonis heremite propter emendos cibos cum plurimis peditibus dirigunt, et ut uocarent socios ad opem construendi presidii, qui in ipso littore maris propter naues que escas adducebant morabantur. Reduxerunt in eodem comitatu legatos regis Babylonie, quos magnificis muneribus honoratos, in bona fide saluos nauigio remiserunt. Tam egregiorum uirorum consilio et discessu per delatores comperto ac manifestato, Turci gauisi sunt gaudio magno.<sup>115</sup> Qui assumptis quatuor milibus electorum militum, per pontem predictum ab urbe egressi uiros predictos ductores exercitus per notas sibi semitas insecuti sunt, hoc magno ignorante exercitu, in montanis insidias ponentes inter uepres et frutecta, quousque missi principes a portu maris repedarent. Repedantibus autem sociis tam in equis quam pedibus,<sup>e</sup> ex ammonitione Boemundi ceterorumque primorum quorum iam quatuor milia confluxerant, Turci inprouisos et cibariis onustos raptim ab insidiis exurgentes incurrunt, sagittis trans pectus et uiscera confodientes, alios gladio trucidant. Et quia a dextris illis erat uictoria, manus suas a fidelium martyrio non ante continuerunt, quam per siluas et campos quingentos amputatis capitibus extinxerunt. Vulneratorum quidem et captiuorum non erat numerus. Boemundus igitur qui retro agebat custodiam cum ceteris uiris magnificis, intellecta hac crudelissima cede, uidensque suos semineces  
384 per abrupta montium per opaca loca latere, | celeri fuga hac et illac tendere, et uidens<sup>f</sup> se fugitiuis et<sup>g</sup> uictis nequaquam prodesse, sed sibi in promptu<sup>h</sup> esse mori, reductis frenis cum sociis equo insedentibus<sup>i</sup>

<sup>i</sup> circumstantium ACHN

63 <sup>a</sup> autem ACHN <sup>b</sup> illucescente ACHN <sup>c</sup> et om. A <sup>d</sup> portam H <sup>e</sup> H  
adds in before pedibus <sup>f</sup> perspicens ACHN <sup>g</sup> ac ACHN <sup>h</sup> promptu E  
<sup>i</sup> insidentibus CH

<sup>115</sup> 1 Chr. 29: 9; Tobias 11: 21; Matt. 2: 10.

heads over the walls and ramparts; about two hundred others they fixed on lances and stakes and carried them up to the walls in view of all who were standing on them.

63. When the next day came the princes of the faithful, happy from the recent victory, made careful plans to position the defence of a siege engine next to the aforementioned town bridge which stretched across the river Farfar, so that when the engine was in place they could take away the way into and out of the city from those going to and fro and bringing in supplies, and setting up raids on the Christians across that same bridge. At length the plan was made and they sent Bohemond prince of Sicily and Everard of Le Puiset, Raymond count of Provence, and Warner of Grez, with many infantry, to the seaport which is called Symeon the Hermit's, to buy food and to call on those comrades who were hanging about on the seashore because of the ships which used to bring supplies, for aid in building the siege engine. In that same company they brought down the king of Egypt's envoys, who had been honoured with magnificent gifts, and sent them back safely by ship in good faith. The plan and decampment of so many eminent men was discovered and made plain to the Turks by spies and they rejoiced with great joy.<sup>115</sup> They assembled four thousand picked soldiers and set out from the city across the aforesaid bridge to pursue those army leaders along paths known to them, the army being totally unaware of this, and they set up an ambush in the mountains among the thornbushes and scrub at the point where the princes sent to the seaport would return. As the comrades were returning on horseback and on foot—at Bohemond's urging and that of the other leaders four thousand of them had now gathered—the Turks leapt out suddenly from the ambush and attacked them, unprepared as they were and laden with supplies, piercing them with arrows through chest and stomach, and slaughtering others with the sword. And because victory was properly theirs, they did not hold back their hands from martyring the faithful until they had killed five hundred by cutting off their heads in the woods and on the plains. There were countless wounded and captured. Therefore Bohemond, who was keeping guard at the rear with other splendid men, when he knew about this very cruel slaughter, and since he saw his men half-dead on the mountain slopes, hiding in dark places, fleeing swiftly here and there, and since he saw he could not be any use at all to the fleeing and the conquered,

se subtraxit, et ad maritima uia relecta<sup>j</sup> tendens, cum paucis repedebat. Nec mora quidam<sup>k</sup> qui uix uelocitate equi per deuexa collium elapsus ab armis declinauerat, Godefridum ducem qui ab exercitu trans pontem nauium ueniens mediis assistens campis ex pontificis ammonitione<sup>l</sup> Turcos et armenta eorum in urbem redire coegerat, graui inquietauit fama, asserens quomodo Boemundus ceterique comprimores in mortis articulo positi, inter inimicorum insidias artantur, et quanta crudelitate populus<sup>m</sup> a portu<sup>m</sup> repedans sit adritus.<sup>116</sup>

64. Dux uero hiis auditis nuncios per uniuersa misit tentoria, nunciare famam tam crudelem, et ut parati essent ad omnia nunc sibi aduersantia. Conturbati et exterriti uniuersi fideles, omnibus<sup>n</sup> e tentoriis sine dilatione confluunt, humeris squamosas uestes ferri ingerunt, hastis uexilla prefigunt, festinanter equos frenis et sellis reparant. Ordinant acies, aditum pontis et urbis celeri uia disponunt appetere quo inimicos ad presidium urbis redituros sperabant. Hiis sine ulla tardatione pontem nauium transeuntibus, et duce Godefrido mediis campis trans amnem reperto, et tristi uultu de sociorum nece immutato, alter adest nuncius qui ex legatione Boemundi, Reimundi, Warneri ceterorumque per montana fugam facientium ducem in campo aliosque primores secum consistentes commonuit quatenus in tentoria redirent propter insidias et assultus Turcorum, quorum uires et multitudinem intolerabiliorem arbitrabantur quam fuisset. Dux uero inperterritus et uindictam adtritum fidelium sitiens, prorsus hinc abire aut aliqua formidine locum hunc se deserere contradixit, sed cum iuramento se asseruit aut hodie<sup>b</sup> montem quo firmandum erat presidium conscendere, aut in eodem cum suis uitam amittere. Hac in ducis responsione et affirmatione et cuneorum ordinatione assunt incolumes prefati principes, Boemundus, Reimundus, Warnerus. De quorum aduentu et uita uniuersi letati et consolati,<sup>c</sup> contendunt ad locum montis predicti, ante pontem urbis, decemque equites ex multitudine electos premisere in illius montis

<sup>j</sup> relecta *A*      <sup>k</sup> quidem *N*      <sup>l</sup> monitu *ACHN*      <sup>m m</sup> om. *A*

64    <sup>n</sup> omnes *A*      <sup>b</sup> *N* adds mundum after hodie      <sup>c</sup> confortati *H*

<sup>116</sup> This messenger also appears in *ChA*, line 3601 (i. 198).

but was himself about to die, he reined back with his mounted comrades and withdrew, and made for the maritime road again and retraced his journey with a few men. Soon one of the knights, who had only just escaped by the speed of his horse down the hill slopes and had avoided the weapons, disturbed Duke Godfrey, who was coming across the ship bridge from the army and was in the middle of the plains, and who on the bishop's advice had forced the Turks and their herds to return into the city, with the serious news, telling how Bohemond and the other co-leaders were in danger of death, that they were in a tight spot between enemy ambushes, and with what great cruelty the people returning from the port had been destroyed.<sup>116</sup>

64. When he heard these things the duke sent criers through all the tents to announce the cruel news, and to prepare everyone for all the things which were now going against them. All the faithful were troubled and afraid and they rushed together from all the tents straight away; they carried their scaly iron garments on their shoulders; they fixed banners on their lances; they swiftly recovered their horses with harness and saddles. They formed their divisions, having swiftly decided to make for the approach to the bridge and city by which they hoped the enemy would return to the protection of the city. These men crossed the ship bridge without any delay and found Duke Godfrey in the middle of the plains across the river, his sad face transformed by grief at the killing of his comrades, and then another messenger arrived who was sent by Bohemond, Raymond, Warner, and the rest, who were making their escape through the mountains and warned the duke on the plain and the other leaders who were with him to return to their tents because of the ambushes and attacks of the Turks, whose strength and number they judged to be more irresistible than they had been before. The duke was unafraid and thirsting for revenge for the destroyed Christians, and he refused absolutely to move from there or to desert this place out of any fear, but he declared with an oath that either he would today ascend the mountain on which the fortress had been built, or he would lose his life with his men on that same mountain. The princes named above, Bohemond, Raymond, and Warner, arrived safely as the duke made this reply and affirmation and disposition of troops. Everyone was happy and cheered that they had arrived and were still alive, and they made for the place on the aforesaid mountain, in front of the city bridge, and sent ahead ten horsemen chosen from the great army to

cacumine ad uidendum si que insidie Turcorum altera in ualle montis  
 iuxta montana haberentur. Vix decem in equo premissi milites in  
 montis arduo constiterunt, et ecce totam manum Turcorum illorum,  
 scilicet qui a recenti cede Christianorum in circuitu per montana et  
 notas semitas clam redierant, contemplantur. De quibus aduersum se  
 uiginti equites precurrere intuentur, qui decem a montis acumine<sup>d</sup>  
 385 arcerent. Christianis uero decem cedentibus propter | nimium  
 uicinas Turcorum insidias, et hiis uiginti cacumen obtinentibus,  
 subuenere triginta Christiani confratres, qui illos uiginti fortiter  
 incursantes de montis apice usque ad ipsas Turcorum copias<sup>e</sup> in  
 fugam reddiderunt. Hiis uiginti fugam ad societatem maturantibus,  
 sexaginta<sup>f</sup> Turci equites ab insidiis eruperunt, uiri fortissimi et in  
 equis doctissimi, qui mox triginta Christianos equites in arcu et  
 sagitta amouentes,<sup>g</sup> in eodem permanserunt. Visa siquidem illorum  
 audacia et incursu sexaginta<sup>h</sup> pariter equites Christiani sexaginta  
 occurrere<sup>i</sup> Turcis in monte, interim toto comminus<sup>j</sup> appropiante  
 exercitu Christianorum, qui eos repente de monte fugatos in uallem  
 quo Turcorum manus et uirtus iuxta montana adunata erat celeri fuga  
 remiserunt. Ad hec tota uis Turcorum ab insidiis consurgit, et  
 sexaginta equites Gallorum iam brauium montis tenentes grauissima  
 insecutione ceperunt urgere, ac per medium montis cacumen usque  
 ad ipsam uallem quam iam appropians Christianus occupauit exerci-  
 tus retulerunt.

65. Turci quidem uidentes se nimium processisse, et Christianum  
 exercitum immobilem permanere, nec aliqua formidine posse auerti a  
 proposito, sed aduersum se festinato contendere, frustra fugam  
 arripiunt. Galli nichilominus ad persequendum instant, qui in  
 momento permixti quia comminus adinuicem confluerant, cruenta  
 cede in Turcos seuiunt in ultione sociorum<sup>a</sup> attritorum et a portu  
 Symeonis redeuntium. Hac in fuga Turcorum et proximatione  
 Christianorum non parce eos cedentium, plurime copie que a  
 menibus undique ad portam confluerant Turcorum exteriorum  
 reditum operientes, sed nunc uidentes fortunam illorum<sup>b</sup> euersam

<sup>d</sup> cacumine ACHN      <sup>e</sup> insidias A      <sup>f</sup> quadraginta A      <sup>g</sup> amouentes N  
<sup>h</sup> quadraginta A      <sup>i</sup> occurrerunt N      <sup>j</sup> om. H

65    <sup>a</sup> suorum ACHN      <sup>b</sup> eorum A

the summit of that mountain in order to see if the Turks had set ambushes in the other valley of the mountain next to the mountainous region. The ten knights sent ahead on horseback had only just reached the steep part of the mountain when they saw the whole army of those Turks, that is to say those who had returned from the recent slaughter of Christians secretly and in a roundabout way through the mountains and paths known to them. They spotted twenty of these riding in front towards them, to cut off the ten from the peak. The ten Christians gave way because there were too many Turkish ambushes in that vicinity, and the twenty Turks reached the summit. Thirty fellow Christians came to support them and they attacked the twenty Turks valiantly and forced them to flee from the mountain peak back to the Turkish lines. As the twenty made good their escape to their company, sixty Turkish cavalry burst out from ambush, very strong men and very skilled on horseback, who soon drove away the thirty Christian horsemen with bow and arrow, and held out on the peak. Since they saw the boldness and attack of these men, sixty Christian cavalry likewise attacked the sixty Turks on the mountain; meanwhile the whole Christian army was approaching close at hand and they sent back in swift flight those who had suddenly fled from the mountain into the valley where the Turks' army and strength had been assembled next to the mountainous region. At this point the entire Turkish force rose up together from ambush and began to harry with a very threatening pursuit the sixty Gaulish horsemen who now held their prize of the mountain, and they forced them back all the way across the middle of the mountain peak to that same valley which the approaching Christian army had already occupied.

65. Some Turks, seeing that they had advanced too far and that the Christian army was holding firm and could not be turned away from their intention by fear, but were hurriedly riding against them, took flight in vain. The Gauls, notwithstanding, pursued them eagerly and were in among them in a moment because they had met one another close at hand, and they inflicted a cruel slaughter on the Turks in revenge for their colleagues killed returning from the port of St Symeon. As the Turks fled and the Christians approached, not falling back before them at all, many troops who had gathered at the gate from the ramparts all around were concerned with the return of the outside Turks, but now they saw their luck changed for the worse,

et casus illorum<sup>c</sup> miserrimos, patefaciunt portam, et in patulis campis armati procedunt, ut suis augerent uires et fiduciam darent urbem intrandi. Ex utraque parte fidelium et infidelium permixti sunt equites et pedites. Dux uero Godefridus, cuius manus bello doctissima erat, plurima capita licet galea tecta ibidem amputasse refertur, ex ore illorum qui presentes oculis perspexerunt. Dum sic plurimo belli labore desudaret, <sup>d</sup>et mediis<sup>d</sup> hostibus plurimam stragem exerceret, Turcum, mirabile dictu, sibi arcu inportunum acutissimo ense duas diuisit in partes, lorica indutum. Cuius corporis medietas a pectore sursum sabulo cecidit, altera adhuc cruribus equum complexa in medium pontem ante urbis menia refertur ubi lapsa remansit.<sup>117</sup> Hoc prospero euentu letati, Robertus Flandriensis, similiter Robertus comes Nortmannorum, Cono de Monte Acuto, et comes Reimundus, et<sup>e</sup> omnis nobilitas Gallie que  
 386 aderat, hostes impetu equorum perrumpunt, multos hasta | et gladio perforant, in pontem moribundos cogunt contendere, ubi pre nimia pressura quam pons sustinere nequiuera, quia tot fugientibus sui latitudo non suffecerat, plurimi<sup>f</sup> e ponte cadentes undis Ferne inuoluuntur. Boemundus qui per iuga rupium solis hibicibus<sup>g</sup> peruia elapsus cum ceteris comparibus ad societatem<sup>h</sup> gratia Dei saluus redierat, in eodem sanguineo opere atrociter<sup>i</sup> desudans, socios ammonet et consolatur, a ponte uero labentes hostes hasta perforatos gladio trucidat. Pedites denique iocundati hoc triumpho corruentes et densatos in pontis margine et alui crepidine lanceis impetunt, ab occisione manum<sup>j</sup> non ante continentes, donec sanguine occisorum totus immutatur<sup>k</sup> fluuius. Hiis itaque prospere finitis, Christianisque readunatis, et Turcos in ponte adhuc insequentibus et portam cum eisdem<sup>l</sup> intrare conantibus, porta ab interioribus extemplo obstruitur sociosque misere exclusos inter percussorum manus relinquunt. Hec

<sup>c</sup> eorum ACHN<sup>d</sup> mediisque ACHN<sup>e</sup> ac ACHN<sup>f</sup> plurime N<sup>g</sup> ibicibus A; hybicibus C<sup>h</sup> societatem C<sup>i</sup> om. A<sup>j</sup> manus N<sup>k</sup> immutaretur ACHN<sup>l</sup> eis A

<sup>117</sup> This exploit is to be found in *ChA*, lines 3667–71, 3690–7 (i. 200–2). Reiffenberg, in *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, iii, pp. lxix–lxx, draws attention to a parallel in *Pseudo-Turpin*, referring to Charlemagne: *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. C. Meredith-Jones (Paris, 1936), p. 177; *An Anonymous Old French Translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, ed. R. N. Walpole (Cambridge, MA, 1979), p. 71. Roland sliced at least four of the enemy from scalp to saddle, and his feat was emulated by Oliver: *Chanson de Roland*, ed. Brault, ii. 82–4 (lines 1326–34), 86 (1371–5), 96 (1543–5), 98–100 (1601–6), 116 (1871). However, it should be noted that Godfrey's cut was lateral, not vertical; also that it is reported in several contemporary histories, so may be more than a

and their wretched overthrow, so they opened the gate and went out armed onto the open plain to increase the strength of their forces and give courage for entering the city. From all sides the cavalry and infantry of the faithful and the infidels were mingled together. Duke Godfrey, whose hand was very schooled in war, is reported to have cut off many heads there even though they were helmeted: this is said by those who were present and saw it with their own eyes. While he was thus exerting himself in the great labour of war and inflicting a great massacre in the midst of the enemy, amazingly he cut an armoured Turk who was threatening him with his bow into two parts with his very sharp sword. The half of the body from the chest upwards fell to the sand, the other half still grasped the horse with its legs and was carried onto the middle of the bridge in front of the city ramparts where it slid off and remained.<sup>117</sup> Rejoicing at this happy outcome, Robert of Flanders, with Robert count of Normandy, Cono of Montaigu and Count Raymond, and all the nobility of Gaul which was there, broke through the enemy with a cavalry charge and pierced through many with lance and sword, forcing the dying to fight on the bridge where, because the pressure was more than the bridge could sustain and because its width was not sufficient for so many fleeing people, very many fell from the bridge and were covered by the waters of the Orontes. Bohemond, who had escaped across a ridge of rocks accessible only to mountain goats, by the grace of God had returned safely with his comrades to the army and was exerting himself fiercely in that same bloody work; he advised and strengthened his comrades, he slaughtered with his sword enemies who had been pierced by lance wounds and were slipping off the bridge. Then the infantry, who were rejoicing at this triumph, attacked the Turks with lances as they tumbled down and were pressed together on the edge of the bridge and the banks of the river bed, not holding back from killing until the whole river was changed by the blood of the killed. When these things had turned out well, therefore, and the Christians were reunited, and were still pursuing the Turks on the bridge and trying to enter the gate with them, the gate was barricaded quickly by those inside, and they left their wretchedly excluded comrades in the hands of the killers. These struggles and the fresh

poetic conceit: RM, pp. 786–7; OV, v. 84; RC, p. 646. On the other hand, none of the eyewitnesses recounts it, and Raymond of Aguilers writes of this skirmish that Godfrey ‘hostes . . . per medium dividebat’, a phrase which may have been the origin of the tale (RHC *Oec* iii. 249; the Hills’ edition erroneously has ‘dividebant’ [p. 61]).

certamina et Christianorum recens uindicta una die acta sunt mense Marcio, et uiri Turcorum tam qui bello ceciderunt, tam<sup>m</sup> qui undis perierunt, mille et quingenti computati sunt.

66. Victis in nomine <sup>a</sup>et uirtute<sup>a</sup> Domini<sup>b</sup> Iesu Christi<sup>c</sup> tam ferocissimis Turcorum cuneis, et crudeli cede fuga<sup>que</sup> in portam urbis coactis, et<sup>d</sup> Christianis cum magna gloria uictorie<sup>e</sup> in tentoria relatis, ab ipsa die et deinceps gentilium animi ceperunt mollescere, et assultus eorum ante creberrimi prorsus deficere, insidie quiescere, uirtus eorum languescere, timor quam plurimos eorum adeo inuadere, ut aliqui a ciuitate et suorum societate subtracti noctu migrarent, et Christianos se uelle fieri confitentes, Christianorum se principibus commendarent. Commendati uero et Christianorum turmis sociati, retulerunt quanta suorum pertulissent damna, et quanta de casu illorum per totam urbem excreuissent lamenta. Ammiraldos etiam duodecim potentissimos regis Darsiani uespere illo in eodem prelio cecidisse asserebant, de quorum nece planctus et gemitus totam conturbabat Antiochiam. <sup>f</sup>Quarta autem dehinc luce relata,<sup>f</sup> dux et uniuersi principes exercitus Dei, a tentoriis in uirtute magna exurgentes, presidium quod<sup>g</sup> decreuerant in uertice predicti montis ante pontem et portam urbis congerie lapidum et bitumine fragilis limi edificantes, uallo tutissimo munierunt, comitis Reimundi custodiam in eo constituentes cum quingentis uiris militaris industrie et audacie.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>m</sup> quam ACHN

66    <sup>a</sup> om. H    <sup>b</sup> N adds nostri *after* Domini    <sup>c</sup> om. A; N adds et in uirtute *after* Christi    <sup>d</sup> atque ACHN    <sup>e</sup> om. A    <sup>f</sup> quarta dehinc exorta luce ACHN  
<sup>g</sup> A adds ante *after* quod    <sup>h</sup> AH add Explicit liber tercius; C adds Explicit

revenge of the Christians were carried out on one day in March, and the Turkish dead were estimated to be fifteen hundred, counting those who fell in battle and those who perished in the waters.

66. After these savage Turkish forces had been conquered in the name and strength of Lord Jesus Christ, and they had been forced into the city gate by cruel slaughter and flight, and the Christians had gone back into their tents with great glory of victory, from that day onwards the minds of the gentiles began to soften and their attacks which were previously very frequent ceased from then on, their ambushes stopped, their strength decreased, fear beset many of them to such a degree that some of them left the town and their comrades by night and, claiming that they wished to become Christians, they commended themselves to the leaders of the Christians. Once commended and allied to the Christian troops, they reported how many injuries they had endured of their own people, and how many lamentations for their fate had risen up throughout the whole city. Also they claimed that twelve of King Yaghi-Siyan's most powerful amirs had fallen on that evening in the same battle, and that all of Antioch was troubled by mourning and grief for their death. Moreover, when the fourth day after this dawned, the duke and all the princes of God's army sallied forth in great strength from the tents and with a very secure rampart they reinforced the fortification which they had set up on the top of the aforesaid mountain in front of the bridge and gate of the city, building it with a pile of stones and a mortar of weak lime, and placing Count Raymond's garrison in it with five hundred men of military dedication and courage.

## LIBER QVARTVS

389 1. Taliter<sup>a</sup> triumphatis<sup>b</sup> et obrutis in 'gurgitis flumine<sup>c</sup> aduersariis Christiane plebis, et presidio firmato nemine obsistente, quidam nuncius ex Turcis festinus<sup>d</sup> ad turrin et palatium Darsiani regnatoris Antiochie, quod est in montanis,<sup>1</sup> transuolat, quanta sint damna suorum sibi<sup>e</sup> indicans, et nisi diligenter et<sup>f</sup> sollicite sibi<sup>g</sup> provideat, Antiochiam cunctasque finitimas oras illius in breui eum amissurum. Hoc rex Darsianus homo grandeuus audiens presidium firmatum suorumque ruinam irrecuperabilem, hactenus in<sup>h</sup> omni conflictu et euentu diuersarum rerum securus in solio dormiens, nunc primum graui suspirio angustiat, filiumque suum Sansadoniam<sup>i</sup> cunctosque sibi subditos comprimores<sup>j</sup> ad suum inuitat consilium.

2. Aderat in conspectu eiusdem sceptrigeri Solimannus de Nicena<sup>a</sup> urbe expulsus et Romanie finibus, quem prefatus Darsianus compellans, nuncium sue legationis fieri obnixè petit, sciens eum uirum facundum, et omnibus regnis gentilium notissimum, dicens ad eum: 'Tu, generis mei proximus, cum duodecim legatis meis et filio meo Sansadonia, Corruzan<sup>b</sup> in terram et regnum natiuitatis nostre profecturus es. Copatrix<sup>c</sup> et Adorsonius duo ex principibus meis fidelissimi in hac legatione tecum erunt, ad faciendam querimoniam iniuriarum nostrarum. Vos uero transeuntes, Brodohan<sup>d</sup> de ciuitate Halapia<sup>e</sup> 390 confratrem et amicum ad auxilium nostrum commonete.<sup>2</sup> | Pulagit<sup>3</sup> cuius milites et arma sunt copiosa ad opem nobis conferendam similiter ammonete, eo quod nobis semper sit foedere coniunctus. Sceptrigero autem de Corruzan soltano,<sup>f4</sup> qui caput et princeps est Turcorum, aduersitates et calumnias nostras exponite, Corbahanque<sup>g5</sup> familiarem

1    \* Tandem H    <sup>b</sup> A adds hostibus after triumphatis    <sup>c</sup> ' gurgitibus et flumine N  
<sup>d</sup> om. A    <sup>e</sup> om. H    <sup>f</sup> ac CHN    <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>h</sup> om. A    <sup>i</sup> Sansadoni- all  
MSS here; Sansadoni- E below    <sup>j</sup> primores H

2    \* Nicea ACHN    <sup>b</sup> Corruzan all MSS here, but below: Corrozan C; Coorazana E;  
Coruzan, Corrosan N    <sup>c</sup> Copatrix H    <sup>d</sup> Brodohan all MSS here, HN have Brodoan  
below    <sup>e</sup> Halapia all MSS here; A has Alapia below    <sup>f</sup> soltando E    <sup>g</sup> Corbahan  
all MSS here; E has Corbohan below

<sup>1</sup> The city of Antioch enclosed the north-western slopes of Mount Silpius (Habib Neccar). Its walls climbed from the Orontes valley up the slopes and along the ridge. Near the highest point was sited the citadel, from where Yaghisiyan overlooked the city. The ground fell away steeply both before and behind the citadel: see below, iv. 24.

## BOOK FOUR

1. In this way the enemies of the Christian people were conquered and overwhelmed in the river waters, and the fortification was established in the absence of further resistance. A messenger hurrying from the Turks sped across to the tower and palace of Yaghi-Siyhan, the ruler of Antioch, which is in the mountains;<sup>1</sup> he revealed to him the extent of their losses and suggested that unless Yaghi-Siyhan took diligent and careful precautions he would soon lose Antioch and all its adjoining territories. King Yaghi-Siyhan, an aged man, heard of this fortification being established and of the irreversible destruction of his men: up till that point he had slept soundly in his upper room through all the fighting and outcome of different affairs; now for the first time he was distressed, and with a deep sigh he summoned his son Sansadonias, and all the men of first rank who were his subjects, to his council.

2. Among those in the presence of this same ruler was Suleyman, who had been driven out of Nicaea and the lands of Rūm, and the aforesaid Yaghi-Siyhan addressed him, asking him in all earnestness to become the bearer of his message, knowing him to be a man of eloquence and very renowned in all the kingdoms of the gentiles, saying to him: 'Neighbour of my people, you shall set out for Khurasan in the land and kingdom of our birth with twelve legates from me and my son Sansadonias. Copatrix and Adorsonius, two of the most faithful of my princes, shall go with you on this legation, to make complaint of our injuries. As you travel through, summon Ridwan of the city of Aleppo, our brother and friend, to our assistance.<sup>2</sup> In the same way call on Pulagit,<sup>3</sup> whose soldiers and weapons are plentiful, to bring us aid, because he is allied to us by a permanent treaty. Moreover, expound our misfortunes and injuries to the royal sultan of Khurasan,<sup>4</sup> who is the chief and prince of the Turks, and suggest that Karbugha<sup>5</sup> the sultan's friend should produce

<sup>2</sup> Riḍwān ibn Tutush was Saljūq ruler of Aleppo 1095–1113. Although Albert associates him with the siege of Antioch, he did not, in fact, come to Yāghisiyān's aid.

<sup>3</sup> Like the other amirs, Adorsonius and Copatrix (see AA iii. 36), Pulagit has not been identified.

<sup>4</sup> Barkyārūq, son of Malik-Shāh and Saljūq sultan 1094–1105.

<sup>5</sup> Karbughā al-Mawsili, atabeg of Mosul (this equates roughly to commander-in-chief: see below, iv. 3, where he is described as the sultan's second-in-command).

eiusdem sceptrigeri suggerite ut mihi auxiliares opes exhibeat et copias. Vocetur ergo nobis scriptor et notarius meus, ut litteras et sigillum meum uobiscum deferatis, quatenus confidentius credant necessitates nostras. Plurimi enim dies transierunt, ex quo in initio obsidionis huius urbis filius meus Buldagis<sup>b</sup> Corruzan uos precessit, aduentum Christiane gentis confratribus et principibus nostris notum facere, et aduersus eam ut nobis subueniant uniuersos commonere.<sup>7</sup>

3. Hac regis audita uoluntate et imperio <sup>a</sup>et ipsius<sup>a</sup> acceptis cum signo litteris, ex urbe et regis palatio procedentes in terram Corruzan profecti sunt. Venerunt siquidem in apparatu et sumptu nimio et in gloria magna ad ciuitatem quandam Sanmarthan<sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup>que erat de regno Corruzan. In qua ipsum principem magnum et sceptrigerum soltanum super omnes reges et principes orientalis plage, Corbahanque principem et<sup>c</sup> secundum a rege in gloria magna reppererunt. Quem Solimannus quia erat etate prior<sup>d</sup> et industria nominatissimus ac<sup>e</sup> facundia salutauit. Salutato autem rege, antequam legationem aperiret, sicut mos est Turcorum de infortunio et iniuriis conquerentium in conspectu eiusdem magni ac<sup>f</sup> potentissimi regis et presentia suorum pilleos a capite humi iacentes barbas ungulis<sup>g</sup> seuissime discerpunt, crines digitis distrahunt et euellunt, et in magnis lamentationibus suspiria trahunt. Rex Corruzan, hiis Turcorum discissionibus uisis, in superbia magna sic respondit: 'Solimanne, amicus et frater noster, quid uobis contigerit expone et uobis illatas iniurias aperi. Viuere nequaquam poterit a facie nostra quicumque est ille qui uos conturbare presumpserit.' Solimannus, gaudens et confidens in responsis tam potentissimi regis et in uirtute illius, amaritudinem quam grauiter in corde tenebat et omnem rem ex ordine retulit,<sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup>et quod<sup>i</sup> uiua uoce non poterat literarum assertionem memorabat: 'Niceam', inquit,<sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup>urbem<sup>k</sup> quam nosti nominatissimam et terram quam dicunt | Romaniam de regno Grecorum, quam  
391 auxilio <sup>l</sup>et uiribus tuis<sup>l</sup> ex tui<sup>m</sup> dono et gratia nobis collatam,

<sup>b</sup> Bulgadis *A*; Bolgedis *A* below; Boldegis *CEN* below; Buldegis *H* below

3 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> ipsiusque *ACHN* <sup>b</sup> Sammarthan *AN* <sup>c</sup> *om. A* <sup>d</sup> maior *A* <sup>e</sup> et *A*  
<sup>f</sup> et *AN* <sup>g</sup> unguibus *ACHN* <sup>h</sup> patefecit *A* <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup> quodque *ACHN* <sup>j</sup> in  
quam *E* <sup>k</sup> *om. H* <sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup> tuisque uiribus *ACHN* <sup>m</sup> tuo *A*

<sup>6</sup> According to Kemal al-Din, Yāghisiyān's second son was called Muḥammad: *RHC Or* iii. 578.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer identified Samarthan as Samarkand (*RHC Occ* iv. 390), but it is more likely to be a version of *Sormasane*, found in *Les Chétifs*. G. Myers suggested this was Hamadhan, the sultan's capital (*Les Chétifs*, p. xxiv), or Albert may be reflecting the fabled wealth of

for me auxiliary resources and troops. Let my scribe and secretary be called so that you may carry with you letters and my seal so that they will believe our difficulties more confidently. For very many days have passed since at the beginning of this siege of this city, my son Buldagis<sup>6</sup> preceded you to Khurasan to inform our brothers and princes of the arrival of the Christian people and to warn everyone against them so they would come to our assistance.'

3. When they had heard the king's wish and command and received letters with his seal, they set out from the city and the royal palace and went into the land of Khurasan. So they came to a certain town called Samarthan,<sup>7</sup> which belonged to the kingdom of Khurasan, in very great splendour and extravagance and in great magnificence. There they found in great glory the great prince and sultan himself, ruling over all kings and princes in the eastern region, and Prince Karbugha the king's second-in-command. Suleyman greeted him because he was his elder and greatly renowned for his diligence and eloquence. However, having greeted the king, before he revealed the purpose of the legation, the envoys followed the custom of the Turks when they are lamenting misfortune and injuries, and in full view of that same great and all-powerful king and in the presence of his men they took off their hats and threw them to the ground, they savagely plucked out their beards with their nails, they pulled at their hair and tore it out by the roots with their fingers, and they heaved sighs of great lamentations. When he saw the Turks tearing themselves to pieces in this way the king of Khurasan replied thus, very haughtily: 'Suleyman, our friend and brother, explain what has happened to you and reveal the injuries against you. We shall not countenance the continued existence of anyone who has the temerity to trouble you.' Suleyman rejoiced and trusted in the replies of this very powerful king and in his strength, and he told of the bitterness which lay heavily on his heart, and reported the whole affair in order, and what he could not deliver in his own words he was reminded of by the prompting of the letters: 'We acquired', he said, 'Nicaea, that city which you know is very famous, and the land which they call Rūm, from the kingdom of the Greeks, and it was granted to us by your assistance and forces and from your gift and

Isfahān: it had been the magnificent capital of Malīk-Shāh, though contested by his sons and not in Barkyārūq's possession at this point. None of these cities is within historical Khurāsān, but, as before, Albert seems to use the word to refer to the greater Saljuq empire. Tudebode lists 'Gorbandus impius de Samarzana' as one of the seventy-five legendary kings of Antioch (PT, p. 120).

adquisiuimus, quedam gens superueniens, quam dicunt Christianos de regno Francie, in manu forti et exercitu uehementi nobis abstulerunt, quam captam cum uxore et duobus filiis meis imperatori Constantinopolis tradiderunt. Me autem in fortitudine sua adtritum et fugatum ad urbem Antiochiam, in qua sperabam remanere, insecuti sunt. Vbi non solum me meosque, sed etiam regem Darsianum, de genere nostro uirum nobilissimum, tibi subiectum et amicum <sup>n</sup>et tuo<sup>n</sup> munere urbem<sup>n</sup> et terras tenentem, armata manu obsederunt. Misit<sup>p</sup> nos ad te idem princeps et tibi subiectus Darsianus, maior et consanguineus noster, ut sibi auxiliari digneris in uirtute multa qua potes. Nimium enim et supra quam credidimus necessitas exposcit. Populus et exercitus noster adtritus est, terra et regio nostra dissipata est. Nostra uita et omnia nostra nunc in manu tua; spem in alium sicut in te non habemus.<sup>7</sup>

4. In risu et deliramento uerba et querimonias huius rex de Corruzana accepit, leuiter in aures misit, nam<sup>a</sup> minime has calumnias ab <sup>b</sup>ulla plaga mundi<sup>b</sup> posse Turcis inferri credere se fatetur, et<sup>c</sup> uirtutem Solimanni hactenus nominatissimam, <sup>d</sup>et milicie<sup>d</sup> illius audaciam pro paruo reputans, audiente suorum cetu. Solimannus sicut is qui nuper expertus erat uirtutem Christianorum non leui animo sententiam regis accepit. Vnde quia nequiuera omnia uiua uoce explicare, literas cum sigillo Darsiani aperit, in quibus nomina regnorum et nomina principum uniuersorum Christianorum Turcos expugnantium intitulata erant, et quanti eorum sint<sup>e</sup> exercitus et uires. Rex uero <sup>f</sup>de Corruzana<sup>f</sup> et omnis primatus gentilium qui secum aderant, <sup>g</sup>agnitis literis et rebus uiribusque Gallorum, consternati sunt animo, et uultu in terram dimisso<sup>h</sup> non ultra super querimoniis Solimanni frustra mirati sunt. Ad hec sine intermissione in uniuersas terras regni sui regis missa legatio, omnes primates et ammiraldos suos in unum iubet conuenire die determinata que tunc aptior uidebatur.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>n</sup> <sup>n</sup> tuo quoque *A*; tuoque *CHN*  
add ergo after misit

<sup>a</sup> *A* adds Antiochiam after urbem

<sup>p</sup> *ACHN*

4 <sup>a</sup> om. *ACHN*

<sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> ulli mundi plaga *N*

<sup>c</sup> om. *ACHN*

<sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> milicieque

*ACHN* <sup>e</sup> fuit *N*

<sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> om. *ACHN*

<sup>g</sup> erant *H*

<sup>h</sup> demisso *AH*

favour. Now a people has arrived whom they call Christians from the realm of Francia and they have stolen Nicaea from us with a strong force and a powerful army and have handed it over with my wife and two sons to the emperor of Constantinople. Moreover, after they had defeated me and put me to flight, they pursued me in strength to the city of Antioch, in which I hoped to stay. There they have laid siege with an armed force not only to me and mine, but also to King Yaghi-Siyhan, most noble man of our people, who is your subject and friend and holds the city and lands by your gift. This same prince and subject of yours, Yaghi-Siyhan, our superior and kin, has sent us to you that you may deign to assist him in what great strength you can. For our need is very pressing and greater than we thought. Our people and army are destroyed; our land and region are overthrown. Our lives and all our possessions are now in your hands, for we have faith in no one else as we do in you.<sup>7</sup>

4. The king of Khurasan heard the man's words and complaints with laughter and mirth; he listened frivolously, for he confessed that he did not in the least believe that these injuries could have been inflicted on the Turks by people from any region of the world, and in the hearing of his assembly he said he did not think much of Suleyman's strength—hitherto so renowned—and the boldness of his military forces. Suleyman, as someone who had recently experienced the strength of the Christians, did not hear the king's opinion lightly. And so, because he had been unable to make everything clear in his own words, he opened the letters with Yaghi-Siyhan's seal, in which were listed the names of the kingdoms and the names of the princes of all the Christians who were fighting the Turks, and the size of their armies and their strength. The minds of the king of Khurasan and all the other gentile nobility who were with him were overwhelmed when they knew the content of the letters and the possessions and forces of the Gauls; they cast down their gaze to the floor and no longer wondered vainly about Suleyman's complaints. Now the king sent royal messages in a constant stream throughout all the lands of his kingdom, ordering all his nobility and amirs to assemble on a given day which then seemed suitable.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ChA* i. 254–5, lines 4945–75. At this point, according to Duparc-Quoioc, the lines are by Graindor de Douai, hence Albert could not have known them. For the whole vexed question of the relationship between Albert's *Historia* and the *Chanson*, see Cook, 'Chanson d'Antioche', and Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *chansons de geste*'.

392 5. Iam die adueniente unanimiter ex decreto et iussu regis conuenerunt, quibus | rex uerba et querimonias Solimanni et calumnias a Christianis illatas aperuit, dicens: 'Vniuersi qui conuenistis, pensate, et<sup>a</sup> pensandum est, quia Christiani qui superuenerunt, sicut fecerunt ceteris ciuitatibus et amicis et confratribus nostris, sic nobis facient nisi reprimantur.' Corbahan uero familiaris et primus in aula regis et secundus a <sup>b</sup>rege in <sup>b</sup>regno Corruzana, uir contumax et plenus superba feritate, uirtutes Christianorum paruipendens, in hec uerba spiritu superbie erupit: 'Miror uerba et querelam Solimanni et<sup>c</sup> Sansadonie et Buldagis filiorum regis<sup>d</sup> Darsiani super infestatione Christianorum quorum obsidione Solimannus terras et urbes suas amisit, de quibus non facilius possent defendi quam si a tot miseris et brutis animalibus fuissent obsessi. Olim centum milia Christianorum strauit amputatis capitibus iuxta Ciuitot, ubi montana terminantur, in auxilium Solimanni accitus contra imperatorem Grecorum, dissipato illius exercitu et fugato ab obsidione urbis Nicee. Post hec Petri heremite agmina innumerabilia satellites mei in auxilium Solimanni missi adtriuerunt, quorum cadauere et ossibus campi regionis numquam poterunt<sup>e</sup> uacuari.'<sup>f</sup><sup>9</sup>

6. Solimannus, qui uir est<sup>a</sup> mire et magne industrie, audita illius superbia et uerborum iactantia, equo animo hec illi <sup>b</sup>responsa dedit<sup>b</sup>: 'O<sup>c</sup> frater et amicus noster Corbahan, quare sic nos paruipendis et parum audentes astruis, <sup>d</sup>et nos<sup>d</sup> in tuo auxilio uicisse et imperatorem Constantinopolis adtriuissse, et Petri heremite inaudita milia? Imperatoris exercitus gens Grecorum mollis et effeminata, bellorum exercitiis raro uexata, facile in uirtute robustorum potuit superari, superata decollari. Petri similiter heremite agmina pusillam manum et mendicam, pedites et iners uulgus feminarum omnes longa uia fatigatos, quingentos solummodo equites, reuera comprobaui, quos leui incursu et cede consumere nobis<sup>e</sup> non multum erat difficile. Hos uero quorum nomina, uirtutes et bella et industrias literarum noticia didicistis,<sup>f</sup> et aduersum quos difficile est bellum committere, scitote

5 <sup>a</sup> ut ACHN <sup>b b</sup> regno N <sup>c</sup> om. H <sup>d</sup> om. N <sup>e</sup> potuerunt N  
<sup>f</sup> euacuari N

6 <sup>a</sup> erat ACHN <sup>b b</sup> respondit H <sup>c</sup> om. A <sup>d d</sup> nosque ACH; usque N  
<sup>e</sup> om. A <sup>f</sup> didicisti A

<sup>9</sup> In Book i Albert made Qiliq Arslan solely responsible for the attack on Peter's followers. He contradicts himself here, perhaps because of a confused recollection of *ChA* (i. 37-9, lines 401-66); see P. Paris, *Nouvelle étude sur la Chanson d'Antioche* (Paris, 1878), p. 32.

5. When the day arrived they all met according to the king's decision and command, and the king shared with them Suleyman's words and complaints and the injuries inflicted by the Christians, saying: 'All of you who have assembled, think—and you must think of this—unless the Christians who have arrived are checked they will do to us as they have done to the other states and our allies and brothers.' Karbugha, a friend and favourite at the royal court and second to the king in the kingdom of Khurasan, a stubborn man and full of fierce arrogance, did not think much of the Christians' strength and burst out with these words in a spirit of arrogance: 'I wonder at the words and complaints of Suleyman and of Sansadonias and Buldagis, the sons of King Yaghi-Siyhan, over the attack of the Christians by whose siege Suleyman lost his lands and cities, and from whom they could no more easily be defended than if they had been besieged by so many wretched and irrational animals. Once I laid waste a hundred thousand Christians and cut off their heads next to Civitot, where the mountain regions end, after I was summoned to Suleyman's assistance against the emperor of the Greeks and we had scattered and put to flight their army from the siege of the city of Nicaea. After this my satellites who were sent to aid Suleyman destroyed the countless troops of Peter the Hermit, and their corpses and bones could never be cleared from the region's plain.'<sup>9</sup>

6. Suleyman, who is a man of great and wonderful diligence, listened to his arrogance and boastful words and gave him this reply in an even-tempered way: 'O Karbugha, our brother and friend, why do you thus think so little of us and add that we show too little daring, and that our men conquered and destroyed the emperor of Constantinople and Peter the Hermit's infinite thousands only with your help? The imperial army is made up of soft and effeminate Greeks, who have rarely been troubled by the exercise of wars, and could easily be overcome by the strength of hard men, and, once overcome, decapitated. Similarly, I have established that Peter the Hermit's troops were in reality a weak and beggarly band, foot soldiers and a useless mob of women all exhausted from the long journey, only five hundred cavalry, whom it was not very difficult for us to destroy with a trifling charge and slaughter. But these men whose names, strength, and warfare and talents you have learnt from the letters, and against whom it is difficult to wage war—know that they are very courageous men, knowledgeable about

uiros fortissimos, miro equorum uolumine doctos,<sup>10</sup> in prelio non morte, non aliquo genere armorum posse absterreri. Horum<sup>g</sup> uestes ferree, clipei auro et gemmis inserti<sup>h</sup> et uariis colorum floribus<sup>h</sup> depicti, galee in capitibus eorum splendentes super solis splendorem coruscant, haste fraxineae in manibus eorum ferro acutissimo prefixe sunt, tanquam<sup>i</sup> grandes pertice. Equi eorum cursu et bello doctissimi, uexilla in hastis eorum nodis aureis et fimbriis argenteis montes in circuitu nimio lucis decore faciunt coruscare. Audaciam eorum tantam scitote, quod mille equites illorum<sup>j</sup> si ad pugnam processerint, non dubitent uiginti milia nostrorum adire, sicut leones et apri, mortiferis ictibus armorum fulminantes.<sup>11</sup> Ego autem uiros  
 393 illorum pro minimo duxi, nec stare eos | aduersum me estimaui, congregata fortitudine meorum, sed sic uirtutem illorum contere speraui ut paulo ante Petri heremite exercitum deleui. Sperabam etiam eos ab urbe Nicea posse absterreri in uirtute meorum, uxorem meam filiosque meos, milites et principes meos liberare, qui infra urbis menia erant. Denuo bellum cum hiis commisi, sed frustra consumpto labore uix per iuga<sup>k</sup> montium manus illorum euasi, non paucos meorum<sup>l</sup> occisos reliqui. Illi meis attritis et cedem suorum non egre<sup>m</sup> ferentes Niceam redeunt, obsidionem iterant firmiter et tutius quam ante, quousque meos uictos cum uxore et filiis meis in deditione<sup>n</sup> tenentes, cum clauibus urbem imperatori Constantinopolis reddiderunt. Preterea oppida et castella Romanie, que mei iuris erant, deuicta et subiugata eidem imperatori restituentes, plurimas munitiones nostras inuaserunt. Non amplius de omnibus terris et ciuitatibus et<sup>o</sup> presidiiis que tenui mihi relictum est, quam Foloroca<sup>p</sup> <sup>12</sup> arx que est iuxta mare et confinia regni Russie. Tum hii Christiani milites, quos credis inualidos, Tursolt, Azaram, Mammistram<sup>q</sup> ciuitates Romanie cum plurimis presidiiis expugnatas obtinent. Ciuitates uero et castella Armenie, Dandronuch et Harunii<sup>13</sup> et<sup>r</sup> Turbaisel,<sup>s</sup> et montana Costentini<sup>t</sup> Armenici principis et regionem<sup>u</sup> Pancracii<sup>v</sup> et terram<sup>v</sup> ducis Corrouarsilii<sup>w</sup> ferro et uiribus coacta subdiderunt. Ciuitatem uero Rohas,<sup>x</sup> menibus et murali edificio

<sup>g</sup> Hos N      <sup>h</sup> <sup>k</sup> uariisque coloribus ACHN      <sup>i</sup> quasi ACHN      <sup>j</sup> eorum A  
<sup>k</sup> iugo N      <sup>l</sup> meos H      <sup>m</sup> eque ACHN      <sup>n</sup> deditionem C      <sup>o</sup> ac ACHN  
<sup>p</sup> Foloraca A      <sup>q</sup> Mamistram H      <sup>r</sup> om. A      <sup>s</sup> Turbarsel N      <sup>t</sup> Constantini AN  
<sup>u</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>v</sup> <sup>v</sup> terraque ACN; terramque H      <sup>w</sup> Corrouassilii H      <sup>x</sup> Rohas all  
 MSS here; ACEN sometimes have Roas below

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Georgics* iii. 192.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Lucretius, *De rerum natura* iii. 488 et *passim* (HL ii. 372).

<sup>12</sup> Not identified.

<sup>13</sup> Dandronuch and Haruni have not been identified.

the wonderful ways of horses,<sup>10</sup> and they cannot be frightened away by fear of death in battle or by any sort of weapons. Their iron garments, their shields studded with gold and jewels and painted with different-coloured flowers, their helmets shining on their heads glitter more than the brilliance of the sun, the ashen spears in their hands are tipped with sharpest iron, like long staffs. Their horses are very experienced in running and warfare, the standards on their spears with their golden knots and silver threads make the mountains round about glitter with their great embellishment of light. Know that their boldness is so great that if a thousand of their knights go into battle they do not hesitate to take on twenty thousand of ours, like lions and wild boars, hurling thunderbolts with the death-dealing blows of their weapons.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, I myself thought very little of their forces and I imagined they would not stand up to me; I assembled my men in strength, but I hoped to wear down the strength of their men in the same way I had destroyed Peter the Hermit's army a short while before. I also hoped to be able to frighten them away from the city of Nicaea by the strength of my forces and set free my wife and my sons, my soldiers and princes, who were within the city walls. Once more I waged war with them, but my labours were in vain and I only just escaped their hands over the mountain ridge, leaving not a few of my men dead. They were not greatly troubled by the slaughter of their comrades and, having destroyed my men, they returned to Nicaea, where they reimposed the blockade more strongly and securely than before, until they made my defeated men capitulate, with my wife and my sons, and handed over the city with its keys to the emperor of Constantinople. Besides conquering and subduing towns and castles in Rūm which were subject to my jurisdiction, and restoring them to the same emperor, they invaded very many of our castles. None of all the lands and towns and castles which I used to hold is left to me beyond Foloroca,<sup>12</sup> the citadel which is next to the sea and the borders of the kingdom of Russia. Then these Christian soldiers, whom you believe to be weak, conquered and occupied Tarsus, Adana, and Mamistra, towns in Rūm with very many fortifications. The towns and castles of Armenia, Dandronuch, and Haruni<sup>13</sup> and Turbessel, and the mountain stronghold of the Armenian prince Constantine and the region belonging to Pakrad and the land of Duke Kogh Vasil were forced by iron and armed strength to submit. They occupied the state of Edessa, which is very

munitissimam, fertilitate quidem famosissimam, obtinent, sed et princeps quidam Balduinus caput et ductor huius Christiani populi filiam principis terre uxorem duxit, uice ducis extincti a ciuibus promotus, terram totam et regionem sibi tributariam fecit, et sic usque ad Malatinam<sup>14</sup> omnia loca et regna idem Christiani inuaserunt. Antiochiam nunc, hiis a dextris et sinistris subiugatis obsident. Gentes he miri laboris sunt et exercitii, non curant corpora<sup>15</sup> ulla mora aut requie, sed inimicos <sup>y</sup>et sibi<sup>y</sup> contrarios de die in diem requirunt, quos inuentos et expugnatos mittunt in perditionem.<sup>9</sup>

7. Corbahan superbus, hac Solimanni audita narratione, amplius in elationem et iactantiam os suum sic<sup>a</sup> aperuit:<sup>b</sup> 'Si<sup>c</sup> sospes uita fuero, non sex mensium pertransibunt dies et hos Christianos experiar, utrum sic fortes sint ut | asseris, quos in deo meo iuro, sic delebo ut  
394 omnis hoc eorum posteritas doleat.'<sup>16</sup>

8. Rex autem Corruzana, in uerbis horum adinuicem contententium, Corbahan et Solimanni, magos, ariolos<sup>a</sup> et aruspices<sup>b</sup> <sup>17</sup> deorum suorum inuitat, de uictoria futura requirit. Qui omnia prospere<sup>c</sup> succedere, triumphare, Christianos facili bello superare regem promiserunt. Hoc audito Corbahan responso diuinorum suorum, in quo cor et consilium regis intendebat, multiplici legatione diffusa per uniuersum regnum Corruzana ex magnifica regis iussione omnes primores et nobilissimos inuitat quatenus in armis et sagittis <sup>d</sup>et uehiculis<sup>d</sup> cibariorum expeditionem maturent.<sup>e</sup> Fabros qui in omni regione commorabantur catenas et uincula fabricari constituit, in quibus uicti<sup>f</sup> et captiuati peregrini in barbaras terras exilio abducerentur. Pulagith<sup>g</sup> qui erat unus Turcorum potentissimus, qui iuxta flumen Eufraten habitabat, Brodohan de Halapia ciuitate preclara, qui et ipse habundabat satellicio, in ultionem Turcorum et iniuriarum que a Christianis illate erant Solimanno Darsianoque regi Antiochie,

<sup>y y</sup> sibi que ACHN

7 <sup>a</sup> om. H <sup>b</sup> H adds *dicens after* aperuit: <sup>c</sup> ACHN add *inquit after* Si

8 <sup>a</sup> N adds *et before* ariolos <sup>b</sup> auruspices E <sup>c</sup> prospera A <sup>d d</sup> uehiculisque ACHN <sup>e</sup> maturarent ACHN <sup>f</sup> uincti ACHN <sup>g</sup> Pulagit A; all MSS have Pulagi below

<sup>14</sup> Malatya, provincial capital, Turkey.

<sup>15</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* viii. 607; *Georgics* iv. 187.

<sup>16</sup> Needless to say, this is a fantasy scene. There is a parallel in *ChA* (i. 259–62, lines 5048–144), while *GF* has Yaghisiyan send an envoy to Karbugha in Khurasan and has an elaborate description of dialogue among the enemy, including advice from Karbugha's mother (*GF*, pp. 49–56).

strongly fortified with ramparts and built walls and very famous indeed for its fertility, and one of their princes, Baldwin, the chief and leader of this Christian people, even took a daughter of the prince of the land as his wife and was put forward in the place of the dead duke by the citizens, and he made the whole land and region tributary to him, and thus these same Christians have invaded all places and kingdoms as far as Melitene.<sup>14</sup> Now, having subdued these places to right and left, they are besieging Antioch. These are peoples of amazing industry and experience, they do not look after their bodies<sup>15</sup> with any stopovers or rest, but day after day they seek out their enemies and those who oppose them, and when they find them and defeat them they send them to damnation.'

7. Arrogant Karbugha heard Suleyman's tale, then opened his lips further to pride and boasting, thus: 'If I am lucky enough to live, before six months shall pass I shall put these Christians to the test and find out whether they are as strong as you claim, and I swear by my god that I shall destroy them in such a way that all their posterity shall grieve.'<sup>16</sup>

8. However, while these two, Karbugha and Suleyman, were striving against one another in verbal dispute, the king of Khurasan summoned magicians, prophets, and soothsayers<sup>17</sup> of their gods and asked about future victory. They foretold that all things would succeed as the king wished, that he would triumph over the Christians and easily conquer them in war. When Karbugha heard this reply of their priests, which confirmed the purpose of the king's heart and resolution, he sent out a great number of envoys through the whole kingdom of Khurasan and summoned on the august order of the king all the high-ranking and noble men hurriedly to prepare weapons and arrows and waggons of supplies for the expedition. He directed smiths who lived all over the region to manufacture fetters and chains, in which the conquered and captured pilgrims would be led off into exile in barbarous lands. The king of Khurasan's legation summoned to the common cause Pulagit, who was one of the most powerful of the Turks and who lived next to the river Euphrates, and Ridwan of Aleppo—a splendid state—who himself also had plenty of protection, to revenge the Turks and the injuries which had been inflicted by the Christians on Suleyman and on Yaghi-Siyhan king of

<sup>17</sup> Deut. 2: 27.

amicis et cognatis Turcorum, unanimes regis Corruzana inuitat legatio, res explicat, et instantes necessitates denunciatur.<sup>18</sup> Damasce-  
 norum quoque principem eadem fama et legatio pulsatur et ammonet.<sup>19</sup>  
 Qui et ipse terram Syrie magna ex parte subiugauerat, et potens erat  
 ubertate glebe et equitum robore. Amasan etiam de Niz regione, sita  
 in latere Corruzana, qui nimium diuulgabatur fama militie et audacie,  
 regis pariter sollicitat<sup>k</sup> legatio, eo quod ipse in fronte aciei semper in  
 quocumque periculo signifer haberetur. Eiusdem Amase hasta et  
 sagitta omnium Turcorum sagittis incomparabilis erat, arcu omnes  
 preibat in sagittando. Ad omnem expeditionem non minus centum  
 equis cursu uelocissimis munitus erat, ut uno sagitta percusso, aut  
 aliquo aduerso casu pereunte, alii sufficerent in belli assiduitate, quo  
 semper preuolans et infestus hostibus ferebatur.<sup>l</sup> Boesas ex eadem  
 secta Turcorum et<sup>j</sup> non dispar apparatu et armis inuitatur. Amasa  
 alter de Curzh, terra amplissima et ditissima, uirisque sagittariis  
 habundans, similiter ex regis mandato adesse commonetur. Balas de  
 presidio Amacha et Sororgia ciuitate, Balduch<sup>k</sup> de Samosart,<sup>l</sup> Turci  
 dolosi, milites uero armis et bello famosi, Karageth<sup>m</sup> de Karan<sup>20</sup>  
 ciuitate, menibus et muris firmissima, ad eandem expeditionis |  
 395 diem adesse commonentur. Hii in regno Corruzana quicumque ex  
 regia ammonitione aut aliis in regnis quicumque<sup>n</sup> dispersi preerant ad  
 hanc expeditionem sunt conuocati, ab initio obsidionis Antiochie, et a  
 die qua secunda legatio regis Darsiani per Solimannum facta est, in  
 Corruzanam<sup>o</sup> rebus necessariis operam dabant, milites armabant, in  
 omni apparatu belli,<sup>p</sup> sine intermissione intenti feruebant.

9. Exercitus Christianorum et uniuersi principes qui in obsidione et labore erant circa Antiochiam prorsus de hac ignorabant expeditione, sed de die in diem non solum escarum sed et equorum armorumque defectione artabantur,<sup>a</sup> et ante omnes curas hec grauissimum inopia uniuersos sollicitos reddebat. Dum hec<sup>b</sup> longo tempore

<sup>k</sup> sollicitabat ACHN    <sup>l</sup> habebatur A    <sup>j</sup> om. A    <sup>k</sup> Baldus H here and E below  
<sup>l</sup> Samosarth A    <sup>m</sup> Karageth A    <sup>n</sup> quacumque A    <sup>o</sup> Corrozana H    <sup>p</sup> bellico  
 ACHN

9    <sup>a</sup> artabantur H    <sup>b</sup> N adds ergo after hec

<sup>18</sup> The list of oriental chieftains which follows is fabulous, according to Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 215 n. 35. Fulcher of Chartres likewise assembled all the names of Turkish leaders he knew: FC, pp. 249–50 and nn. According to Hill and Hill (PT, pp. 10–11), this passage demonstrates that Albert had access to a source also used by PT, GF, and RA, 'a common list of kings and leaders', but this would require Albert to have been uncharacteristically selective in his use of the list.

Antioch, friends and kinsmen of the Turks; it explained the matter and announced officially the present exigencies.<sup>18</sup> The same news and legation also alerted and warned the prince of Damascus.<sup>19</sup> He himself had subdued the land of Syria to a large degree, and the fertility of his land and the strength of his cavalry had made him powerful. The king's legation likewise also stirred up Amasa from the region of Niz, situated on one side of Khurasan, the fame of whose bravery and boldness was very widespread, because this man was always standard-bearer in the vanguard in any danger. The spear and arrow of this same Amasa was unequalled by the arrows of any other Turk, and he led them all in shooting with the bow. In any expedition he was equipped with no fewer than a hundred horses of the fastest pace, so that if one was struck by an arrow, or another died in an unlucky fall, the rest were enough to ensure his constant presence in battle, and he would always be speeding ahead and harrying the enemy. Boesas, from the same group of Turks and not unlike in equipment and weapons, was summoned. Another Amasa, of Curzh, a very large and wealthy land, having many bowmen, was similarly called to attend on the king's orders. Balas of the fortress at Amacha and the town of Sororgia and Balduk of Samosart, cunning Turks and knights well known in weapons and warfare, and Karageth of the town of Karan,<sup>20</sup> very well fortified with walls and ramparts, were called to be present on the same day of the expedition. These men, those who were in the kingdom of Khurasan on the royal summons and those who were scattered in charge of other kingdoms, were called up for this expedition, and from the start of the siege of Antioch and from the day on which the second legation from King Yaghi-Siyhan was made through Suleyman they gave attention to necessary supplies for Khurasan, they armed their soldiers, they came forth eagerly in great numbers and without ceasing, with all the equipment of war.

9. The army of Christians and all the princes who were involved in the siege and hardship around Antioch knew absolutely nothing about this expedition, but day after day they were hard pressed by the lack not only of food but also of horses and weapons, and this severe poverty caused them more anxiety than all other concerns. While this

<sup>19</sup> Duqāq ibn Tutush was ruler of Damascus 1095–1104.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly Harran (Şanlıurfa, Turkey). Karageth is not otherwise known, but his name may incorporate the Turkish element 'Kara-', meaning 'black'.

indigentia magis ac magis accresceret, et plurimi pre imminutione rerum necessariorum desperarent, Baldwinus, qui Edissam uel Rohas ciuitatem dux promotus subiugauerat, plurima talenta auri et argenti fratri suo duci Godefrido, Roberto Flandriensi, Roberto Nortmannorum comiti, Reimundo<sup>c</sup> et ceteris<sup>d</sup> prepotentibus per Gerardum<sup>e</sup> nimium sibi familiarem<sup>21</sup> misit, ad hanc instaurandum<sup>f</sup> defectionem quam tales et tam<sup>g</sup> nobiles principes<sup>h</sup> compertus est<sup>h</sup> tolerare. Equos etiam cursu laudabiles et prestantis corporis cum<sup>i</sup> ornatu sellarum et frenorum honorifico eidem fratri misit et ceteris principibus.<sup>j</sup> Misit et<sup>k</sup> arma miri honoris et decoris. Deinde post aliquot dies Nicusus princeps Armenicus de regione Turbaisel tentorium miri operis et decoris Godefrido duci misit, ut gratiam et amicitiam illius inueniret. Sed a Pancratio insidiis positus, pueris ipsius Nicusii<sup>l</sup> tentorium est ablatum, et ex eius dono Boemundo transmissum. Quod dum Godefridus dux et<sup>m</sup> Robertus Flandriensis, qui adinuicem dilectissimi amici et consocii<sup>n</sup> federati<sup>o</sup> erant, ex uerbis puerorum Nicusii sibi illatum<sup>p</sup> intellexissent, Boemundum ut redderet quod iniuste acceperat uerbis pacificis ammonuerunt. Qui omnino ammonitioni eorum et petitioni interdixit.<sup>q</sup> Indignati principes predicti<sup>r</sup> rursum<sup>s</sup> ex consilio maiorum ablatum requirunt tentorium. Qui nequaquam se reddere asserit,<sup>t</sup> sed graui responsione animos predictorum principum aduersum se concitauit. Concitati uero, Boemundum conuocata manu suorum aggredi in castris suis<sup>u</sup> decreuerunt, nisi quod iniuste acceperat cito remitteret. Tandem Boemundus ex consilio comprimorum<sup>v</sup> exercitus, ne discidium fieret in populo, tentorium duci restituit, et pace composita rursus adinuicem<sup>w</sup> facti sunt amici.<sup>22</sup> | Dehinc inedia inualescente, et copia escarum circa regionem Antiochie deficiente, Baldwinus duci et fratri suo uterino Godefrido omnes redditus Turbaisel constituit, in frumento, ordeo, uino et oleo, in auro solum singulis annis quinquaginta milia bysantiorum.

<sup>c</sup> A adds et before Reimundo      <sup>d d</sup> ceterisque ACHN      <sup>e</sup> Gerhardum CH; Gerhard- N below      <sup>f</sup> restaurandum A      <sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h h</sup> comperit H      <sup>i</sup> et H  
<sup>j</sup> primoribus A      <sup>k</sup> etiam ACHN      <sup>l</sup> Nicusi H      <sup>m</sup> om. E      <sup>n</sup> socii A  
<sup>o</sup> confederati A      <sup>p</sup> allatum AHN; ablatum C      <sup>q</sup> contradixit ACHN      <sup>r</sup> om. A  
<sup>s</sup> rursus ACHN      <sup>t</sup> asseruit A      <sup>u</sup> suorum A      <sup>v</sup> primorum H      <sup>w</sup> om. A

<sup>21</sup> Gerard is later identified as Baldwin's secretary and confidant (AA v. 22): see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 199.

long-term need grew greater and greater and very many were in despair because of the diminution of necessary supplies, Baldwin, who had subdued the state of Edessa, or Rohas, and had been made duke, sent very many talents of gold and silver to his brother Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, Robert count of Normandy, Raymond, and the other chief leaders by way of his great favourite Gerard,<sup>21</sup> to make good the lack which he realized the great and noble princes were enduring. He also sent to this same brother and the rest of the princes horses which were remarkable runners and of excellent build, with valuable decoration on saddles and reins. He also sent weapons of wonderful value and ornament. Then after some days Nicusus, the Armenian prince from the region Turbessel, sent a pavilion of wonderful handwork and ornament to Duke Godfrey, in order to acquire favour and friendship. But Pakrad set an ambush, and the pavilion was stolen from Nicusus' young men, and sent as Pakrad's gift to Bohemond. When Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, who were allied one to the other as beloved friends and comrades, found out from Nicusus' young men's words that the pavilion had been taken to Bohemond, they suggested in a peaceful way that he should hand over what he had unfairly received. But he flatly refused their suggestion and request. The angry princes, on the advice of their nobles, once again asked for the stolen pavilion. Bohemond declared that he would never give it up, but by this provocative reply he stirred up anger against him in the minds of the aforesaid princes. And, being thus roused, they announced that they would call on Bohemond in his own camp with a chosen band of their men, unless he sent back at once the pavilion he had unfairly received. At last Bohemond, on the advice of his fellow leaders in the army, restored the pavilion to the duke to avoid a dispute among the people, and peace was made and once again they became friends with each other.<sup>22</sup> Then, as the famine grew, and supplies of food around the region of Antioch dwindled, Baldwin settled all the revenues of Turbessel on Duke Godfrey, his brother by birth, in corn, barley, wine, and oil; in gold alone they amounted to fifty thousand bezants a year.

<sup>22</sup> The incident of the pavilion reveals tensions within the expeditionary force, which are explored by Beaumont, 'Albert and Edessa', pp. 114-15. Although Godfrey and Robert had been enemies in Europe, he suggests that they drew together as a neutral party between the antagonistic Normans and Provençals, and as Godfrey and Robert thus held the balance of power Bohemond was willing to give in over the pavilion to buy their support.

10. Iam dies<sup>a</sup> determinata expeditionis regis de Corruzana a longo tempore indite et procurate propinquauit.<sup>b</sup> Et ecce uniuerse<sup>c</sup> nationes regni illius et principes predicti per regionem Armenie, Syrie, Romanie dispersi, in armis et copioso apparatu ad castrum Sooch<sup>23</sup> conuenerunt, ducenta milia equitum bellatorum, absque exiguo uulgo et femineo sexu, absque iumentis et camelis et ceteris animalibus que nullo poterant numero computari. Affuit et Corbahan princeps et caput milicie, qui in uehiculis cibariorum, qui in copiis et armis militum, qui in tentoriis et nimio paratu<sup>d</sup> super omnes affluebat. Quem uniuersi principes et nationes que conuenerant, ac si deum uenerabantur, et in omnibus magistrum ac<sup>e</sup> preceptorem audiebant. Hic suo<sup>f</sup> in unum collecto exercitu, uiam iuxta onera curruum suorum et sarcinas iumentorum et camelorum diebus multis moderabatur<sup>g</sup> donec terram et regionem ciuitatis Rohas ingressus est, ubi<sup>h</sup> diebus aliquot<sup>h</sup> remoratus pernoctauit. Hanc per regionem descendens, dum iter per dies pre nimia pressura gentis et iumentorum abbreviaret, plurimi de diuersis locis occurrerent, plurima de exercitu et obsidione Antiochie referrent, inter hec et alia Baldwinus apud cum fit accusatus, eo quod Turcis adtritis et eiectis non solum ciuitatem Rohas, sed et omnia in circuitu presidia suo subiugasset dominio.

11. Hoc audito Corbahan et comprimores sui exercitus adinuicem consuluerunt ut ciuitatem Rohas obsidentes et expugnantes Baldwinum et suos conchristianos captiuarent ac punirent, ciuitatem et regionem Turcorum restituerent ditioni. Sed Baldwinus quem mine nec aliqui terrores poterant mouere, comperto aduentu Corbahan<sup>a</sup> et consilio eius aduersum se et ciuitatem Rohas, conuocata et |  
 397 armata uniuersa manu suorum in equis cursu ualentibus occurrit militibus Corbahan<sup>a</sup> premissis ad obsidionem Rohas.<sup>b</sup> Quos fortiter assiliens et cum eis in arcu Armenicorum et lancea Gallorum dimicans, usque ad castra Corbahan in fugam remisit, spolia, camelos et iumenta cum rebus necessariis premissa in ciuitatem Rohas abducens. Corbahan uero Baldwinum hoc aduersum se presumpsisse

10    <sup>a</sup> die *H*    <sup>b</sup> appropinquauit *A*    <sup>c</sup> uniuersi *N*    <sup>d</sup> apparatu *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> et *A*    <sup>f</sup> om. *A*    <sup>g</sup> moderabantur *A*    <sup>h</sup> per aliquot dies *ACHN*

11    <sup>a</sup> om. *N*    <sup>b</sup> om. *A*

<sup>23</sup> Cahen conjectured that 'Castle Sooch' was 'un Tell ach-Chaikh entre Mardin et Hiçn Kaifa qui fut au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle un fréquent lieu de rendez-vous', at or near Diyarbakır (Turkey), north-east of Edessa on the river Tigris: *Syrie du Nord*, p. 215 n. 35. In *ChA* the meeting place is 'Soces', which Duparc-Quioç tentatively identifies as Ra's al-'Ain (Turkish

10. Now the appointed day approached for the king of Khurasan's expedition which had been announced and in preparation for a long time. And there, indeed, were all the nations of his kingdom and the princes named above who came from throughout the regions of Armenia, Syria, and Rûm, assembling at the castle of Sooch<sup>23</sup> with weapons and plentiful equipment: two hundred thousand warlike cavalry, not counting poor people and women, nor counting pack-horses and camels and other animals whose number could not be calculated by anyone. Karbugha the prince and army general was there too, and he was better off than all the rest in supply waggons, in forces and weapons for the soldiers, in tents and great quantity of equipment. All the princes and peoples who had assembled honoured him as if he were a god, and they listened to him as master and teacher in all things. Here, once his army was gathered into one, he slowed down the journey for many days because of the loads on his vehicles and the burdens on the pack animals and camels, until he entered the land and region of the state of Edessa, where he delayed and spent some days. As he went down through this region, shortening each daily journey on account of the very great press of people and pack animals, many people met him from different places and reported many things about the army and the siege of Antioch; among these various things Baldwin stood accused, because he had not only destroyed and driven the Turks out of the town of Edessa, but had also brought under his rule all the fortresses round about.

11. When they heard this Karbugha and the officers of his army consulted among themselves and agreed that they would besiege and subdue the city of Edessa and would capture and punish Baldwin and his fellow Christians, restoring the state and region to Turkish rule. But when Baldwin, whom threats and other fears had failed to move, realized that Karbugha was approaching and that his purpose was inimical to Baldwin and the state of Edessa, he called to arms all his troops on their powerful chargers and rode out to meet Karbugha's soldiers who had been sent ahead to lay siege to Edessa. He attacked the Turks bravely and fought them with the bows of the Armenians and the lances of the Gauls, until he put Karbugha to flight back to his camp, carrying off spoils into Edessa: camels and mules sent ahead with provisions. Karbugha wondered greatly that Baldwin would dare

Resûlayn), further south and now on the Syrian-Turkish border, approximately equidistant from Aleppo and Mosul (*ChA*, i. 276, line 5402, 568).

cum presens fuerit, nedum absens, <sup>c</sup>uehementer ammiratur.<sup>c</sup> Et indignatus super eius audacia obsidionem circa Rohas numquam se pretermittre in deo suo iurat, sed ammonito exercitu suo hanc in momento irrumpere, Baldwinum captiuum abducere.

12. Vix Corbahan princeps et homo metuendus socios ammonuit, et ecce uniuersi exurgentes, ciuitatem Rohas obsederunt in tubarum et cornicinum stridore et tumultu, plurimam uim et assultus triduo circa urbis menia et portas inferentes.<sup>24</sup> Sed a defensoribus et custodibus ciuitatis uidentes sibi ualide<sup>a</sup> repugnari, nec se in momento uel breui<sup>b</sup> spacio posse proficere quia urbs muris et turribus esset inexpugnabilis, consilium Corbahan dederunt ut nunc castra ab obsidione moueret, uiam quam decreuerat ad Antiochiam maturaret, Antiochia uero<sup>c</sup> deuicta reditum faciens obsidionem<sup>d</sup> circa Rohas<sup>d</sup> iteraret, donec Baldwinum suosque tamquam oues in ouili trucidaret. Corbahan huius rei consiliariis adquiescens, iter suum uersus Antiochiam continuans, propter montium difficultates exercitus milia inaudita in partes <sup>e</sup>diuisit, et quia nauigio longum erat tot milia<sup>e</sup> fluuium magnum Eufraten transmeare. Baldwini et eorum qui cum eo erant in ciuitate non immutati sunt uultus pre angustia tante multitudinis, sed Corbahan recedente a statione urbis, equos ascendentes, postremos exercitus insecuti sunt, si forte aliqua pars tardaretur cui aduersari posset. Sed dum parum eis succederet propter prouidentiam et custodiam Turcorum Rohas reuersi sunt, Deum celi exorantes ut duci Godefrido, Roberto, Boemundo, Reimundo et omnibus Christianis misereatur, et de manu inimicorum in tanta fortitudine superuenientium defendat et sua gratia tueatur. Nec mora a delatoribus Syris et Armenicis cepit crebescere fama aduentus Corbahan <sup>f</sup>et suorum<sup>f</sup> milium<sup>g</sup> per aures Christiani exercitus. Sed alii credere renuebant, alii credentes ducem ad prouidendam rem sollicitabant.

398 13. Inter has diuersas opiniones nescio qua de causa Stephanus Blesensis infirmitate <sup>a</sup>occupari se plurimum<sup>a</sup> testatus est, nec se

<sup>c c</sup> miratus est uehementer *A*

12 <sup>a</sup> ualde *A* <sup>b</sup> *A* adds in before breui <sup>c</sup> -ro om. *E* (page turn) <sup>d d</sup> om. *N*. *N* has XIII here <sup>e e</sup> om. *N* <sup>f f</sup> suorumque *ACHN* <sup>g</sup> multum *N*

13 <sup>a a</sup> plurima se occupari *A*

<sup>24</sup> Fulcher (followed by WT) records the siege as lasting three weeks, while Matthew of Edessa has forty days. It is possible they are referring to the whole period of time Karbugha was in Edessan territory, while Albert refers only to the assault on the city. The *ChA* agrees

to take this action against him when he was present, much less when he was absent. He was indignant at his audacity and vowed by his god that he would never leave off the siege around Edessa, but would summon his army and invade at once and take Baldwin prisoner.

12. Karbugha, the prince and a man to be feared, had no sooner summoned his allies than they all charged and besieged the city of Edessa in the blare and din of trumpets and bugles, applying great force and attack for three days around the ramparts and gates of the city.<sup>24</sup> But they realized that they were being strongly repulsed by the defenders and guards of the city, and that they could not make progress at once or in a short space of time because the city was unassailable with its walls and towers, and so they advised Karbugha that he should now move the camp away from the siege, make haste on the road he had decided to Antioch, and when Antioch was conquered he could return and repeat the siege around Edessa, until he slaughtered Baldwin and his men like so many sheep in the sheepfold. Karbugha agreed with those who gave this advice and continued his journey towards Antioch. Because of the difficulties of the mountains, and because it took a long time for so many thousands to cross the great river Euphrates by boat, he divided the infinite thousands of his army into parts. The faces of Baldwin and those who were with him in the city did not change when presented with the problem of such a great multitude, but they mounted their horses, and as Karbugha withdrew from his position by the city they pursued the rearguard of the army in the hope that some part would linger and could be opposed. But when they were unsuccessful, on account of the Turks' wariness and watchfulness, they returned to Edessa, imploring God in heaven to have mercy on Duke Godfrey, Robert, Bohemond, Raymond, and all the Christians, and to defend them from the host of enemies approaching in such strength and to protect them with his favour. At once the rumour of the approach of Karbugha and his thousands began to be spread abroad by Syrian and Armenian spies and to reach the ears of the Christian army. But some refused to believe it; others believed and pestered the duke to take care of the matter.

13. Among all these different rumours, Stephen of Blois for some reason declared that he was very unwell and could no longer stay in

with Matthew in giving famine as the reason for the Turks' withdrawal: FC, p. 242; WT, pp. 289-90; ME, p. 170; *ChA*, i. 276-7, lines 5420-40.

posse ultra moram facere in obsidione. Fratres<sup>b</sup> commendans, et ab eis hac recedens infirmitatis occasione, uersus maritima ad Alexandriam minorem profectus est. Eo itaque recedente, quatuor milia uirorum belligerorum eum secuta sunt, qui<sup>c</sup> de eius fuerant comitatu.<sup>25</sup> Godefridus dux, Boemundus, Robertus, Reimundus, capitanei exercitus, magis et magis fama gentilium superuenientium attoniti, unanimiter decreuerunt uiros industrios de exercitu eligere, et ad explorandum rei ueritatem per montana et loca difficilia unde tutius specularentur premittere. Premissi sunt<sup>d</sup> Drogo de Nahella, Clarbaldus de Vendul, Iuo de regno Francie,<sup>26</sup> Reinardus<sup>e</sup> de Tuol,<sup>f</sup> uiri clarissimi et cautissimi, ut si qua de aduentu gentilium pro uero comperta in aures eorum sonuissent, aut oculis deprehendissent, absque mora ad exercitum referrent, ut prouisi principes, minus iacula infestantium timerent. Premissi milites et rei exploratores quidam ad Artesiam,<sup>g</sup> quidam uersus Rossam,<sup>h</sup> 27 quidam uersus uiam Romanie sunt diffusi, ad intelligendam rei ueritatem, qui exercitum undique ebullire a montanis et diuersis uiis ut harenam maris perspexerunt, infinita milia eorum admirantes et minime dinumerare ualentes.

14. Visis autem tot milibus et armatura Corbahan incomparabili et gloria rerum suarum, sub omni festinatione Antiochiam reuersi sunt, diebus septem prius quam Corbahan et sue acies<sup>a</sup> terminos et campos regionis<sup>b</sup> Antiochie attingerent. Reuersi denique sicut didicerant et oculis uiderant aduentum et omnem apparatus Corbahan et omnem militiam quam eduxerat, duci et ceteris principibus clam retulerunt, ne populus exterritus, eo quod longa obsidione et graui penuria affectus esset, desperaret, et minus<sup>c</sup> resisteret, ac diffugium tenebris incumbentibus prepararent. Dux Godefridus, Robertus<sup>d</sup> et Robertus Normannorum,<sup>d</sup> Reimundus, Boemundus, Eustachius, Tancradus<sup>28</sup> et omnis<sup>e</sup> primatus proxima die postquam reuersi sunt premissi |

<sup>b</sup> Fratresque ACHN    <sup>c</sup> que AC    <sup>d</sup> ACHN add igitur after sunt    <sup>e</sup> C has Reinhardus below    <sup>f</sup> Töl ACHN. Below E has Töl and N has Toul    <sup>g</sup> Artesiam AHN    <sup>h</sup> Russiam C, with uel Rossam over

14    <sup>a</sup> aciei H    <sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> minusque ACHN    <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> omnisque ACHN

<sup>25</sup> Stephen's desertion is reported in much less derogatory terms than in *GF*, perhaps because Albert knew Stephen was to redeem his reputation by a martyr's death in 1102 (*GF*, p. 63). It has been suggested that Stephen had been planning to leave since late March when he wrote to his wife (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 152), and he had waited only to see Antioch in Christian hands. However, in view of the fact that Karbughā was known to

the siege. He wished his brothers well and left them on this pretext of illness, and set out towards the coast for lesser Alexandria. When he left, four thousand men of war followed him, who had been of his company.<sup>25</sup> Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, Robert, Raymond, the army captains, were increasingly astonished by the rumour of the approaching gentiles, so they decided unanimously to select diligent men from the army and send them out through the mountains and inaccessible places from where they could quite safely keep watch and find out the truth of the matter. Those sent out were Drogo of Nesle, Clarembald of Vendeuil, Ivo of the kingdom of France,<sup>26</sup> and Rainald of Toul, very eminent and careful men, who were to report to the army without delay if anything which they knew was true concerning the gentiles' arrival came to their ears or caught their eyes, so that the princes would be forewarned and would be less fearful of the attackers' javelins. The knights who were sent out to reconnoitre spread out and some went to Artah, some towards Rossa,<sup>27</sup> some towards the road from Rūm to observe the truth of the matter, and they saw the army swarming from all sides, from the mountains and different roads like the sands of the sea; they marvelled at their infinite thousands and were totally unable to count them.

14. Moreover, when they saw so many thousands and Karbugha's incomparable weaponry and the splendour of his possessions, they returned to Antioch with all speed, seven days before Karbugha and his troops would reach the boundaries and the plains of the region of Antioch. On their return the men reported to the duke and other princes, just as they had learnt and seen it with their own eyes, the approach and all the equipment and all the soldiery which Karbugha had led out. They did this privately lest the terrified people should despair, because they had been afflicted by the long siege and serious famine, and lest they should put up less resistance and prepare for flight in the gathering darkness. Duke Godfrey, Robert and Robert of Normandy, Raymond, Bohemond, Eustace, Tancred,<sup>28</sup> and all the leadership called a meeting together on the day following the return

be approaching, this does not make his action any less indefensible. See J. A. Brundage, 'An errant crusader: Stephen of Blois', *Traditio*, xvi (1960), 380-95.

<sup>26</sup> Ivo of Grandmesnil, near Lisieux (départ. Calvados, France).

<sup>27</sup> Not identified, but possibly the Rūj valley. Cf. AA viii. 2; xii. 19.

<sup>28</sup> Here and later (iv. 22) Albert says Tancred was present at meetings of the leaders, and further that he took part in the storming of the city, but this is disproved by the eyewitness accounts, and above all by Radulf of Caen: see Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 65 n. 2.

399 milites ad explorandum exercitum Corbahan, in unum uocati<sup>f</sup> conuenerunt, quid melius agerent, quod sanius<sup>g</sup> consilium inirent, discusserunt, ne subito preoccupati ab irruentibus milibus inimicorum in gladio et arcu consumerentur. Dux Godefridus, Robertus et alii multi contendebant ut exurgentes in loriceis, in galeis et clipeis, in signis erectis, in aciebus ordinatis occurrerent Corbahan in milibus superuenienti, et in Domino Iesu omnem suam spem ponentes, cum eis bella committerent, et in Dei nomine illic martyrio uitam finirent. Alii consilium dabant quatenus pars in obsidionem<sup>h</sup> remaneret, ne Turci ab urbe ad auxilium Corbahan crumperent, et fortior pars iuxta consilium ducis et Roberti Flandriensis non longius quam trans<sup>i</sup> duo miliaria hostibus obuiam irent.

15. Hiis in<sup>a</sup> consiliis dum quilibet suam proferret sententiam, Boemundus, uir adprime prudens et astutus, Godefridum, Robertum<sup>b</sup> Flandriensem, Reimundum<sup>c</sup> seorsum a conuentu sociorum abduxit, in loco secreto, quibus omnia que habebat in corde in hoc modo loquens professus est: 'Domini et fratres mei dilectissimi, secretum habeo quod nunc uestre fidei aperiam in quo Deo annuente et opitulante omnis exercitus et principes nostri liberari<sup>d</sup> et saluari<sup>d</sup> poterunt. Ciuitas Antiochia ex quo mihi promissum est quod<sup>e</sup> in manu mea traderetur<sup>e</sup>, iam septem transierunt menses, et sic firmata inter me et traditorem hec est conuentio sub fidei illius alligatione, ut<sup>f</sup> nequaquam solui aut<sup>g</sup> mutari<sup>h</sup> possit, quin in quacumque hora monuerim,<sup>i</sup> una ex turribus que ducit in ciuitatem, et in qua idem traditor habitat, in<sup>j</sup> manu mea<sup>j</sup> reddatur. <sup>k</sup>Multum enim pro hac re elaborauim,<sup>l</sup> uidens urbem humanis uiribus insuperabilem.<sup>k</sup> Multam et innumerabilem pecuniam pactus sum illi dare, et non minus illum exaltare et ditare inter meos quam Tancradum filium sororis mee, sub fidei firmatione spocondi. Huius secreta conuentionis et traditionis Boemundus equiuocus meus uir de genere Turcorum auctor factus est<sup>m</sup> a principio<sup>m</sup> Christianitatis sue.<sup>29</sup> Et nunc eo processit ratio, ut nequaquam de omnibus que traditor pollicitus est fallat, et in eo quod spocondi magnum illi premium conferre me paratum inueniat. Vnde quia non paruum talentum illi conferre<sup>n</sup> debeo, et huius rei totum

<sup>f</sup> conuocati ACHN      <sup>g</sup> melius A      <sup>h</sup> obsidione ACHN      <sup>i</sup> trans om. A

15      <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> N adds et before Robertum      <sup>c</sup> ACHN add et before Reimundum  
<sup>d d</sup> om. A      <sup>e e</sup> in manus meas redderetur A; in manum meam traderetur CH; in manu  
 mea traderet N      <sup>f</sup> quod CHN      <sup>g</sup> ac N      <sup>h</sup> immutari A      <sup>i</sup> monuero ACHN  
<sup>j j</sup> manum meam ACHN      <sup>k k</sup> om. N      <sup>l</sup> laborauim ACN      <sup>m m</sup> ab inicio A  
<sup>n</sup> dare ACHN

of the knights who had been sent out to reconnoitre Karbugha's army, and they discussed what they should do for the best, what was the most sensible plan if they were not to be suddenly seized by the invading thousands of enemies and destroyed by sword and bow. Duke Godfrey, Robert, and many others were struggling to rise up and meet Karbugha as he approached with his thousands, putting on hauberks, helmets, and shields, taking upright standards and forming orderly ranks. They put all their hope in Lord Jesus that they might join battles with the Turks and in God's name might end their lives in that place in martyrdom. Some were advising that a part should continue to besiege Antioch, in case the Turks burst out of the city to assist Karbugha, while the stronger part, in accordance with the plan of the duke and Robert of Flanders, would go to meet the enemy no more than two miles away.

15. While people were offering their opinions in these meetings Bohemond, a man exceedingly wise and shrewd, took Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Raymond apart from the conference of allies, and in a secret place he told them everything he had in his heart in this way, saying: 'Lords and my most beloved brothers, I have a secret which I am now going to entrust to you, and with God's agreement and assistance it will enable all the army and our princes to be delivered and saved. I was promised as much of the state of Antioch as might be handed over to me, and now seven months have passed and this pact has been made between me and a traitor who is bound by his promise, which cannot in any way be dissolved or changed, that, at whatever time I shall advise, one of the towers which allows entry into the city, and in which that same traitor lives, shall be handed over to me. I have exerted myself a great deal for this thing, observing that the city is unconquerable by human forces. I have agreed to give him a great and infinite sum of money, and I have bound myself by a solemn oath to raise him up and enrich him among my people no less than Tancred, the son of my sister. Bohemond my namesake, a man of Turkish race, was the author of this secret agreement and betrayal from the beginning of his becoming a Christian.<sup>29</sup> And now his account is due to him, so that he will not disappoint with respect to any of the things he has promised as traitor, and he will find me prepared to grant him the great reward I vowed. Hence, because I am obliged to pay a considerable sum to

<sup>29</sup> See iii. 61, above.

pondus sustineo, unum uobis secreto<sup>o</sup> aperio, qui estis columne et capitanei exercitus, uidelicet ut si uestre fuerit uoluntatis, et ceterorum, quatenus ciuitas si capta fuerit in manu mea reddatur. Hanc conuentionem et consilium fini pertraham, et quod pactus sum  
 400 traditori ex meo sine dilatione conferre paratus sum.<sup>30</sup> | Hec audientes principes gaudio magno gauisi sunt, et ex omni beniuolencia Boemundo ciuitatem annuerunt, ceteros comprimores pariter eiusdem doni et concessionis uoluntarios reddiderunt.<sup>o</sup>

16. Factis omnibus capitaneis uoluntariis sub ammonitione summe fidei adinuicem datis dextris, indictum est, ne uerbum istud in palam fieret, sed suppressum silentio nulli pateret. Aiunt etiam quidam quod "in assultu et conflictu" hinc et abhinc dimicantium, adolescens filius eiusdem Turci captus in manum<sup>b</sup> Boemundi forte peruenerit.<sup>31</sup> Cuius redemptionis causa pater pueri Boemundo priuatus cepit fieri, et ad ultimum malens uitam filii quam omnium inhabitantium salutem, perfidiam aduersus<sup>c</sup> regem Darsianum assumpsit, et fidem in restitutione filii cum Boemundo iniit, et sic in ciuitatem fideles Christi milites intromisit. Boemundo si caperetur concessa est ciuitas. Vnde uespere iam terras operiente, ex ipsius consilio decretum est<sup>d</sup> ut Godefridus dux, Robertus Flandriensis septingentos milites illustres de exercitu assumerent et Turcis per menia diffusis nunc domestice cure intentis in umbra noctis uersus montana iter insisterent, quasi ad insidias profecturi aliquorum de exercitu Corbahan ad urbem precedentium. Hiis uero septingentis in noctis obscuro iam<sup>e</sup> uersus montana gradientibus per loca inuia et uix commeabilia, per angustas fauces conductu Boemundi nuper facti Christiani, Godefridus dux uniuersis hec firmiter iniunxit dicens: 'Viri, fratres et peregrini Deo deuoti, Turcis et hostilibus alis nobis<sup>f</sup> prope hospitatis decreuimus in occursum ire, cum illis configere, si forte aliquis euentus uictorie nobis detur. Tumultum uero et strepitum aliquem in nobis fieri sub iudicio uite prohibemus.' Sed aliud erat illi in mente quam quod cum populo loquebatur. Nam in montana<sup>g</sup> cum sociis solummodo rei

<sup>o</sup> secretum *N*      <sup>o</sup> reddentes *A*

16    <sup>a</sup> "in conflictu et in assultu" *H*      <sup>b</sup> manus *A*      <sup>c</sup> aduersum *ACN*      <sup>d</sup> om. *N*  
<sup>e</sup> om. *A*      <sup>f</sup> om. *A*      <sup>g</sup> montanis *H*

<sup>30</sup> The story of the traitor Firuz from the Arabic side may be read in Ibn al-Athir, *RHC* Or i. 192–3.

<sup>31</sup> Albert gives two accounts of the city's betrayer. This one would appear to be oral testimony and is related to the story in *ChA* (i. 280–98; see esp. lines 5501–3).

him, and I am sustaining the entire weight of this matter, I am revealing it in secret to all of you who are the pillars and captains of the army, namely to see if it is your will, and that of the others, that if the city is captured it is handed over to me. I shall close this agreement and plan, and from my own means I am prepared to grant what I agreed to the traitor at once.<sup>30</sup> When they heard this the princes rejoiced with great joy, and with complete goodwill they promised the city to Bohemond, and they associated the other nobles likewise as voluntary participants in Bohemond's gift and grant.

16. After the captains were all made willing participants strictly on their honour, pledging with right hands all round, it was announced that no word was to become public, but the matter suppressed in silence and revealed to no one. Some people also said that in the attack and struggle of people fighting to and fro the young son of that same Turk was captured and by chance came into Bohemond's hands.<sup>31</sup> For the sake of his ransom the boy's father began to be a confidant of Bohemond, and, at the last resort preferring the life of his son to the safety of all the inhabitants, he decided on treachery against King Yaghi-Siyhan and entered into an agreement with Bohemond for the restitution of his son, and thus he admitted the faithful soldiers of Christ into the city. The city was granted to Bohemond if he could take it. So, as evening was already covering the earth, it was decided on Bohemond's advice that Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders should take seven hundred eminent knights from the army and, while the Turks were scattered throughout the ramparts intent on household cares, they should make for the mountains in the darkness of night, as if they were setting out to ambush some of Karbugha's army as they led the way to the city. As these seven hundred were making their way under cover of darkness towards the mountains through out-of-the-way and scarcely penetrable places, led by Bohemond's recent Christian convert along the narrow defiles, Duke Godfrey enjoined these things confidently, saying: 'Men, brothers, and pilgrims devoted to God, we have decided to go to meet the Turks and their hostile divisions who are encamped close to us, to fight with them to see if by any chance a victorious outcome will be granted to us. We forbid any noise and din to be made among us on pain of death.' But he had something else in mind than that of which he spoke to the people. For with those comrades who alone knew the plan, he was striving to reach the

consciis contendens, hanc scilicet in partem qua urbs et presidium Darsiani in summo situm est cacumine, ualles et abrupta montium superat, ac longo in recessu ab urbe et secreto in ualle subsistens,<sup>b</sup> una cum Roberto Flandriense<sup>i</sup> cuncta ordinat,<sup>j</sup> que caute de urbis traditione agenda erant.<sup>k</sup>

- 401 17. Ordinatis itaque uniuersis cauto consilio, quendam interpretem linguarum genere Longobardorum de domesticis Boemundi premisserunt ad turrim quam traditor tuebatur, quatenus de conuentione intromissionis Christianorum ex parte Boemundi eum ammoneret, et super hoc eius responsa audiens principibus renunciaret.<sup>32</sup> Qui ad muros perueniens, traditorem qui ipsa nocte constituta in turris fenestra Gallos prestolabatur peruigil Greco sermone appellat, si solus sit requirit, ut fiducialius cum eo sermonem de legatione Boemundi haberet. Qui uerbis et signo certissimo Boemundi recognito, per anulum uidelicet quem Boemundus ab eo susceptum nunc in signum illi remiserat, uerba interpretis abhinc credula non refutauit, sed si Boemundus aut sui adessent diligenter percunctatus<sup>a</sup> est. Interpres uero audiens quod traditor<sup>b</sup> non in dolo sibi<sup>c</sup> loquebatur,<sup>d</sup> Boemundi milites non longe abesse profitetur, et ad omnia paratos que ex eius consilio inire deberent. Qui eos appropinquare sine dubio et<sup>e</sup> metu ammonet,<sup>f</sup> muros secure ascendere, nec aliqua mora hoc differre, propter breue spacium noctis et lucem diei appropinquantis.<sup>g</sup> Sollicitabat etiam<sup>h</sup> eos maxime hac de causa ne custos murorum sue<sup>i</sup> uicis in ordine faculam manu ferens, menia, muros<sup>j</sup> et turres perlustrans ad prouidendum, ascendentes propalaret<sup>k</sup> et sic<sup>k</sup> in periculo uite sue hostibus expergefactis haberentur.

18. Interpres audito hoc<sup>a</sup> consilio traditoris, ad principes in montanis relictos celeri gressu tendit, omnia que audierat referens, et uehementer eos sollicitans ut quos uelint audaciores eligant, qui sine intermissione muros ascendentes ciuitati inmittantur. Continuo uiri

<sup>b</sup> consistens *H*    <sup>i</sup> Flandriensi *CN*    <sup>j</sup> ordinant *A*    <sup>k</sup> *ACHN* add et sollicite after erant

17    <sup>a</sup> percontatus *C*    <sup>b</sup> *A* adds ei after traditor    <sup>c</sup> om. *A*    <sup>d</sup> loqueretur *A*  
<sup>e</sup> aut *ACHN*    <sup>f</sup> commonet *ACHN*    <sup>g</sup> appropinquantis *ACHN*    <sup>h</sup> enim *A*  
<sup>i</sup> om. *A*    <sup>j</sup> murosque *A*    <sup>k</sup> sicque *ACHN*

18    <sup>a</sup> om. *H*

<sup>32</sup> Bohemond's interpreter, whom Albert calls a Lombard, probably came from southern Italy, where Greek was still widely spoken. Greek was also in daily use in Antioch. According to *GF*, the traitor Firuz addressed the Franks in Greek (*GF*, p. 46). The

mountains, that is to say that part where Yaghi-Siyhan's city and fortress was sited on the highest peak, and he passed over the valleys and mountain slopes, and, taking up position in a retreat far from the city and hidden in a valley, he organized with Robert of Flanders everything which was sensibly to be done about the betrayal of the city.

17. Therefore, after everything had been organized according to the careful plan, they sent ahead a certain interpreter of languages, a Lombard by race and a member of Bohemond's household, to the tower which the traitor was guarding, to remind him of the agreement on Bohemond's part about letting in the Christians, to listen to his reply on this matter and to bring it back to the princes.<sup>32</sup> The interpreter reached the walls and called in Greek to the traitor who was stationed in the window of the tower that same night, waiting ever-watchful for the Gauls. He asked if the traitor was alone, so that he might discuss Bohemond's message with him more confidentially. When the man had recognized his words and Bohemond's very sure token, that is by means of a ring which Bohemond had received from him and now had sent back to him as a token, from then on he did not refuse to believe the interpreter's words, but questioned him closely as to whether Bohemond or his men were at hand. The interpreter perceived that the traitor was not talking to him in an attempt to deceive, and he acknowledged that Bohemond's soldiers were not far away and that they were ready to do everything they should according to his advice. He advised them to approach without hesitation and fear, to climb the walls in safety, and not to put it off at all, because of the short period of darkness and dawn drawing near. He also begged them earnestly on this account, that the guard on the walls, who carried a small torch in his hand when it was his turn for the watch and he went on his rounds of the ramparts, walls, and towers to check all was well, should not reveal that people were climbing and so put them in danger of their lives by awakening the enemy.

18. When the interpreter had heard the traitor's advice he ran back to the princes he had left in the mountains and told them everything he had heard, and pleaded strongly with them to select those they considered bold enough, who would climb the walls without ceasing and would be admitted to the city. The men were chosen straight

presence of Greek- (and possibly Arabic-) speakers in Bohemond's contingent was clearly advantageous to him.

electi sunt ad ascensionem murorum. Sed metu et nimia<sup>b</sup> dubietate corda eorum concussa sunt, <sup>c</sup>et singuli<sup>c</sup> hesitantes de prima ingressione et ascensione murorum plurimum renitebantur.<sup>33</sup> Godefridus uero<sup>d</sup> et Robertus uidentes sic uiros pauescere, nec qui prederent inuenientes, eo quod diffidebant de promissione Turci, hec machinamenta doli arbitantes, nimium spiritu infremuerunt, sic uniuersos solamine reficientes: 'Mementote in cuius nomine a terra et cognatione uestra existis,<sup>34</sup> et quomodo | terrene uite abrenunciastis, nulla pericula mortis pro Christo<sup>e</sup> inire metuentes. Nec mori credere debetis, sed feliciter cum Christo uiuere,<sup>35</sup> et ideo eius gratia et amore quicumque occurrerint in uia hac, equo et libenti animo suscipere. Eia! fidelissimi milites Christi, non pro terrena remuneratione hoc periculum incurritis, sed illius meritum<sup>f</sup> expectantes,<sup>g</sup> qui post mortem presentem eterne uite premia suis conferre nouit. Mori enim habemus quocumque modo. Iam quidem lux matutine<sup>h</sup> diei manifestat consilium nostrum, iam si ciues et Turci nos persenserint, non unus quidem<sup>i</sup> ex nobis uiuus euadet. Ite, et ascendentes<sup>j</sup> uitam uestram Deo offerte, karitatem Dei scientes uitam pro amicis ponere.'<sup>36</sup>

19. Ad hec tam magnanimum<sup>a</sup> principum uerba et solatium, plurimorum mentium dubietas deteresa est. Et scala assumpta, que ex corio erat taurino ad id negocium aptissima,<sup>37</sup> paulatim muro appropinquant cum interprete suo, ubi ad menia traditor uiros aduentantes operiebatur. Vt ergo premissi aliqui affuerunt, alii ex domesticis ducis, alii ex comitatu Roberto, quidam ex familia Boemundi, Turcum eos ad menia prestolantem interpres compellat ut funem a menibus iaciat,<sup>b</sup> qua scala <sup>c</sup>innodata in<sup>c</sup> menia subleuetur, per quam milites ascendentes inmittantur. Turcus sicut deuouerat scalam fune subleuat, circa menia firmiter<sup>d</sup> alligat et, submissa uoce uiros confortans, monet ut indubitanter ascendant. Nec mora lorica <sup>e</sup>et galea<sup>e</sup> induti, gladio accincti, hastis innitentes et manu trahentes,

<sup>b</sup> om. H      <sup>c</sup> singulique ACHN      <sup>d</sup> autem N      <sup>e</sup> Christi nomine N  
<sup>f</sup> premium A      <sup>g</sup> expectatis ACHN      <sup>h</sup> matutina H      <sup>i</sup> saltem ACN; saltim H  
<sup>j</sup> om. A

19      <sup>a</sup> magnanimorum N      <sup>b</sup> iaceat N      <sup>c</sup> ad A      <sup>d</sup> fortiter ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> om. A

<sup>33</sup> Cf. ChA, i. 301-6.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Rom. 6: 8.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Acts 7: 3.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. John 15: 13.

<sup>37</sup> Albert's description of a rope-type ladder is confirmed by Fulcher and by the ChA, where it is said that 'plus de mil quirs de cerf' were used (FC, p. 232; ChA, i. 291, lines

away for the ascent of the walls. But their hearts were struck with fear and very great doubt, and each of them was reluctant and very much against being first in and climbing the walls.<sup>33</sup> Godfrey and Robert saw that the men were becoming alarmed in this way and they could not establish which would go first, because the men did not trust the Turk's promise and thought these were stratagems of deceit, and so they spoke angrily, putting new heart into them in this way: 'Remember in whose name you left your country and your kindred,<sup>34</sup> and how you renounced earthly life, not fearing to undergo any danger of death for Christ. Not that you should believe that you will die, but that you will live in happiness with Christ,<sup>35</sup> and hence by his grace and love you should accept in a calm and willing spirit whatever may happen to you on this journey. Alas! Most faithful soldiers of Christ, you do not run this risk for earthly recompense, but in expectation of His reward, who is able to grant to His own the prizes of eternal life after present death. For we all have to die somehow. Already some light of day is revealing our plan, already if the citizens and Turks spot us then not a single one of us will escape alive. Go, and as you climb offer up your life to God, knowing that it is the charity of God to lay down one's life for one's friends.'<sup>36</sup>

19. The doubt in very many minds was allayed by these words of comfort from such high-minded princes. And they took up the ladder, which was made of bull's hide and very suitable for this business,<sup>37</sup> and crept up to the wall with their interpreter, to where the traitor was waiting on the ramparts for the approaching men. As some of those sent forward arrived—some from the duke's household, others from Robert's company, and certain from Bohemond's group—the interpreter told the Turk who was waiting for them on the ramparts to throw down a rope from the ramparts by which means the knotted ladder could be drawn up onto the ramparts so that soldiers could climb it and be let in. Just as he had promised the Turk drew up the ladder on the rope, tied it firmly around the ramparts and, encouraging the men in a low voice, he assured them they could climb without hesitation. At once the bold men climbed the ladder, wearing hauberks and helmets, their swords buckled on, leaning on their spears and dragging them in their hands. Others

5967–73). However, Raymond and the *Gesta* author, both present during the siege, refer to a rigid ladder (RA, p. 64; *GF*, p. 46). It is interesting that Albert specifies that the group was not just Bohemond's men: possibly the other leaders had imposed a condition on him.

scalam ascenderunt uiri audaces, quos alii subsequentes, in dubia spe uiuendi, iam ad uiginti quinque inmissi sunt. Hiis inmissis et nimio silentio conquiescentibus, confratres iuxta muros consistentes et rei euentum expectantes, neminem audientes, uiros inmissos iugulatos, ac in falsa fide subito suffocatos estimabant, unde ascendere et subsequi retardabant.

20. Milites uero<sup>a</sup> inmissi, intelligentes quia socios conchristianos<sup>b</sup> adeo timor inuaserat quod se subtrahendo ab scala abibant, trans  
403 menia se a muro incli|nantes submissa uoce socios ascendere hortabantur,<sup>c</sup> asserentes nichil se periculi illic passuros. Hii fratrum uoce audita adhuc uiuentium certabant uehementi studio scalam ascendere, urbem intrare, donec pre nimia pressura et pondere ascendentium menia antiqua et inueterata dissolutis saxis cum cemento scissa sunt et diruta,<sup>d</sup> et sic<sup>d</sup> scala retinaculo carens prorsus humi corruiit cum uiris adhuc in ea subsistentibus.<sup>e</sup> Erant autem iuxta muros lancearum haste posite et erecte, in quibus infixi qui corruerant; alii a saxis de muro cadentibus oppressi et semineces facti sunt, aliqui mortui. Quod multum populus Dei inhorruit, estimans omnia hec in dolo a Turcis contigisse, et nunc<sup>f</sup> uniuersos inmissos proculdubio iniqua morte deperisse.<sup>g</sup> Non sonitus, non fragor aliquis licet a corruentibus et infixis maximus extiterit in urbe nec in menibus est auditus. Dominus Deus uentum ualide spirantem hac suscitauit nocte. Turcus fidem quam Boemundo in urbis traditione deuouerat seruans, funem iterato ad releuandam scalam laxat. Qua rursum<sup>h</sup> menia fortiora in eodem loco circumdans, desolatos et perterritos per interpretem reuocat, ascensum<sup>i</sup> repetere uniuersos fideliter ammonet. Non ultra uiri hesitantes sed, ex<sup>j</sup> interpretis uerbis roborati et confratrum cognita<sup>k</sup> salute, rursum scalam ascendunt et menibus inferuntur, donec ferme sexaginta super muros inuecti constiterunt.

21. Interea custos murorum in giro ciuitatis perlustratis menibus ad uisitandos uigiles turrium et commonendos, faculam manu ferens, uiris inmissis occurrit. Sed in momento in ictu gladii capite illius amputato transeuntes turrin uicinam ingressi sunt. <sup>a</sup>Ingressi uero

20 <sup>a</sup> ergo *N* <sup>b</sup> Christianos *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> hortantur *A* <sup>d</sup> sicque *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> consistentibus *AH* <sup>f</sup> om. *A* <sup>g</sup> perisse *A* <sup>h</sup> rursus *ACHN*  
<sup>i</sup> ascensumque *ACHN* <sup>j</sup> per *H* <sup>k</sup> agnita *ACHN*

21 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> In qua uniuersos reperientes *ACHN*

followed them, in uncertain hope of survival, until some twenty-five had entered. As these who entered first were keeping still and completely silent their comrades stationed next to the walls and waiting for the outcome of the affair, hearing no one, thought the men sent in had had their throats cut and had been suddenly strangled in bad faith, and so they hung back from climbing and following.

20. The soldiers inside, realizing that this great fear had affected their fellow Christians to such an extent that they had moved stealthily away from the ladder, leaned over the ramparts from the wall and in a low voice they encouraged their comrades to climb, telling them nothing dangerous would happen to them there. These heard from the sound of their brothers that they were still alive and they strove with fierce intent to climb the ladder and to enter the city, until the ancient and aged ramparts were riven and ruined and the rocks and masonry crumbled from the great pressure and weight of the people climbing, and so the ladder had no hold and fell right down to the ground with the men who were still standing on it. Moreover, there were shafts of lances positioned upright next to the walls, onto which those who had fallen were driven; others who fell from the stones of the wall were crushed and half-killed, some dead. The people of God shook with horror at this, thinking all these things had happened by Turkish trickery, and that now all those sent in had undoubtedly perished by a hostile death. No sound, no outburst was heard in the city nor on the ramparts, even though those who fell and were pierced made a great noise. Lord God raised a strongly blowing wind that night. The Turk, obedient to the vow he had made to Bohemond concerning the betrayal of the city, once again let down the rope to draw up the ladder. Once it was more strongly wrapped around the ramparts in the same place a second time, he called to the forsaken and terrified men again, through the interpreter, urging them all faithfully to repeat the climb. The men hesitated no longer but, strengthened by the interpreter's words and the knowledge that their brothers were safe, they climbed the ladder a second time and were brought inside the ramparts, until some sixty had been brought in over the walls and were in position.

21. Meanwhile the guard on the walls who patrolled the ramparts in a circuit of the town to call on the watchmen of the towers and warn them, carrying a small torch in his hand, met the men sent inside. But they cut off his head instantly with a blow of the sword, crossed over and entered the neighbouring tower. Once inside, they put to the

uniuersos in ea repertos et<sup>a</sup> adhuc sopore grauatos in ore gladii percusserunt, ac in eodem impetu in alias turres irruentes stragem plurimam operati sunt, dum fere decem turrium custodes in hac<sup>b</sup> parte urbis graui somno immersos sine ulla uociferatione peremerunt. Hiis ita in gladio prostratis, per posticium<sup>c</sup> quoddam, quod in montanis erat iuxta eundem locum quo ascenderant, subito fractis seris plurima manus ex septingentis inmissa est. <sup>d</sup>Ac cornibus<sup>d</sup> fortiter intonantes Godefridum, Robertum ceterosque<sup>e</sup> comprimores aduocant, quatenus ad auxilium intromissis quantocius properantes<sup>f</sup> urbem penetrarent. Hii cornibus auditis et pro signo dato recognitis, quia secretorum omnium erant conscii, in manu robusta aduolant ad portam que sursum in montanis prominebat, contententes ut intrarent. A magistra arce Darsiani, que huic porte proxima erat, Turci exurgentes audito tumultu, lapidum iactura Gallos abigerunt,<sup>g</sup> sociosque eorum qui inmissi erant minime ad portam peruenire ut  
 404 hanc aperirent | passi sunt. Vnde ad posticium<sup>h</sup> predictum reuertentibus milites qui scala urbem intrauerant penetrare huius posticii ferro acutissimo ingeniis Turcorum parato fracto muro ampliauerunt, et sic principes et socii eorum equo et pedibus spaciose intromissi sunt.

22. Turci itaque hac subita uociferatione et tumultu bucinarum cornuumque<sup>a</sup> stridore expegefacti ad arma festinant, arcus et sagittas arripiunt, turres defensant, utrimque adinuicem grauia certamina a sursum et deorsum conserentes. Hac in clamosa hinc et hinc contentione milites Darsiani, qui in montis cacumine in eminentiori arce erant, cornibus fortiter insonuerunt quatenus Turci qui in<sup>b</sup> ciuitate et<sup>b</sup> turrium presidiis<sup>c</sup> adhuc summo<sup>d</sup> diluculo stertebant euigilantes ad auxilium sociis exurgerent, <sup>e</sup>et sic<sup>e</sup> resistere ualerent. Quod exercitus magnus qui adhuc extra muros altera in parte spaciose urbis consederat<sup>f</sup> audiens, de aduentu et ingressione Corbahan hos in montanis et in arce uoces exaltare, cornibus strepere<sup>g</sup> et congaudere arbitrati sunt, penitus ignorantes quoniam urbs tradita et capta in manu Gallorum sit.<sup>h</sup> Boemundus, Reimundus, Tancradus, quibus res tota innotuit, quique in obsidione remanserant, lorice<sup>i</sup> induti, armis

<sup>b</sup> ea H      <sup>c</sup> posticum A      <sup>d d</sup> Cornibusque ACHN      <sup>e</sup> et ceteros ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> properantes A      <sup>g</sup> abegerunt ACHN      <sup>h</sup> posticum A

22    <sup>a</sup> corniumque A      <sup>b b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> ACHN add erant et after presidiis  
<sup>d</sup> somno A; CHN add in before summo      <sup>e e</sup> sicque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> consederant A  
<sup>g</sup> perstreperere A      <sup>h</sup> om. N      <sup>i</sup> loricas AEHN

sword everyone they found in the tower while still heavy with sleep, and as part of the same attack they rushed into other towers and inflicted a very great slaughter, until they killed some ten guards of the towers in this part of the city while they were still fast asleep and without any outcry. When these were thus laid low by the sword, a large party formed from the seven hundred suddenly broke the bars and entered through a certain postern gate which was in the mountainous region next to that same place where they had climbed in. And, making a loud noise with bugles, they summoned Godfrey, Robert, and the other nobles to penetrate the city as hastily as they could to reinforce those sent in already. When these nobles heard the bugles and recognized them as the agreed signal, because they were privy to all the secrets, they sped in a strong company to the gate which jutted out upwards in the mountains, and they strove to enter. From Yaghi-Siyhan's chief citadel, which was very close to this gate, the Turks heard the din and leapt up, they drove away the Gauls by throwing stones, and did not allow their comrades who had been sent in first to reach the gate and open it. So as they returned to the postern gate mentioned above, the soldiers who had entered the city by the ladder enlarged the breach in this postern by breaking down the wall, with their sharp swords ready for the stratagems of the Turks, and thus the princes and their comrades, riding and on foot, were admitted through an ample gap.

22. The Turks were woken up by this sudden outcry and din of trumpets and blaring of bugles and they armed hurriedly, seized bows and arrows, defended the towers, both sides joining battle one against the other with intense struggles up and down. In this noisy, to-and-fro contest Yaghi-Siyhan's soldiers, who were on the mountain top in the chief citadel, sounded their horns loudly so that the Turks, who were still snoring in the city and tower fortresses at very first light, would wake up and charge to the relief of their comrades, and thus they would be able to resist the Christian invaders. When the great army which was still stationed outside the walls in another spacious part of the city heard this, they thought those in the mountains and the citadel were raising their voices, sounding horns and rejoicing together at the approach and invasion of Karbugha, not in the least aware that the city had been betrayed into the Gauls' hands and captured. Bohemond, Raymond, and Tancred, who knew about the whole affair, and everyone who had remained in the siege, put on

accincti, uexillis elatis ad urbem exterius inpugnandam aduolant, ignaros rei acte<sup>j</sup> plurimum confortantes in urbis assultum<sup>k</sup> omnem illis rem enucleantes.

23. Interea dum sic interiori et exteriori pugna Turci nimium artarentur, Greci, Syri, Armenici, ciues et uiri Christiane professionis, ad portas aperiendas, seras scindendas letanter concurrerunt, per quas Boemundus et uniuersus exercitus intromissus est. Signum nempe Boemundi quod sanguinei erat coloris primo diei crepusculo ea in parte qua urbis facta est<sup>a</sup> traditio super muros in montanis rutilabat, ut pateret omnibus quod Dei gratia et opitulatione urbs ab  
 405 ho|mine insuperabilis in manu Boemundi et omnium fidelium Christi tradita et capta sit. Sic, seris auulsis et undique portis patefactis, uniuersi admirati et gauisi, quoniam consilium istud non omnibus patebat, expergefati celeriter arma rapiunt, alius alium ammonet, et rapido cursu omnes armati urbem et portas intrare contendunt. Miliarium quispiam transcurrere prius poterat quam uniuersa multitudo Christianorum intromissa sit.<sup>b</sup> Mox intrantium tot milium fragore uehementi et strepitu,<sup>c</sup> et tubarum<sup>d</sup> sonitu horribili, et plurima uexillorum elatione, armatorum ingenti clamore, equorum hinnitibus Turci stupefacti, alii adhuc in stratu suo quiescentes inprouisi et inermes euigilant. Quorum pars subito spe defensionis adunatur, arcus et arma arripientes, alii in turribus et presidiis persistentes plurimos incautos Christianos inertis uulgi, uiros ac<sup>e</sup> mulieres sagittis feriunt. Concursus et diuersi conflictus inter<sup>f</sup> se fiunt et ceco Marte aguntur.<sup>38</sup> Christiani, quorum<sup>g</sup> uirtus et copie magis ac magis affluebant inualescentes, per domos, per plateas et<sup>h</sup> uicos ciuitatis Turcos diffusos et errantes, in ore gladii percutiebant. Nulli etati parcebant, aut sexui de genere gentilium, dum terra sanguine et cadauere occisorum operata est, pluribus<sup>i</sup> etiam cesis et exanimis<sup>j</sup> corporibus Christianorum tam Gallorum quam Grecorum, Syrorum<sup>k</sup> et Armenicorum admixtis. Nec mirum, cum uix luce agnita adhuc super terram essent tenebre,<sup>39</sup> et quibus parcerent aut<sup>l</sup> quos ferirent penitus ignorarent, <sup>m</sup>nam uoce et signo Christiane

<sup>j</sup> arte N      <sup>k</sup> H adds et after assultum

23    <sup>a</sup> erat ACN      <sup>b</sup> est H      <sup>c</sup> et strepitu uehementi A      <sup>d</sup> tubarumque ACHN      <sup>e</sup> et H      <sup>f</sup> intra N      <sup>g</sup> quoque N      <sup>h</sup> per N      <sup>i</sup> plurimis A  
<sup>j</sup> exanimibus A      <sup>k</sup> A adds et before Syrorum      <sup>l</sup> et H      <sup>m</sup> om. A

<sup>38</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* ii. 335; ix. 518.

<sup>39</sup> Exod. 10: 21; Ezek. 32: 8; Matt. 27: 45.

hauberks, buckled on weapons and raised banners, and sped to attack the city from outside, greatly strengthening those who were unaware of what had happened by explaining the whole affair to them during the attack on the city.

23. Meanwhile, while the Turks inside and outside were being hard pressed in battle, the Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, citizens and men of the Christian faith, rushed joyfully to break apart the bolts and to open the gates through which Bohemond and the whole army were admitted. Indeed, at first light, in that area where the betrayal of the city took place, Bohemond's banner, which was the colour of blood, glowed redly over the walls in the mountains, to show everyone that by God's favour and assistance the city which was invincible by man had been betrayed into the hands of Bohemond and all Christ's faithful and captured. Thus, with bolts drawn back and gates standing open on all sides, everyone wondered and rejoiced, since Bohemond's plan was not common knowledge, and once awake they swiftly seized weapons, one warned the other, and everyone armed on the run and hurried to enter the city and gates. There was time for someone to run a mile before the whole number of Christians was admitted. Soon the Turks were stupefied by the violent crash and din of so many thousands going in, and the fearful sound of trumpets, and the widespread raising of banners, the loud shouting of armed men, the neighing of horses, and some who were still asleep in bed woke up unprepared and unarmed. A part of them got together at once in the hope of resisting, grabbing bows and weapons; others remained steadfastly on the towers and defences and shot with arrows many careless Christians of the non-combatant crowd, men and women. Charges and various fights took place among them and were decided by the random chance of war.<sup>38</sup> The Christians, whose strength and forces were great and growing stronger and stronger, were putting to the sword the Turks who were scattered and roaming through homes, through streets and quarters of the town. They spared none of the gentile kind on grounds of age or sex until the earth was covered with blood and the corpses of the slaughtered, many of them also the killed and lifeless bodies of Christians, Gauls as well as Greeks, Syrians and Armenians mixed together. No wonder, since there had still been darkness over the earth,<sup>39</sup> with the light scarcely discernible, and they were entirely unaware whom they should spare or whom they should strike, for very many Turks and

professionis Turci et Sarraceni timore mortis<sup>m</sup> plurimi acclamantes<sup>n</sup> peregrinos fallebant, et ideo communi strage uitam amittebant. Decem milia fuere occisorum quorum corpora per uicos et plateas ciuitatis cesa et ferro a Gallis extincta sunt.

24. Plurimi Turcorum uidentes cedem grauissimam que fiebat, et quia tota urbs armis et uiribus Gallorum redundabat, uite diffidentes, e turribus, locis et presidiiis ciuitatis fugientes, ad montana contendunt noticia uiarum perplexarum, ubi presidium magistre arcis intrantes, arma insequentium Gallorum euaserunt.<sup>a</sup> Hec enim arx et palatium in montanis situm nulla arte, nulla ui superari potest; nullus in eo manentibus aduersari aut nocere potest.<sup>b</sup> Alii circiter mille a longinquis partibus acciti auxilio et inmissi tubarum ac cornuum<sup>c</sup> stridore exterriti, nimiaque suorum occisione desperati, quos prorsus noticia uiarum et fuge latebat, pariter et ipsi ad montana<sup>d</sup> et eius<sup>d</sup> superius presidium festinantes, ut Christianorum manum euaderent, in angustam et incognitam semitam ceco errore inciderunt, ubi prorsus illis<sup>e</sup> uia<sup>f</sup> deficiente in sublimi colle, nequaquam ultra reuertendi facultas esse potuit, sed a sursum per | decliua et scopulos artissimos et incommenabiles cum equis et mulis corruentes, fractis collis, cruribus et brachiis<sup>g</sup> et uniuersis<sup>g</sup> membris, inestimabili et admirando casu uniuersi perierunt.

25. Populus autem Dei uiui reuersus a cede et insecutione gentilium in presidium et in montana fugientium, sole iam altius radiante et die plurimum adulta, urbem perlustrant,<sup>a</sup> uictus querentes,<sup>b</sup> sed paucos reperiunt. Ostra tantum diuersi generis et coloris, piper quoque et pigmenta plurima, uestes et papiliones gentilium, thesseras<sup>c</sup> et aleas, quin pecuniam sed non multam inuenerunt. Nec mirum, quia diuturna obsidione nouem mensium uallata tot gentium<sup>d</sup> milia illic congregata totum consumpserunt.<sup>40</sup> Dies autem Iouis<sup>e</sup> erat serenissima, quando tercia<sup>f</sup> Nonas mensis Iunii tradita et capta est ciuitas Antiochia in manu Christianorum, Turcis prostratis et effugatis.

<sup>n</sup> acclamabant *N*

24 <sup>a</sup> inuaserunt *N* <sup>b</sup> sit *N* <sup>c</sup> cornium *A* <sup>d d</sup> eiusque *ACHN* <sup>e</sup> om. *H*  
<sup>f</sup> uix *E* <sup>g g</sup> uniuersisque *ACHN*

25 <sup>a</sup> perlustrauit *A* <sup>b</sup> queritant *H* <sup>c</sup> thessera *E* <sup>d</sup> gentilium *A*  
<sup>e e</sup> Feria quinta *ACHN* <sup>f</sup> tercio *HN*

<sup>40</sup> Raymond of Aguilers says they won unimaginable quantities of booty (RA, p. 66).

Saracens, fearing for their lives, deceived the pilgrims with speech and tokens of the Christian faith, and so they lost their lives in the common massacre. There were ten thousand killed whose bodies lay all over the quarters and streets of the town and had been killed by the Gauls' weapons.

24. Many of the Turks, seeing the grave slaughter which was happening, and that all the city was overflowing with the Gauls' forces and weapons, despaired of their lives, and, fleeing from the towers, the districts, and defences of the town, they made for the mountains using their knowledge of the winding ways, and there they entered the fortress of the chief citadel and escaped the weapons of the pursuing Gauls. For this citadel and palace sited in the mountains could not be conquered by any stratagem or strength; no one could oppose or harm those who remained within. There were about a thousand others who had been summoned to assist from distant parts; they were sent in, and had been frightened by the blare of trumpets and bugles, and had lost heart because of the very great killing of their men, and they had absolutely no knowledge of the ways and the escape route. They likewise were hurrying to the mountains and Yaghi-Siyhan's fortress, which dominated them, to escape the Christians' army, but they blundered onto a narrow and unfamiliar path where there was no possible way for them to reach the hilltop, nor was there any longer a possibility of turning back, and so they fell from above with their horses and mules down the slopes and the very difficult and impassable cliffs, and everyone perished with broken necks, legs, and arms and all their limbs in an incredible and amazing fall.

25. The people of the living God returned from the slaughter and pursuit of the gentiles who fled into the fortress and the mountains. The sun was already shining quite high in the sky and the day was very well advanced. They patrolled the city, looking for provisions, but they discovered few. They found many purple garments of different kinds and colours, also pepper and very many spices, the gentiles' clothes and tents, gaming pieces and dice, also some money but not much. No wonder, for, blockaded for nine months during the long siege, the many thousands of gentiles assembled in that place had used it all up.<sup>40</sup> The Thursday was a very fine day, when on 3 June the town of Antioch was betrayed into the Christians' hands and captured, and the Turks destroyed and put to flight.

26. Darsianus uero rex Antiochie, intelligens fugam suorum et totum iam presidium et arcem fugitiuis repletam, timens ne Gallorum manus capta urbe presidium uallans expugnaret, mulo ascenso egressus est<sup>a</sup> ut lateret in deuiss montium dum finem et euentum rei plenius comperiret, et si arx a facie Gallorum a suis retineri posset. Hic siquidem dum solus per deuia montis diffugio erraret, quidam de Syria uiri<sup>b</sup> Christiane professionis, qui causa rerum necessariarum iter per montana carpebant, ipsum principem a longe intuentes et agnoscentes plurimum admirati sunt cur solus ab arcis presidio per deuia declinauerit.<sup>c</sup> Vnde adinuicem locuti sunt: 'Ecce dominus et rex noster Darsianus, non sine causa per hec deserta loca montium iter facit. Forsitan urbs capta est, sui occisi, ipse nimirum fuge intentus est. Qui ne manus nostras effugiat uideamus, a quo tot dampna, iniurias et calumpnias pertulimus.' Hoc modo idem tres Syri de morte illius tractantes, sed omnia dissimulantes, summissis ceruicibus illi falsam reuerentiam exhibentes et in dolo salutantes, comminus ad eum accedebant, donec ipsius gladio arrepto et educto, eum a mulo<sup>d</sup> et equo<sup>d</sup> precipitauerunt, caput illius amputantes et in sacculo suo reponentes. Quod mox in urbem Antiochie<sup>e</sup> in aspectu<sup>f</sup> omnium Christianorum et principum attulerunt. Caput uero magne grossitudinis erat, aures latissime et pilose, capilli cani, cum barba que a mento usque ad umbilicum eius profluebat.

27. Comperto dein iam proximo aduentu Corbahan et suorum, quia in Antiochia pauca alimenta reperta sunt, ad portum Symeonis heremite festinato mittentes, pecunia escas nauigio allatas mutuauerunt, singuli prout sua erat possibilitas, quas Antiochie uespere et mane sequenti intulerunt. Hiis ita<sup>a</sup> expletis et Turcis partim occisis, partim in presidium fugatis, et Gallis circumquaque in turribus, domibus, palaciis, menibus<sup>b</sup> diffusis, sequenti die que est sexta feria, trecenti equites Turcorum de gente Corbahan armati arcu, pharetra<sup>c</sup> et sagitta, in signis ostreis, totum gentilium precesserunt exercitum ad aliquorum fidelium repentinum interitum, si quoslibet inprouisos extra muros reperirent.<sup>d</sup> Ex hiis uero trecentis, triginta procedentes

26 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN <sup>c</sup> declinaret N <sup>d d</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> Antiochiam ACHN <sup>f</sup> conspectum A; aspectum CHN

27 <sup>a</sup> itaque N <sup>b b</sup> menibus domibus palaciisque A; domibus palaciis menibusque CHN  
<sup>c</sup> faretra E <sup>d</sup> inuenirent A

26. When Yaghi-Siyhan, the king of Antioch, realized his men had fled and that the entire fortress and citadel was full of fugitives, he was afraid that the band of Gauls who had captured the city might surround and storm the citadel. So he mounted his mule and left in order to lie low in out-of-the-way places in the mountains until he might find out more fully the end and outcome of the affair, and whether the citadel could be held by his men against the Gauls. While the fleeing king was wandering alone through the out-of-the-way places in the mountains some Syrians, men of the Christian faith, who were travelling through the mountain regions for supplies, saw him from a long way off and recognized him, and they wondered a great deal why he had turned aside alone from the fortress citadel into the out-of-the-way places. And so they said to one another: 'Look, our lord and king Yaghi-Siyhan is not journeying through these mountain wildernesses for no reason: perhaps the city has been captured and his men killed; he himself is certainly intent on flight. Let us see that he, who has inflicted on us so many losses, injustices, and sharp practices does not escape our hands.' In this way the three Syrians were plotting Yaghi-Siyhan's death, but they hid all their feelings and showed him false reverence with heads bowed, greeting him deceitfully and coming close to him until they seized and drew his own sword and threw him down from his mule, cutting off his head and putting it in their bag. They soon took it into the city of Antioch, into the view of all the Christian princes. The head was of enormous size, the ears very wide and hairy, his hair was white and he had a beard which flowed from his chin to his navel.

27. Then, because they were already aware of the very near approach of Karbugha and his men, and there was little food to be found in Antioch, they hastily sent to the port of St Symeon the Hermit and purchased with money, each one according to his means, foodstuffs brought in by sea, which they took into Antioch that evening and the following morning. When this had been carried out, and with the Turks partly killed and partly put to flight to the fortress, and the Gauls spread out all around on towers, houses, palaces, and ramparts, on the following day, which was a Friday, three hundred Turkish cavalry of Karbugha's people, armed with bows, quivers, and arrows and carrying purple banners, rode out ahead of the entire gentile army to inflict sudden death on any of the faithful whom they found unsuspecting outside the walls. Of these three hundred, thirty who

uiri bello peritissimi et equo agillimi ad muros et portas ciuitatis frena laxant, post terga<sup>e</sup> sociis in ualle quadam relictis ad insidias et incursus fidelium, si forte premissos triginta usque ad<sup>f</sup> uallem insequerentur,<sup>g</sup> et in impetu irruerunt super latentes uires.<sup>h</sup> Hiis itaque triginta muro ciuitatis appropiantibus et in arcu fideles Christi per menia diffusos acriter lacescentibus, Rotgerus<sup>i</sup> de Barnauilla cum quindecim probatissimis sociis equo residens, armis et lorica indutus, in occursum ab urbe properat, aliquid insigne cum eis agere.<sup>41</sup> Sed sine mora in fugam equos triginta premissi Turci reiciunt, ad insidias contendunt, Rotgerum eos rapido cursu prementem usque ad locum insidiarum perducentes.<sup>j</sup> Insidiis ergo uisis ilico a ualle exurgentibus<sup>k</sup> Rotgerus frena reicit, ad urbem cum sociis uelociter uiam religit. Turci non parcius equorum cursibus<sup>l</sup> urgent fugientem, quousque muro ciuitatis appropians cum suis fere trans uada Farfar elapsus est. Sed aduersante fortuna in conspectu omnium in menibus astantium nobilissimus athleta cursu uelocioris equi a milite Turco superatus est. Cuius tergo sagitta infixia iecur et pulmonem illius<sup>m</sup> penetrauit, et sic ab equo labens mortuus exspirauit. Mortuo itaque tam egregio uiro et omnium<sup>n</sup> suorum auxilio destituto, Turci crudelissimi carnifices ab equis descendentes caput illius a collo presecuerunt, et ad Corbahan et exercitum eius repedantes, caput haste prefixum in ostensione recentis et nunc prime uictorie detulerunt. Hoc denique prospero successu gloriantes, multum gentilium legiones ex hoc  
 408 confor|tabant, quod iuxta muros sic audacter egissent, et neminem ex peregrinis ad opem Rotgeri occisi et decollati ab urbe egredi aut quicquam audere uidissent.

28. Non mirum alicui uideatur, nec quispiam<sup>a</sup> Gallos hebetudine mentis aut timore superuenientis multitudinis concussos mollescere arbitretur, et ideo retardatos ad opem et uindictam confratris ante omnium ora percussi ac<sup>b</sup> decollati, cum nulla plaga mundi ante Galliam audaciores et in bello promptiores nutriat. Verum equorum defectione eos fuisse retardatos procul dubio credat, quos aliquando

<sup>e</sup> posterga AE      <sup>f</sup> in ACHN      <sup>g</sup> sequerentur A      <sup>h</sup> uiros ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> Rütgerus H; Rutgerus N      <sup>j</sup> producentes N      <sup>k</sup> exurgentes N      <sup>l</sup> cursu A  
<sup>m</sup> eius ACHN      <sup>n</sup> om. H

28      <sup>a</sup> quisquam ACHN      <sup>b</sup> et A

<sup>41</sup> Roger rode out with three companions according to *ChA* (i. 331, line 6686) and RM (p. 808).

were men very skilled in warfare and very nimble on horseback were advancing towards the walls and gates of the town at a gallop; behind them were comrades left in a certain valley to ambush and attack the faithful if by chance they should pursue the thirty sent ahead as far as the valley and they rushed in a charge on top of the hidden forces. Therefore, as these thirty were approaching the town wall and eagerly challenging Christ's faithful, spread out along the ramparts, with their bows, Roger of Barneville, riding with fifteen most excellent comrades, wearing weapons and hauberk, hurried from the city to meet them and to do something remarkable with them.<sup>41</sup> But at once the Turkish advance party turned back their horses and fled, making for the ambush, luring Roger, who was urging his men on to a gallop, to the place of the ambush. When Roger saw the ambush swarming out of the valley there he drew in his reins and swiftly retraced the road to the city with his comrades. The Turks on their galloping horses drove on the fleeing knight no less hard, until he drew near the town wall and almost escaped across the shallows of the Orontes with his men. But luck was against him and in full view of all those who were standing around the ramparts the very noble champion was beaten by a Turkish soldier on a faster horse. An arrow pierced his back and penetrated his liver and lung, and so he slipped from his horse and breathed his last. Therefore, since so eminent a man was dead and destitute of help from all his men, the cruel murdering Turks dismounted from their horses and cut off his head from the neck, and they retraced their journey to Karbugha and the army bearing the head stuck on a spear as an exhibition of their recent and unprecedented victory. Exulting then in this happy outcome, the legions of the gentiles took great heart from this, because they had thus acted boldly right next to the walls, and they had seen no one from the pilgrims come out from the city to help Roger when he was killed and beheaded, or dare anything at all.

28. This should not seem surprising to anyone, and no one should think that dullness of mind or fear of the attacking multitude had stricken the Gauls and made them soft, and this is why they held back from helping and revenging their brother who had been struck down and beheaded in full view of everyone, since no region in the world excels Gaul by nourishing bolder men or more keen in battle. But in truth it may be believed beyond doubt that they were held back by lack of horses, which they had lost at various times from infectious

pestilentia aut diuturna fame aut interdum fallaci Turcorum sagitta amiserunt. Vix enim Gallis centum quinquaginta<sup>c</sup> equi remanserant, et ipsi attenuati penuria pabulorum, Turcis uero pingues et non fatigati erant, quapropter celeri cursu euadere potuerunt et Galli eos nequaquam persequi.<sup>d</sup> Quadringenti equi Turcorum tantum in urbe Antiochia<sup>e</sup> reperti et capti sunt, quos minime adhuc suo more ad equitandum domuerant, aut in persecutione hostium flectere et calcaribus urgere didicerant. Dehinc post Turcorum discessum peregrini tristes et dolentes extinctum corpus Rotgeri urbi intulerunt, cum eiulatu magno et fletu ingemiscientes quoniam unus fortiorum<sup>f</sup> de populo cecidisset.<sup>f</sup> Qui peruigil semper erat in insidiis<sup>g</sup> et strage gentilium,<sup>h</sup> et cuius<sup>h</sup> facta insignia ampliora satis fuere quam noster stilus queat explicare. Fama quidem eius apud Turcos omnes antecessit, et libenter eum uidere et audire solebant in omni negotio quod cum Christianis agebant, aut in restitutione utrimque captiuorum, aut cum aliquando pacem inter se componebant. Sepultus est in Antiochia idem miles famosissimus in uestibulo basilice beati Petri apostoli<sup>42</sup> a principibus Christianorum, et a domno episcopo Podiensi,<sup>i</sup> et ab omni clero catholico qui aderat, animaue illius<sup>j</sup> commendata<sup>k</sup> Christo Domino orationum uictimis et psalmorum ymnis, cuius amore et honore exul factus, mori non dubitauit.

29. Vix incliti militis explete sunt exequie, et ecce in ipso mane sabbati quod illuxit <sup>a</sup>tercia dies<sup>b</sup> postquam urbs capta est,<sup>43</sup> assunt  
 409 uniuerse barbare nationes et<sup>a</sup> | legiones gentilium, in apparatu copioso, quas Corbahan ex uniuersis regnis, terris et locis orientalis plage contraxerat, in campis et<sup>c</sup> planicie tentoriis locatis, obsidionem faciens circa spaciose urbis muros et menia. Tercia dehinc die postquam fideles Christi obsedit longe a muris residens, inito consilio ut propius ciuitati hospitaretur, sustulit castra, et in multitudine uirtutis sue in montana in circuitu magistre arcis et ea in parte qua urbs capta est, in excelso rupium sedem posuit, ut Sansadonie et Buldagiso filiis Darsiani, et ceteris in presidio manentibus solatio

<sup>c</sup> quadraginta A      <sup>d</sup> preuertere ACHN      <sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> in populo corruisset A  
<sup>g</sup> A adds Turcorum after insidiis      <sup>h</sup> cuiusque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> Podiense H      <sup>j</sup> eius  
 ACHN      <sup>k</sup> N adds est after commendata

29      <sup>a</sup> om. N      <sup>b</sup> die ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. N

<sup>42</sup> St Peter, chief of the apostles, preached in Antioch and early tradition claims he was the first bishop there: Gal. 2: 11–14; St Jerome, *Liber de uiris illustribus* (PL xxiii. 607–8); idem, *Commentarium in Epistolam ad Galatos* (PL xxiii. 341).

disease or long-term hunger, or occasionally to a cunning arrow from the Turks. For hardly a hundred and fifty horses remained to the Gauls, and those were enfeebled by shortage of fodder; the Turks', however, were sleek and not worn out, on which account they were able to escape by galloping swiftly and the Gauls could not pursue them at all. As many as four hundred Turkish horses were found and captured in the city of Antioch alone, which they had not yet started to tame for riding according to their custom, or learnt to turn about in pursuit of the enemy and urge on with spurs. Then, after the Turks had left, the sad and grieving pilgrims brought Roger's body into the city, lamenting with great wailing and weeping that one of the strongest of the people had fallen. He was always watchful in ambushes and in the slaughter of the gentiles and his extraordinary deeds were much greater than our pen can explain. His fame was even pre-eminent among all the Turks and they used willingly to see and hear him in any business they were doing with the Christians, or in the restitution of prisoners on both sides, or when at any time they were arranging a truce between them. This same very celebrated knight was buried in Antioch in the entrance of the basilica of blessed Peter the apostle<sup>42</sup> by the princes of the Christians, and by the lord bishop of Le Puy, and by all the Catholic clergy who were there, and his soul was commended with the sacrifice of prayers and the singing of psalms to Lord Christ, for whose love and honour he had become an exile and did not hesitate to die.

29. No sooner was the famous warrior's funeral ended than, on that same Saturday morning, which was the third day after the city was captured,<sup>43</sup> all the barbarous nations and legions of the gentiles appeared, with a large amount of equipment, which Karbugha had drawn together from all the kingdoms, lands, and places of the eastern region, and they camped on the fields and plain, laying siege around the walls and ramparts of the spacious city. Then, on the third day after he besieged Christ's faithful, at that point staying at a distance from the walls, Karbugha made a plan to be quartered closer to the town, he struck camp, and with his great strength in numbers he took up position on top of the cliffs in the mountains around the chief citadel and in that part where the city was taken, so that he could encourage Sansadonias and Buldagis, Yaghi-Siyhan's sons, and the others who remained in the fortress, and so that he might see the spot

<sup>43</sup> 5 June 1098.

esset, <sup>d</sup>et ut<sup>d</sup> locum uideret per quem urbs tradita, et Christiani inmissi fuerunt. Similiter in<sup>e</sup> eisdem montanis alii ex populo Corbahan in dextro latere presidii, quo dux Godefridus turrim et portam hanc infra tuebatur, quam Boemundus ante urbis captionem extra obsederat,<sup>f</sup> tentoria ui locauerunt per deuexa montium, ne aliqua licentia aut oportunitas exeundi Christianis ulla parte concederetur.

30. Dux autem Godefridus, uirtutem et constantiam illorum nimium aduersum se uidens excreuisse, statim cum ingenti manu suorum per portam processit aduersus hostes, ut tentoria que <sup>a</sup>a foris<sup>a</sup> extra muros locata erant inuaderet, adtereret <sup>b</sup>et Turcos<sup>b</sup> abinde expugnatos arceret. Sed ecce Turci exurgunt in occursum ducis ad defendenda tentoria. Vbi diu<sup>c</sup> prelio utrimque commisso grauissimus labor incubuit, dum dux et sui uiribus exhausti <sup>d</sup>et bello<sup>d</sup> fessi in fugam conuersi, uix per portam qua exierant reuertentes euaserunt. Alii uero multi, circiter ducenti, quibus porta angusta negata est aut mortui, aut uulnerati, aut capti perierunt. Sic duce fugato et retruso, <sup>e</sup>et plurimis<sup>e</sup> suorum in porta adtritisi, Turci a presidio et a porta presidii erumpentes, eo quod aduersum<sup>f</sup> ducem preualuissent, per semitas notas et uallem perplexam accedentes media urbe subita uociferatione Christianos uagantes incurrebant, sagitta in impetu ledentes et sine mora ad arcem <sup>e</sup>et montana<sup>g</sup> recurrentes. Dum sic mane, meridie et uespere a montanis et ualle exilientes,<sup>h</sup> Christianos impeterent, Boemundus, Reimundus ira moti sine dilatione uallo immenso quod dicitur fossatum montanis et ciuitati deorsum interposito, et presidio <sup>i</sup>quodam murali<sup>i</sup> edificio desuper firmato, tutelam suis sic fieri constituerunt, ne subito a montanis aduersarii erumpentes peregrinos milites incaute per urbis spacia uagantes armis et sagittis inuadendo detruncarent.<sup>44</sup> Turci uero qui in montanis presidium adhuc obtinebant, sepius ad id nouum Boemundi presidium | erumpebant, assultus faciebant, multum et grauiter custodes ac defensores noui presidii in sagittarum grandine et

<sup>d d</sup> utque ACHN      <sup>e</sup> ex H      <sup>f</sup> possederat ACHN

30    <sup>a a</sup> afforis A      <sup>b b</sup> Turcosque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d d</sup> belloque ACHN  
<sup>e e</sup> plurimisque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> aduersus ACHN      <sup>g g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> exurgentes N  
<sup>i i</sup> quodam mirabili A; quod am murali H

<sup>44</sup> The building of this wall is also described by Radulf of Caen (RC, pp. 659–60). See France, *Victory*, p. 276.

where the city was betrayed and through which Christians had been let in. Similarly, in a show of strength others of Karbugha's people pitched their tents in those mountains, on the slopes on the right-hand side of the fortress, where Duke Godfrey was protecting the tower and this gate from within, which Bohemond previously had besieged from outside before the capture of the city, so that the Christians would be allowed no freedom or opportunity to leave on any side.

30. Duke Godfrey saw how greatly their strength and steadfastness against him had grown, so at once he sallied forth through the gate against the enemy with an enormous band of his men, to invade the tents which had been pitched out there beyond the walls, to destroy them and to harry the Turks from them, once beaten in battle. But the Turks swarmed out to meet the duke and defend the tents. Battle was joined there for a long time and there was very great suffering, until the forces of the duke and his men were exhausted and, weary of warfare, they were put to flight and only just escaped, returning through the gate by which they had come out. Many others, about two hundred, who did not make it through the narrow gate, were lost, either killed or wounded or captured. After the duke was put to flight and repulsed in this way, and very many of his men were destroyed in the gateway, the Turks charged from the fortress and the gate of the fortress, because they had prevailed over the duke, and, approaching by way of footpaths known to them and by the valley slope, they attacked stray Christians in the middle of the city with a sudden outcry, inflicting arrow wounds as they charged and straight away racing back to the citadel and mountains. While the Turks were leaping out from the mountains and valley like this, morning, noon, and night, and attacking the Christians, Bohemond and Raymond, who were enraged, decided on a place to become a defence for their men, and without delay they caused an enormous fortification to be built, which is called a rampart, positioned below and in between the mountains and the town, and defended by a fortress with a walled building on top, so that if the enemy burst forth suddenly from the mountains they would be unable to cut down pilgrim soldiers who were wandering carelessly through open areas in the city by attacking them with weapons and arrows.<sup>44</sup> The Turks who were occupying the fortress in the mountains still frequently burst forth against Bohemond's new fortress and made assaults, greatly and gravely tormenting and killing the guards and defenders of the new fortress

armorum uirtute uexantes et perimentes. Christiani uero milites, Walbricus,<sup>45</sup> Iuo,<sup>46</sup> Rodolphus<sup>j</sup> de Fontanais,<sup>k 47</sup> Euerardus<sup>j</sup> de Poisat, Reinboldus<sup>m</sup> Creton,<sup>48</sup> Petrus filius Gisle,<sup>49</sup> custodes et magistri noui presidii, non minus Turcis in lancea et omni armatura cum suis resistebant, uiam uallis eis contradicebant, interdum hinc et hinc graui strage aut uulnere pereuntes.

31. Dum<sup>a</sup> hii creberrimi assultus a Turcis aduersus nouum presidium fierent, et Turci acriter a Gallis reprimerentur, milites Corbahan pedestri agmine facto per portam insuperabilem presidii ingredientes, et per montana et<sup>b</sup> deuia descendentes, Boemundum compertum habentes in nouo presidio, fortiter cum assiliunt. Vbi grauis contentio belli orta est et plurimorum occisio facta. Et fere Boemundus uictus et<sup>c</sup> sui, nisi ab omni urbe Christianis confluentibus comes Robertus Flandriensis, duxque Godefridus, licet primo assultu uictus et Robertus Nortmannorum princeps, <sup>d</sup>et ceteri<sup>d</sup> magnifici proceres uires et opem contulissent,<sup>e</sup> et Turcos in uirtute loricatorum ab urbe et nouo presidio retrusissent. Turci ergo retrusi cum principe suo Corbahan moram extra portas et muros abhinc per duos dies in montanis constituerunt, arbitantes adhuc Christianis nocere. Sed pabulo herbarum in collibus minime reperto quod eorum equis sufficeret, castra amouerunt et uadum fluminis Farfar transeuntes longe ab urbe spacio semi miliarii tentoriis positos consederunt. Altera uero die Corbahan ex sententia suorum exercitum suum copiosum sic in multis milibus in gyro ciuitatis ad obsidionem omnium portarum diuisit, ut ex omni parte inclusis peregrinis nec a dextris nec a sinistris ullus introitus pateret, aut exitus<sup>f</sup> daretur.

32. Sic ex omni parte locata obsidione et paucis diebus transactis, quadam luce clarissima aliqui Turcorum milites, e castris procedentes, ad menia Antiochie | equo aduolantes, sagitta et arcu corneo Gallos prouocant, sperantes pari successu preualere quo antea in

<sup>j</sup> Rodulfus *A*; Rudolfus *CH*; Rudolphus *N*, but below: Rotholfus *AH*; Rodolfus *C*

<sup>k</sup> Fontanis *A*      <sup>l</sup> Euerhardus *ACH*      <sup>m</sup> Reiboldus *A*; Reimboldus *HN*

31      <sup>a</sup> Cum *AN*      <sup>b</sup> ac *ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> ac *ACHN*      <sup>d d</sup> ceterique *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> retulissent *N*      <sup>f</sup> *ACHN* add aliquis after exitus

<sup>45</sup> Possibly Alberic of Grandmesnil: *RC*, p. 662.

<sup>46</sup> Probably Ivo of Grandmesnil, see iv. 13 above.

<sup>47</sup> Probably La Fontanelle, near Vendôme (dép. Loir-et-Cher, France): see *RC*, p. 662; *BD*, p. 65 (variant reading); Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 222–3.

<sup>48</sup> Raimbold survived to play a distinguished part at Antioch and Jerusalem, see *ChA*,

with their hail of arrows and strength of weapons. The Christian knights who were guards and masters of the new fortress, Walbric,<sup>45</sup> Ivo,<sup>46</sup> Ralph of La Fontanelle,<sup>47</sup> Everard of Le Puiset, Raimbold Croton,<sup>48</sup> Peter son of Gisla,<sup>49</sup> and their men were fighting back against the Turks just as hard, with lances and all sorts of weaponry, and they denied them access to the valley, meanwhile dying here and there from the great slaughter or from wounds.

31. While these constant attacks by the Turks against the new fortress were going on, and the Turks were being repulsed fiercely by the Gauls, Karbugha's soldiers formed an infantry column and marched through the impregnable gate of the fortress, down through the mountains and out-of-the-way places, and, having ascertained that Bohemond was in the new fortress, they attacked him vigorously. A heavy battle began there and very many were killed. And Bohemond would have been defeated, and his men, except that Christians flocked from the whole city: Count Robert of Flanders and Duke Godfrey (even though he was defeated in the first attack) and Robert prince of the Normans and the rest of the splendid leaders had brought reinforcements and assistance, and had forced back the Turks from the city and the new fortress by the strength of their armoured men. Therefore the Turks who had been forced back with their prince Karbugha decided to stay in the mountains outside the gates and walls for two more days, still thinking to harm the Christians. But since there was not enough grass to be found in the hills as fodder for their horses, they moved camp and, crossing the shallows of the river Orontes, they pitched their tents and took up position at a distance of half a mile from the city. Another day Karbugha, on his men's advice, divided his numerous army, which was thus encircling the town in many thousands, to blockade all the gates, so that the pilgrims were shut inside and there would be no entry from any direction, neither from right nor from left, nor any exit for them.

32. Thus the blockade was in place on all sides, and a few days passed, then one very clear dawn some Turkish soldiers left the camp and galloped up to the walls of Antioch, challenging the Gauls with crossbow and arrows, hoping to achieve the same success as previously

i. 208-10, lines 3815-71 *passim*, and OV, v. 168-9. He subsequently returned to Chartres, and a dispute with Bishop Ivo is described by Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 155-6.

<sup>49</sup> Also mentioned by WT (p. 310), but otherwise not known.

Rotgeri decollatione gloriati sunt, et insigni fama in castris Corbahan preire. Quapropter amplius et ualidius in assultu<sup>a</sup> menium desudantes, ab equis descenderunt ut liberius et sine lesione equorum in muro stantes expugnarent, et nunc pedites facti, facilius peregrinis iacula intorquerent. Tancradus autem, miles acerrimus et numquam Turcorum sanguine satiatus sed semper eorum cedi inhians, comperta illorum insania, fremitu et audacia, artus ferro assuetos lorica uestiuit, assumptis decem consociis equo et lancea doctissimis, et a porta quam Boemundus cum adhuc fieret obsidio tuebatur, inter<sup>b</sup> muros urbis et antemurale, quod uulgo barbicanas uocant, clam egrediens Turcos pugne intentos ex inproviso inclamans, fortiter assilit, incautos perforat et attriuit.<sup>c</sup> Illis uero uiso mortis periculo non primum ad equos recurrendi ulla fuit facultas, quam sex percussi in ultione capitis Rotgeri ante muros decollati sua capita gladio<sup>d</sup> amiserunt. Tancradus in gloria magna et leticia in urbem ad confratres regressus est, qui Turcorum capita secum in testimonium uictorie<sup>e</sup> detulit.

33. Alio deinde die post castra Corbahan ordinata sueque congregationis, post obsessos undique uiarum exitus et introitus, decretum est communi consilio<sup>a</sup> gentilium ut<sup>b</sup> Turcorum milites ad duo milia eligantur ad expugnandum et prosternendum presidium quod Godfridus dux ceterique comprimores firmauerant in uirtute et uictoria magna quam audistis, quando adtriti Turci undis<sup>c</sup> Ferne fluminis submersi sunt, sub ipso ponte qui trans fluuium ab urbe porrigitur et in quo firmato presidio Reimundus egit custodiam quousque urbs a Christianis capta est.<sup>50</sup> Nunc uero quia neglectum et uacuum erat comes Robertus Flandriensis accitis quingentis uiris belligeris, audito aduentu gentilium, ipsum presidium ingressus tueri disposuit, ne uirtus Turcorum illud subito occupans peregrinis pontem et aquam transire uolentibus magno esset impedimento. Prefata itaque duo milia Turcorum destinata ad ruinam presidii in uirtute magna et

32    <sup>a</sup> assultum ACN    <sup>b</sup> intra N    <sup>c</sup> attriuit H    <sup>d</sup> om. A    <sup>e</sup> om. A

33    <sup>a</sup> om. C    <sup>b</sup> in H    <sup>c</sup> unde N

<sup>50</sup> See above, iii. 55.

when they triumphed in Roger's beheading, and to excel in Karbugha's camp by a remarkable deed. For this reason they exerted themselves further and more fiercely in the attack on the walls, and they dismounted so that they could fight more freely and without damage to their horses while standing on the wall, and so that, now they had become foot soldiers, they might more easily throw their javelins at the pilgrims. However, Tancred, a very fierce knight who could never have enough of Turkish bloodshed but was always eager for their slaughter, saw their madness, their raging and rashness, and, with his limbs clad in iron as usual, he put on his hauberk, took with him ten comrades who were very experienced with horse and lance, and sneaked out of the gate which Bohemond had guarded when the siege was still happening, between the city walls and the outer rampart, which is commonly called the barbican, and he fell with a sudden shout upon the Turks who were intent on battle, attacked them boldly and pierced and destroyed the unsuspecting soldiers. Although they saw their lives were in danger, there was not at first any opportunity for the Turks to get back to their horses, and six who were hit were executed in front of the walls, and in revenge for Roger's head they lost their heads by the sword. Tancred returned in great triumph and happiness to his comrades in the city, taking back with him the Turks' heads as evidence of victory.

33. Then on another day, after Karbugha and his assembled army had organized their camp, and after blockading on all sides the ways in and out, it was decided by common advice of the gentiles that some two thousand Turkish soldiers should be chosen to storm and overthrow the fortress which Duke Godfrey and the other fellow leaders had established in strength and with great victory, as you have heard, when the beaten Turks were drowned in the waters of the river Orontes, under that same bridge which stretches across the river from the city and on which, when the fortress was set up, Raymond stood guard until the city was captured by the Christians.<sup>50</sup> Now indeed, since it was neglected and empty, on hearing of the gentiles' approach Count Robert of Flanders summoned five hundred warlike men and positioned them to protect the way into that same fortress so that the Turkish force would not suddenly occupy it and be a great nuisance to the pilgrims when they wanted to cross the bridge and water. And so the two thousand Turks already mentioned who were intended for the ruin of the fortress converged in great strength and clash of arms,

412 armorum<sup>d</sup> tumultu confluerunt ad locum presidii undique irruentes et inpu gnantes iaculis et arcu.<sup>e</sup> Quin tandem pedites facti, trans uallum moliebantur currere, ingenti tubarum stridore et solita uociferatione rugientes, et<sup>f</sup> a mane usque ad inclinam<sup>g</sup> diem defensores presidii grauiter uexauerunt.<sup>h</sup> Sed Robertus sui que conso dales, uidentes sibi angustias imminere ab hostibus, et scientes se crudelibus penis consumi si uicti eorum ditioni subderentur, uiriliter pro anima inimicis resistebant, lanceis et balistis hostes fortiter impetentes, | et ui a uallo arcentes. Qui grauiter ea die hinc et hinc uulnerati fuisse referuntur. Turci uero<sup>i</sup> uidentes se nil proficere, sed omnem laborem suum incassum consumi, hos in presidio uix defensos deserentes ad Corbahan principem multitudinis regressi sunt, uires hominum adhuc sibi augeri poscentes, et sic in crastino<sup>j</sup> presidium<sup>k</sup> et eius<sup>k</sup> tutores deleri posse astruentes. Robertus autem et qui cum eo erant, uidentes Turcos recessisse, recordati sunt quod propter maius auxilium sociorum abissent. Qua de re consilio inito, in noctis caligine exierunt a munimine<sup>l</sup> presidii, eo quod inualidum contra tot milium uires uideretur, et idem presidium totum igni succenderunt. Vallumque illius diruentes, in urbem Antiochiam a confratribus recepti sunt.

34. Crastino deinde sole orto, duo milia gentilium iussu Corbahan duobus predictis milibus addita presidium in manu robusta adierunt, in tubis et cornibus, sperantes illud repentino aggressu prosterni inclusosque hesternae die in defensione fatigatos, celeri interitu consumi. Sed uallum dirutum et munimen presidii combustam reperientes, delusi et frustrati ad tentoria sua repedauerunt. Sic undique urbe uallata, et de die in diem gentilium copiis accrescentibus et omni parte exitum prohibentibus, tanta inter Christianos inualuit fames ut pane deficiente camelos, asinos, equos et mulos comedere non abhorrerent, sed etiam coria que indurata et putrefacta per tres et sex annos erant in domibus reperta, nunc calidis aquis madefacta et mollificata, tam ea quam<sup>a</sup> recenter ab armentis auulsa, pipere, cumino aut quolibet pigmento condita<sup>b</sup> manducabant. Tam graui fame artabantur. Scio quod horrescent aures mala et tormenta

<sup>d</sup> armorum A    <sup>e</sup> sagittis A    <sup>f</sup> om. ACN    <sup>g</sup> inclinatum N    <sup>h</sup> uexantes H  
<sup>i</sup> om. A    <sup>j</sup> crastinum ACHN    <sup>k</sup> eiusque ACHN    <sup>l</sup> munitione A

34    <sup>a</sup> que ACHN; C adds uel quam above the line    <sup>b</sup> credita N

rushing from all sides to the place of the fortress and attacking with javelins and bows. At length, indeed, they became foot soldiers and endeavoured to run across the rampart, roaring with a great blare of bugles and with their accustomed outcry, and they severely harried the fortress's defenders from morning right up to the end of the day. But Robert and his fellow soldiers, seeing that they were getting into difficulties from the enemy, and knowing they would suffer cruel tortures if they were defeated and subjected to their power, courageously fought for their lives against their opponents, attacking the enemy boldly with lances and crossbows and keeping them away from the rampart by force. It is reported that on that day they were severely wounded here and there. The Turks saw they were making no progress, but all their efforts were squandered to no purpose; they abandoned those in the fortress practically undefended and returned to Karbugha, prince of the great army, seeking urgently for him to increase their resources of men, and saying that with these additions they would be able to destroy the fortress and its protectors on the following day. However, when Robert and those with him saw the Turks had withdrawn, they were aware that they had gone to get more allies as reinforcements. So they made a plan, and in the darkness of night they left the protection of the fortress, since it was seen to be inadequate against the forces of so many thousands, and they set on fire the entire fortress. They demolished its rampart as they left, and they were taken back into the city of Antioch by their brothers.

34. Then, after sunrise the next day, two thousand gentiles were added to the original two thousand on Karbugha's orders, and they arrived at the fortress as a strong force, with trumpets and bugles, hoping to overthrow it with a sudden charge and to destroy with swift death those within who were tired out by the previous day's defence. But they found the rampart demolished and the defences of the fortress burnt down, and they retraced their steps to their tents, tricked and frustrated. With the city thus blockaded on all sides, and the gentiles' forces increasing from day to day and barring their way out all round, famine grew so great among the Christians that in the absence of bread they did not shrink from eating camels, donkeys, horses, and mules, but even chewed pieces of leather found in the homes which had hardened and putrefied for three or six years, this as well as leather recently torn from cattle, cooked with pepper, cumin, or some other spice. They were tortured by this great famine. I know that my

inaudite famis ausculantes qua populus Dei inclusus opprimebatur. Pro uno namque ouo galline si inueniri poterat sex denarii<sup>f</sup> Luculensis monete<sup>51</sup> numerabantur. Pro decem fabis denarius, pro capite unius asini, equi, bouis uel cameli bisantius unus dabatur, in pede uel aure sex denarii, in uisceribus cuiuslibet horum animalium decem solidi mutuo accipiebantur. Iners denique et modicum uulgus calceos suos ex corio pre famis angustia deuorare cogeabantur.<sup>d</sup> Plures uero radicibus urticarum ac quarumlibet siluestrium herbarum, igne coctis et mollitis, miserum uentrem implebant, et sic infirmati cotidie 'moriendo minuebantur.'<sup>e</sup> <sup>52</sup> Dux uero<sup>f</sup> Godefridus, ut aiunt qui affuerunt, quindecim marcas argenti pro carne cameli uilissimi expendit, pro capra procul dubio dapifer eius Baldricus tres marcas uenditori dedisse perhibetur.<sup>53</sup>

- 413 35. Post aliquot deinde dies postquam Corbahan firmauit<sup>a</sup> obsidionem in circuitu Antiochie, et omnem exitum et<sup>b</sup> introitum urbis clauserat, populumque Dei diuersis assultibus uexauerat, cibosque inferri omni parte interdixerat, clade 'et longa<sup>c</sup> abstinentia et bellico labore Christiani afflicti et fessi, minus uigiles esse ceperunt in tuitione urbis et menium. Quousque<sup>d</sup> turris quedam incustodita remansit uersus montana, eo uidelicet in<sup>e</sup> loco quo munitio ex bitumine fragilis limi fundata est, ad reprimendos hostes ab inobsessa porta egredientes per montana, et peregrinos diffusos persequentes, et ubi a Prouincialibus iuuenis ille captus est, in cuius redemptione turri quadam requisita, sed a cognatis et amicis illius negata, capitali sententia peremptus est.<sup>54</sup> Hanc itaque turrin predictam uacuum ab inhabitatoribus quidam audacissimi milites ex Turcis persentientes, scalas et ingenia sua latenter muro applicuerunt, sperantes in silentio noctis per eam alios gentiles inducere, et sic urbem amissam recuperare. Interea quidam qui urbem lustrabat ob negocia sibi necessaria, eleuans oculos contemplatur Turcos in medio cacumine eiusdem turris incaute deambulantes. Nec mora alta uociferatione perstrepens, socios<sup>f</sup> in uicina turri commorantes<sup>g</sup> sollicitat, Turcos

<sup>e</sup> denarios N    <sup>d</sup> cogeabatur AH    <sup>e</sup> moriebantur C, uel minue- is written above  
<sup>f</sup> quoque ACHN

35    <sup>a</sup> A adds undique after firmauit    <sup>b</sup> ac HN    <sup>c</sup> longaue ACHN    <sup>d</sup> Ergo  
ACHN    <sup>e</sup> om. A    <sup>f</sup> H adds qui after socios    <sup>g</sup> commorabantur H

<sup>51</sup> See AA iii. 52 and n.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Radulf of Caen: 'Obsessi lethiferis cibis utuntur' (RC, p. 663). His list resembles Albert's, including leather and some plant names.

listeners will tremble when they hear the evils and torments of the incredible famine which oppressed God's people shut in Antioch. For one single hen's egg, if it could have been found, six Luccan pennies<sup>51</sup> were paid. For ten beans, a penny; for the head of one donkey, horse, cow, or camel one bezant was given, for foot or ear sixpence; in return for the entrails of any one of these animals ten shillings were accepted. Then the crowds of non-combatants and ordinary people were forced to devour their leather shoes because of the pressure of hunger. Some, indeed, filled their wretched bellies with roots of stinging nettles and other sorts of woodland plants, cooked and softened on the fire, and so they became ill and every day their numbers were lessened by death.<sup>52</sup> Duke Godfrey, as they say who were there, paid out fifteen marks of silver for the flesh of a miserable camel; for a she-goat it is testified beyond doubt that his steward Baldric gave three marks to the seller.<sup>53</sup>

35. Then, some days afterwards, after Karbugha had established the siege around Antioch, and had closed all ways in and out of the city, and harried God's people with different attacks, and banned food from being brought in from any part, the Christians were distressed and tired from disaster and long abstinence and warlike effort, and began to be less watchful in the defence of the city and ramparts. It reached the point where a certain tower towards the mountains was left unguarded, that is to say in that place where the defence work was founded on a mixture of friable mud, and so there was no one to drive back the enemy who were coming out through the mountains from the gate which was not besieged, and pursuing the scattered pilgrims. It was here that the young man was captured by the Provençals, and a certain tower demanded for his return, but his relatives and friends refused and he was put to death.<sup>54</sup> Some of the Turks' boldest soldiers realized that this tower was empty of inhabitants and they leaned their ladders and siege engines secretly against the wall, hoping to bring some gentiles inside through the tower at dead of night, and so to recover the lost city. Meanwhile, a certain Christian who was out and about in the city on his necessary business lifted his gaze and saw the Turks carelessly taking a walk in the middle of the high point of that same tower. At once he shouted in a loud voice, disturbing his fellows who were stationed in a neighbouring tower,

<sup>53</sup> The famine is also graphically described in *GF* (p. 62) and by other eyewitnesses, *PT* (p. 104) and *RA* (pp. 76–7).

<sup>54</sup> See above, *AA* iii. 56.

urbem inuasisse asserit, et sic commotionem magnam in populo suscitauit. Ad hec Henricus<sup>b</sup> de Ascha<sup>i</sup> castello,<sup>j</sup> miles sua in terra semper<sup>k</sup> nominatissimus, filius Fredelonis, unus de collateralibus ducis Godefridi, audito clamore et strepitu, scutum et gladium arripiens, uelociter ad arcem turris properat, duobus sibi adiunctis probis tyronibus, Francone scilicet et Sigemaro, carnaliter cognatis, incolis uille<sup>l</sup> que dicitur Mechela<sup>m</sup> super Mosam fluuium,<sup>55</sup> ut inimicos inmissos a turri repellerent, estimantes se cum urbe ab aliquibus fratribus auro uel argento corruptis uenditos fuisse. Turci uero cognoscentes<sup>n</sup> se detectos fuisse, nec aliquo ingenio a manibus peregrinorum posse liberari, in sola spe defensionis in limine turris occurrunt, et atroci ictu gladiatorum resistunt. Qui Franconem multam uim inferentem in cerebro percusserunt uulnere grauissimo et uix sanabili. Sigemarum uero cognato subuenire uolentem,<sup>o</sup> ense trans aluum perfoderunt capulo tenus,<sup>56</sup> <sup>p</sup>et miro<sup>p</sup> et inaudito conamine fideles Christi a limine arcebant. Tandem fidelium circumquaque crescente auxilio et additis uiribus, Turci fessi et spiritu exhausti pre nimio labore ceperunt in defensione deficere, arma et brachia remittere. Quorum quatuor in gladio ceciderunt, alii ab altitudine depulsi, ceruicibus, cruribus et brachiis fractis, mortui sunt.

- 414 36. Post hec peregrinis grauis famis angustia sicut<sup>a</sup> audistis et multo amplius coactis, nec aditum aliquem reperientibus ad inferendos uel adquirendos cibos pre obsidione<sup>b</sup> undique constituta, quidam de humili uulgo uitam periculo destinantes in magna ambiguitate et formidine clam procedebant ab urbe in umbra noctis ad portum<sup>c</sup> sancti<sup>d</sup> Symeonis, quondam illic in montanis heremite, descendentes, et dato precio a nautis et mercatoribus uictum accipientes, per uepres et frutecta in tenebris ante lucem repedare solebant. Qui uero frumentum attulerant, octauam partem Leodiensis modii tribus marcis uendebant, caseum Flandriensem quinque solidis, pauxillum uini aut olei, uel quodlibet uite sustentaculum quantulumcumque<sup>e</sup> graui et inaudita comparatione auri uel argenti mutuabat.<sup>f</sup> Ex hiis

<sup>b</sup> Henricus AN; *E* has Henricus once below      <sup>i</sup> Ascha H      <sup>j</sup> om. A      <sup>k</sup> om. CH  
<sup>l</sup> de uilla A      <sup>m</sup> Machela AC      <sup>n</sup> uidentes A      <sup>o</sup> nolentem A      <sup>p</sup> miroque ACHN

36      <sup>a</sup> prout ACHN      <sup>b</sup> obsessione H      <sup>c</sup> portam N      <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> quantulumque E      <sup>f</sup> mutuabant H

<sup>55</sup> Maasmechelen, north of Maastricht, Belgium. The brothers were related to the Esch brothers and hence to Duke Godfrey. See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 196, 228.

and he claimed the Turks had invaded the city and so he stirred up a great commotion among the people. At this, Henry of the castle of Esch, a knight always very celebrated in his own land, son of Fredelo, one of Duke Godfrey's counsellors, heard the noise and din, seized his shield and sword, and went with great haste to the high point of the tower, having with him two excellent young knights (namely Franco and Sigemar, related by blood, inhabitants of the town called Mechelen on the river Meuse)<sup>55</sup> in order to repulse the enemy who had invaded from the tower, thinking they had been sold along with the city by some brothers who had been bribed with gold or silver. When the Turks realized they had been discovered and could not escape the hands of the pilgrims by any clever idea, they ran to the threshold of the tower as their only hope of defence and fought back with deadly sword blows. They applied a great deal of pressure to Franco and struck him on the head with a very severe and almost incurable wound. When Sigemar wanted to come to his kinsman's aid they pierced him through the belly with a sword up to its hilt,<sup>56</sup> and they kept Christ's faithful away from the threshold with a marvellous and incredible struggle. Eventually the resources of the faithful increased on all sides and their forces were augmented; the Turks were weary and worn out in spirit by the very great effort, and they began to falter in defence, to slacken their weapons and arms. Four of them died by the sword, others were cast down from the height and died with heads, legs, and arms broken.

36. After this the pilgrims were constrained by the torment of great famine, as you have heard, and much more, and, finding no access to bring in or acquire food on account of the blockade set up on all sides, some of the humble crowd risked their lives by going secretly in great uncertainty and dread from the city under cover of darkness down to the port of St Symeon (once a hermit in the mountains there), where for a price they would receive supplies from the sailors and merchants, and then they would retrace their route through the thorn bushes and scrub in the darkness before dawn. When they brought corn they sold the eighth part of a Liège measure for three marks, a Flemish cheese for five shillings; a little wine or oil, or whatever would support life, however insignificant, was purchased at a great and incredible rate of exchange in gold or silver. Some of these

<sup>56</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* ii. 553; x. 536.

aliqui die quadam plus solito retardati, et quia nox brevis erat in luce uelocissime diei manifestati, a Turcis trucidati et exspoliati fuisse referuntur. Pauci dumis et fructibus latentes uix liberati<sup>g</sup> urbi restituti sunt. Huius<sup>h</sup> rei occasione assumpta, Turci ad duo milia conglobati ad portum predictum<sup>i</sup> profecti uniuersos illic nautas repertos repentino aggressu disturbauerunt, sagittis confodientes. Nauesque iniecto igne comburentes, escas et omnia allata<sup>j</sup> nauigio ui rapientes asportauerunt. <sup>k</sup>Et sic<sup>k</sup> deinceps uendentes et ementes a portu absterruerunt, ne ultra Christianis aliqua escarum sustentatio illic reperiri posset. Hec itaque fama crudelissima ut aures Christianorum inaudite famis grauitate<sup>l</sup> laborantium perculit, iam illis diuerse Turcorum infestationes oneri esse ceperunt, multorum<sup>m</sup> animi in diuersa fluxerunt, qualiter ab hac obsidione et ab imminetibus periculis euadere possent. <sup>n</sup>Et sic<sup>n</sup> plurimi quocumque conamine uel occasione exitum querentes, ab exercitu se noctu subtrahebant.

37. Talis denique<sup>a</sup> formido<sup>b</sup> et uiuendi<sup>b</sup> desperatio dum habundantius inualesceret, et<sup>c</sup> cogitationes<sup>d</sup> in corda multorum ascenderent pre pondere cotidiane tribulationis, quidam principales uiri de exercitu, 415 Willelmus Carpentarius, Willelmusque | alter quondam familiaris et domesticus imperatoris Constantinopolis, qui et sororem Boemundi principis Sicilie uxorem duxerat,<sup>57</sup> magnis adeo concussi sunt terroribus, quatenus in silentio noctis concordis consilio clam subtracti a sociis uersus montana conuenirent, et a menibus et muro<sup>e</sup> in<sup>f</sup> funium depositione laxarentur. Laxati uero per deuia montium propter Turcorum insidias iter sine requie habuerunt, quousque in Alexandriam minorem profecti sunt. Vbi Stephanus Blesensis ab obsidione Antiochie sequestratus causa infirmitatis morabatur, euentum rei et finem sociorum illic auditurus. In eodem siquidem loco Stephanus idem intelligens ab eisdem uiris pericula confratrum de die in diem magis accreuisse, famis intolerantiam, Turcorum iactantiam et assultus, uirorum et equorum cladem, diffusus est uite, minime se tutum hoc credens in loco, nec siccum iter ausus insistere, nauigio reditum

<sup>g</sup> om. A    <sup>h</sup> Cuius H    <sup>i</sup> predictam E    <sup>j</sup> allato N    <sup>k k</sup> Sicque ACHN  
<sup>l</sup> grauiter N    <sup>m</sup> multorumque ACHN    <sup>n n</sup> Sic denique ACHN

37    <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>b b</sup> uiuendique ACH; intuendique N    <sup>c</sup> atque ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> N adds in before cogitationes    <sup>e</sup> A adds a before muro    <sup>f</sup> om. A

<sup>57</sup> William of Grandmesnil is mentioned by all the major sources, save FC. He was married to Robert Guiscard's daughter Mabel (June 1095) and had taken refuge at the

pilgrims one day lingered more than usual, and because the night was short they were shown up in the sudden light of day, and it is reported that they were slaughtered and plundered by the Turks. A few hiding in the thorn bushes and scrub only just escaped and were restored to the city. Seizing the opportunity of this affair, some two thousand Turks gathered and set out for the aforesaid port and threw into disorder with a sudden attack all the sailors they found there, piercing them through with arrows. They burned the ships by throwing fire on them, seized by force the food and everything brought in by sea and carried it off. And thus they frightened away those selling and buying from the port from then on, and there was no longer any sustenance of food to be found in that place for the Christians. Therefore, as this most cruel news came to the ears of the Christians who were struggling under the weight of the incredible famine, the various Turkish attacks now began to be a burden to them, and the minds of many turned to different things, how they could escape from this siege and from the dangers which threatened them. And so very many stole away from the army by night, looking for a way out by any effort or opportunity whatsoever.

37. Then, while such fear and despair of living grew more widespread, and thoughts of escape sprang up in the hearts of many because of the burden of daily suffering, certain chief men of the army, William the Carpenter and the other William who was once the favourite and familiar of the emperor of Constantinople, who also had taken as wife the sister of Bohemond prince of Sicily,<sup>57</sup> were so much struck by great terrors that they agreed a plan and at dead of night they stole away from their fellows towards the mountains and met, and were let down on ropes from the ramparts and wall. Once down, they travelled without rest through out-of-the-way places in the mountains because of Turkish ambushes, until they struck out for Alexandria the Lesser. Stephen of Blois, who had withdrawn from the siege of Antioch on account of illness, was staying there to hear in that place the outcome of the affair and the fate of his comrades. In that same place Stephen learnt from these men that the dangers to his brothers had grown greater from day to day—the unbearable famine, the Turks' boasting and attacks, the destruction of men and horses—so he despaired of his life and, believing he was not at all safe in that

Byzantine court following an unsuccessful rebellion in Apulia. See Jamison, 'Some notes', pp. 199–200.

suum ac diffugium cum predictis principibus parat. Ventilato deinde rumore per urbem Antiochiam tam egregios proceres ab urbe exisse pre timore infestantium Turcorum, plurimi pariter fugam meditabantur, et robustorum pectora metu deficiebant, nec sic prompti erant in defensione ut solebant, presidiumque nouum quod in medio urbis aduersus arcem que est in montanis firmauerant lentius defensabant,<sup>g</sup> desperati et fuge intendentes.

38. Ad hec quidam frater fidelissimus, genere Longobardus, uita et ordine clericus, iuxta prefatum nouum presidium consistens, desolatis Christi militibus omnibus qui illic aderant, clericis, laicis, nobilibus et ignobilibus magnum exhibuit solatium, quo<sup>a</sup> dubia corda cunctorum <sup>b</sup>et metu<sup>b</sup> fluxa releuauit dicens: 'Fratres uniuersi qui laboratis fame et pestilentia, qui Turcorum et gentilium turbis uallati mortem temporalem speratis incurrere, non hunc gratis sufferre credatis<sup>c</sup> laborem, sed audite et pensate premium quod Dominus Iesus omnibus hiis redditurus est qui eius amore et gratia hac in uia morituri sunt. In initio namque<sup>d</sup> huius uie quidam sacerdos, uir boni testimonii et eximie conuersationis in Italie partibus manens, mihi a puericia notus, quadam die solito more missam celebraturus ad diocesim<sup>e</sup> sibi commissam solus carpebat uiam<sup>f</sup> trans spacium cuiusdam agelli. Cui in affabilitatis obsequium peregrinus quidam affuit, de uie huius instantia requirens, quid super hac audierit, aut quid primum sibi de hac uideatur, cum tot regna, tot principes et uniuersum genus Christianorum sub una intentione et desiderio ad sepulchrum Domini<sup>g</sup> Iesu Christi et sanctam confluerint ciuitatem Ierusalem. Qui respondit: "Diuersi diuersa super hac sentiunt uia. Alii dicunt a Deo et Domino Iesu Christo hanc in omnibus peregrinis suscitatem uoluntatem, alii pro leuitate animi hanc Francigenas |  
416 primores<sup>h</sup> et plurimum<sup>h</sup> uulgi insistere, et ob hoc<sup>i</sup> in regno Vngarie et aliis in<sup>j</sup> regnis tot peregrinis occurrisse impedimenta, nec ideo intentionem illorum ad effectum posse pertingere. Vnde et meus adhuc hesitat animus, diu huius uie desiderio tactus, et tota in ipsa intentione occupatus." Cui protinus predictus peregrinus inquit:<sup>k</sup> "Non leuitate aut gratis huius uie credas fuisse exordium, sed a

<sup>g</sup> defendebant A

38    <sup>a</sup> quod A                    <sup>b</sup> <sup>h</sup> metuque ACHN                    <sup>c</sup> ACHN add uos before credatis  
<sup>d</sup> denique ACHN            <sup>e</sup> diocesin A                    <sup>f</sup> iter A                    <sup>g</sup> H adds nostri after Domini  
<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> plurimumque ACHN            <sup>i</sup> om. H                    <sup>j</sup> om. H                    <sup>k</sup> ait H

place and not daring to make the journey on land, he prepared to make his return and escape with the aforesaid princes by sea. When the rumour got about the city of Antioch that such eminent nobles had left the city on account of fear of Turkish attacks, very many likewise considered flight, and the hearts of the strong failed from fear, and so they were not so ready in defence as they used to be, and they defended the new fortress they had established in the middle of the city, opposite the citadel which is in the mountains, rather sluggishly, being desperate and intent on escape.

38. At this point a certain most faithful brother, a Lombard by race, a cleric by rank and profession, who was positioned next to the aforesaid new fortress, held out great comfort to all the desolate soldiers of Christ who were in that place, clerics, laypeople, noble and lesser men; he lifted everyone's hearts which were hesitating and wavering with fear, saying: 'All of you, my brothers, who are oppressed by famine and pestilence, who expect to meet death in this world surrounded by the hordes of Turks and gentiles, do not believe you are undergoing this hardship for nothing, but hear and think of the reward which Lord Jesus will give back to all of those who will die for his love and favour on this journey. For at the outset of this journey a certain priest, a man of good repute and excellent manner of life who lived in Italian parts, known to me from boyhood, one day, according to his custom, took the road alone across a certain little field to the parish church which was his responsibility, where he would celebrate mass. A certain pilgrim approached him in courteous respect and asked him earnestly about this journey: what he had heard about it, or what seemed to him most important about it, since so many kingdoms, so many princes and every kind of Christian were flocking to the sepulchre of Lord Jesus Christ and the holy city of Jerusalem with one purpose and desire. The priest replied: "Different people think different things about this journey. Some say this desire has been aroused in all the pilgrims by God and Lord Jesus Christ, others that the Frankish leaders and the very great common crowd are going on the journey for reasons of frivolity, and on this account so many pilgrims have met obstacles in the kingdom of Hungary and in other kingdoms, and so cannot manage to carry out their intention. And so my mind is still wavering, though for a long time affected by desire for this journey and taken up wholly by that same intention." The aforesaid pilgrim said to him immediately: "You should not believe that the commencement of this journey was

Deo cui nihil impossibile est dispositum, et procul dubio inter martyres Christi in celi aula noueris eos computatos, ascriptos et feliciter coronatos, quicumque in hac uia morte preoccupati fuerint, qui in nomine Iesu exules facti, puro et integro corde in dilectione Dei perseuerauerint, et se ab auaricia, furto, adulterio, fornicatione continuerint." Presbiter uero admirans in uerbis et promissione peregrini, quis fuerit, aut de qua ortus sit regione requirit,<sup>1</sup> uel unde certum hoc didicerit, quod gloria celesti cum beatis sint coronandi, qui in hac expeditione uita decesserint. Protinus sciscitanti sacerdoti, totius rei ueritatem in hoc modo detexit dicens: "Ego sum Ambrosius Mediolensium episcopus,<sup>58</sup> seruus Christi, et hoc tibi sit in signum, et uniuersis catholicis populis uiam hanc insistentibus, quia non fallo de omnibus que ex ore meo audisti. Ab hodierna die tribus annis euolutis, scias Christianos qui superfuerint post multos labores ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem et feliciter uictoriam de cunctis barbaris nationibus obtinere." Hiis dictis sine mora euauit nec ultra post hec uisus est.<sup>59</sup> Hec se uidisse et audisse a sancto Dei episcopo idem egregius presbiter cum summa ueritate referebat. Et nunc ex quo uisio et promissio illa facta est, duo completi sunt anni, tertium adhuc restare omnibus certum est. Post hec sicut predixit beatus Ambrosius episcopus Mediolanensium, in tercio anno Christi milites peregrini et eorum principes obtinuerunt Ierusalem et mundauerunt illic sancta, Sarracenis fugatis et adtritit.<sup>59</sup>

39. Audita hac uisione et promissione ex ueraci<sup>a</sup> fratris relatione, uniuersi timore amittende presentis uite hactenus hesitantes, et<sup>b</sup> fugitiuorum principum amissione turbati, spe et desiderio uite celestis accensi amodo<sup>c</sup> fiunt stabiles, nec ultra aliquo metu mortis a confratribus et urbe se recedere fatentur, sed cum eis uiuere et mori, et omnia pro Christo sufferre. Godefridus dux pariter et Robertus Flandriensis fere uniuersos principes tanta formidine concussos ut iam fugam conspirassent, humili uulgo nesciente, miro reuocauerunt solamine, et constantes ad omne reddiderunt

<sup>1</sup> perquirat *ACHN*

39    <sup>a</sup> ueracis *A*    <sup>b</sup> ac *ACHN*    <sup>c</sup> ammodo *AN*

<sup>58</sup> St Ambrose (339–97) was fearless, eloquent, and accessible to all: see Paulinus, *Vita Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi* (PL xiv, cols. 27–46). His dressing as a pilgrim in this vision identifies him with the suffering of the crusaders, according to A. Dupront, 'La Spiritualité des croisades et des pèlerins d'après les sources de la première croisade', *Convegno del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale*, iv (1963), 451–83, at p. 461.

frivolous or for nothing, but that it was ordered by God, to whom nothing is impossible, and you should know that any who shall be taken by death on this journey, who became exiles in Jesus' name and persevered with pure and blameless heart in God's love, and abstained from avarice, theft, adultery, and fornication, shall beyond doubt be numbered, written down, and joyfully crowned among Christ's martyrs in the court of heaven." The priest wondered at the words and promise of the pilgrim, and asked who he was, or from what region he originated, or from where he had learnt for sure that those who gave up their lives on this expedition were to be crowned in heavenly glory with the saints. Directly, the pilgrim revealed the truth of the whole affair to the inquisitive priest in this way, saying: "I am Ambrose, bishop of Milan,<sup>58</sup> servant of Christ, and let this be a sign to you, and to all Catholic peoples making this journey, that I am not mistaken in all the things which you have heard from my lips. When three years have passed from this date, know that the Christians who are still alive will obtain after many hardships the holy city of Jerusalem and, happily, victory over all the barbarous nations." He vanished at once after saying these things and was no longer seen after this.<sup>7</sup> The same eminent priest reported with complete truth that he had seen and heard these things from God's holy bishop. And now from the time that vision and promise were made two years had been completed; it was determined by all that the third still remained. After this, just as blessed Ambrose the bishop of Milan foretold, in the third year Christ's soldiers, the pilgrims, and their princes obtained Jerusalem and cleansed the holy places there, with the Saracens put to flight and destroyed.<sup>59</sup>

39. When they heard of this vision and promise from the truthful account of their brother, everyone who was up to now wavering through fear of losing this present life, and was distressed by the defection of the deserter princes, was inspired by hope and desire for heavenly life and from then on became steady; people no longer said they would withdraw from their brothers and the city out of any fear of death, but that they would live and die with them, and endure all things for Christ. Duke Godfrey, likewise, and Robert of Flanders won back with this wonderful comfort almost all of the princes who had been so stricken with fear that they were already conspiring to flee, unknown to the common crowd, and made them steadfast again

<sup>59</sup> Clearly Albert wrote this part of his history after the battle of Ascalon, 1099.

417 periculum in hoc modo loquentes: | 'Cur desperatis ex Dei auxilio diffidentes in tot aduersis que superueniunt, et confratres humile et pedestre scilicet uulgus fide uestra deficiente deserere et<sup>d</sup> fugam inire disposuistis? State et<sup>e</sup> uirili animo omnia<sup>f</sup> uobis<sup>g</sup> aduersantia pro Christi nomine sufferte, <sup>h</sup>et fratres<sup>h</sup> uestros nequaquam in tribulatione hac deseratis, et non Dei iram incurratis, cuius gratia et misericordia non deficiet in se confidentibus.' Hec dum cum lacrimis 'et magnis' suspiriis ad comprimores desolatos loquerentur, uniuersorum reuixit spiritus et stabiles deinceps cum eis in omni angustia permanserunt, nullam abhinc fugam meditantes. Willelmus et itidem Willelmus, Stephanus et eorum consocii formidolosi et profugi aptant naues, remos et uela, et alto mari inferuntur, Constantinopolim remeare disponentes, relictis fratribus in obsidione, quos numquam a manibus Corbahan liberari posse estimabant.<sup>60</sup>

40. Aliquanto tandem tempore dum<sup>a</sup> nauigassent, in quibusdam insulis de regno Grecorum hospitio<sup>b</sup> pernoctantes, uel propter motum maris<sup>c</sup> commorantes, intellexerunt Christianum imperatorem Grecorum ad urbem Finiminis<sup>d</sup> peruenisse in comitatu magno et apparatu copioso ad succurrendum peregrinis, sicut fide promiserat quando sacramento et foedere percusso iuncti sunt illi in amicitiam. Turcopolos,<sup>e</sup> Pincenarios,<sup>f</sup> Comanitas, Bulgaros, Danaosque arcu doctos et sagitta, Danosque bipennium armatura dimicare peritissimos, Gallos exules, exercitum simul conducticium populum diuersi generis a desertis locis et montanis, a maritimis et insulis, ab omni scilicet regno suo spaciosissimo, ad quadringenta<sup>g</sup> contraxit milia. Hunc predicti principes in hac fortitudine armorum, uirorum et equorum, et<sup>h</sup> in copiis cibariorum, tentorium, mulorum ac camelorum inuenerunt, et cum eo nouum exercitum Gallorum, circiter quadraginta milia, per longam hiemem congregatum,<sup>i</sup> Tatinum quoque truncati naris qui similiter timore attonitus in falsa fide a sociis recesserat ad ipsum imperatorem, propter promissum auxilium legationem laturus, quam minime fideliter peregit, non ultra

<sup>a</sup> ac H      <sup>e</sup> ac CN      <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>g</sup> nobis N      <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> fratresque ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> magnisque ACHN

40      <sup>a</sup> cum ACHN      <sup>b</sup> hospitio om. A      <sup>c</sup> aeris C      <sup>d</sup> this word illegible (F . . . b . . .) N      <sup>e</sup> altered from Tricopulos E      <sup>f</sup> Pincennarios H      <sup>g</sup> quadraginta ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> congregatam AEHN

<sup>60</sup> Fulcher of Chartres confirms Albert in saying that Stephen took the sea route (FC, p. 228). Anna Komnene says they arrived at Philomelion by way of Tarsus, implying a land

in the face of all danger, speaking in this way: 'Why do you despair, distrusting God's help in the many difficulties which have happened, and why have you decided through your failure of faith to desert your brothers, that is to say the lowly crowd of foot soldiers, and make an escape? Stand firm and endure with manly spirit all your difficulties for Christ's name, and do not desert your brothers at all in this time of trouble, and incur God's wrath, whose favour and mercy do not lack for those who trust in him.' While they were speaking these words to their despairing colleagues with tears and great sighs, everyone's spirits revived, and from that time they remained steadfast with them in all hardship, no longer considering escape. William and the other William, Stephen and their fearful and fleeing comrades prepared ships, both rowing and sailing vessels, and embarked on the high seas, planning to travel to Constantinople, leaving their brothers besieged, and thinking they would never be rescued from Karbugha's hands.<sup>60</sup>

40. At length, when they had sailed for some time, while they were spending the night quartered on some islands belonging to the Greek kingdom, or staying there on account of the motion of the sea, they heard that the Christian emperor of the Greeks had arrived at the city of Philomelium with a great company of men and much equipment to assist the pilgrims, as he had promised faithfully when they were joined to him in friendship by an oath and agreed treaty. He had brought together some four hundred thousand Turcoples, Pechenegs, Cumans, Bulgars, and Greeks skilled with bow and arrow, Danes excellent at fighting with the battleaxe, Gaulish exiles, also an army of mercenaries of different sorts from desert places and mountains, from shores and islands, that is to say from all his very extensive kingdom. The princes mentioned above found the emperor with this strength of weapons, men, and horses, and with supplies of food, tents, mules, and camels, and found with him a new army of Gauls, around forty thousand, which had been assembled through the long winter, also Tatikios with the cut-off nose who, terror-stricken as they were, had withdrawn in false faith from the allies to that same emperor, to carry a message about the promised relief, which he had not done faithfully at

journey (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 27; trans. Sewter p. 348). R.-J. Lilie points out that the land journey is more likely if Stephen was still accompanied by 4,000 men (AA iv. 13); however, Anna says only that William of Grandmesnil and Peter of Alifa were with him: Lilie, *Byzantium*, p. 38 n. 161.

Antiochiam reuersus.<sup>61</sup> Imperator ingressos ad se principes recog-  
noscens, miratur uehementer quomodo a sociis diuisi habeantur, ac  
percunctatur<sup>j</sup> de statu fidelium Christi commilitonum, de salute  
ducis Godefridi, Reimundi comitis, episcopi Podiensis, utrum in  
prospero an aduerso<sup>k</sup> eorum res sita sit. Responderunt eos minime in  
prosperitate aut salute esse, sed sic obsessos a Corbahan principe  
Corruzana et a nationibus gentilium ne<sup>l</sup> unus quidem pateat aditus  
418 uel exitus a tam spaciosa | urbe, et quod numquam manus illorum  
nisi aliqui<sup>m</sup> furtim possint euadere. Referebant etiam quanta fame  
artarentur, quomodo mercatores et naues odio illorum Turci  
attriuisent. Nullum ex omnibus modo uiuere fatebantur a facie  
tante multitudinis, se ipsos uix in astutia sua liberatos, suggerentes  
imperatori ut rediret, et non frustra suum uexaret exercitum.<sup>n</sup>

41. Imperator hiis Christianorum auditis periculis, et gentilium copiis  
comptis, cum primatibus suis habito consilio, tremens ac stupe-  
factus protinus totum redire precepit exercitum. Quin terram  
Romanie quondam iniuste a Solimanno sibi ablatam<sup>a</sup> sed<sup>b</sup> nunc  
peregrinorum uiribus restitutam incendio et preda uastauit, urbes  
et presidia uniuersa subuertit, ne forte a Solimanno recuperata, illi  
seruitio prodessent.<sup>62</sup> Tantus igitur rumor imperatoris regressi et sui  
exercitus dispersi menia Antiochie transuolans peregrinorum corda  
magno dolore inflixit et multum audacie<sup>c</sup> ab eorum excussit animis.<sup>d</sup>  
Et ideo<sup>e</sup> sepius principes <sup>f</sup>exercitus Christi<sup>f</sup> consilium conferebant,  
quatenus si aliqua arte ualerent, clam ab urbe recedentes humile  
uulgus illic in periculo relinquerent. Quod Godefridus dux, Robertus  
Flandriensis, episcopus Podiensis intelligentes, iterum eos confortare  
ceperunt, sic ad uniuersos loquentes: 'Non turbemini neque formidet  
cor uestrum<sup>63</sup> in hac imperatoris uulgata reuersione. Potens est Deus  
de manu inimicorum nos liberare. Tantum stabiles estote in amore  
Christi, et numquam fraudem hanc in fratres uestros faciatis, ut

<sup>j</sup> percontatur C    <sup>k</sup> N adds in before aduerso    <sup>l</sup> ACHN add ut before ne    <sup>m</sup> om.  
ACHN    <sup>n</sup> ACHN add ad tantas hostium copias after exercitum

41    <sup>a</sup> allatam N    <sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> om. N    <sup>d</sup> animus N    <sup>e</sup> Ideoque ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> Christiani exercitus A

<sup>61</sup> Similar accusations of cowardice and treachery are to be found in RA (pp. 55 f.); *GF* (pp. 34–5), and *PT* (pp. 69–70): cf. Anna Komnene, who accuses Bohemond of scaring Tatikios away (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 20; trans. Sewter, p. 343). Lilie, however, claims all these accusations are groundless and Tatikios left because of a genuine need for supplies: *Lilie, Byzantium*, pp. 34–5.

all, since he did not return to Antioch again.<sup>61</sup> As the emperor recognized the princes coming into his presence he wondered greatly how they came to be there without their allies, and he questioned them closely about the situation of their faithful fellow soldiers of Christ, about the health of Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond, the bishop of Le Puy, whether things were going well or badly for them. The princes replied that they were not at all in a state of well-being or safety, but were besieged by Karbugha prince of Khurasan and the gentile nations in such a way that not a single way in or out of the very extensive city was open, and that no one could ever escape the Turks' hands unless by stealth. They also reported the great famine by which the pilgrims were distressed, and how the Turks had destroyed merchants and ships for hatred of them. They declared that no one at all from the army could be alive in the face of so great a multitude, that they themselves had only just escaped by their own wits, suggesting to the emperor that he turned back and did not put his army through the torment to no purpose.

41. When the emperor heard about these dangers to the Christians and was informed about the gentiles' forces he took counsel with his nobility, and then, trembling and terrified, he ordered the entire army to turn back immediately. Further, he laid waste with fire and plunder the land of Rûm which had formerly been wickedly stolen from him by Suleyman but was now restored by the strength of the pilgrims, and he overthrew the cities and all the fortifications, so that if they should happen to be recovered by Suleyman they would not be of any use in his service.<sup>62</sup> The terrible news of the emperor turning back and his army dispersing sped across the ramparts of Antioch and afflicted the pilgrims' hearts with great grief and shook much of the boldness from their spirits. And so the leaders of Christ's army constantly discussed together a plan that if at all possible they would withdraw secretly from the city and leave the crowd of ordinary people there in danger. When Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and the bishop of Le Puy realized this they began once more to strengthen them, speaking thus to them all: 'Do not be distressed and let not your hearts be troubled'<sup>63</sup> about this news of the emperor's turning back. God is powerful enough to free us from the hands of the enemy. Be very steadfast in Christ's love, and never practise this

<sup>62</sup> According to Anna Komnene, the emperor was keen to bring reinforcements to the crusaders, but he heard of Karbugha's approach and realized that he did not have the forces to defeat him, so he turned back to save Constantinople (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 27-9; trans. Sewter, pp. 349-50).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. John 14: 27.

fugam clam ab eis subtracti incatis. Procul dubio enim si fugam inieritis pre timore inimicorum, Corbahan et omnis multitudo illius<sup>g</sup> uos persequentur, et nequaquam manus illorum effugietis, cum primum fama<sup>h</sup> fuge uestre ad aures eorum peruenerit. Stemus, et in proposito uie nostre in nomine Domini moriamur.' Ad hec uerba uniuersi stabiles facti sunt, et cum fratribus mori et uiuere statuerunt.

42. Corbahan <sup>a</sup>et omnes<sup>a</sup> gentilium legiones audito imperatoris recessu amplius assultu inualescebant, et in globis suis e castris  
419 procedentes, insidiabantur si|quis ab urbe prodiret,<sup>b</sup> quem solito more detruncare possent. Quadam igitur die quosdam Turcos sub eadem intentione in globo quadraginta equitum ab hospitio tabernaculorum egressos, Christiani a menibus urbis speculantur. Quibus licet tristes et exterriti de aduersis sibi rebus, protinus transuada Ferne, aliqui armati occurrunt. Sed extemplo ab ipsis Turcis repressi, trans uadum fugientes alio constiterunt in littore, uidentes se famelicorum equorum cursibus non posse contendere. Tandem post plurimum sagittarum grandinem Turcos procul ab amne remeantes, quidam robusti pectoris<sup>64</sup> miles adhuc equi sui fidens uirtute, et sociorum uires post tergum sequi estimans, inmoderato cursu persequitur. Sed nemine sociorum ad auxilium sequi presumente, duo atrocissimi equites ex globo in faciem<sup>c</sup> peregrini equos laxis frenis reiciunt, et in fugam redditum ueloci equorum urgent leuitate, remensis eadem uia ad socios naualibus.<sup>d</sup> Cui in impetu et offensione pedis equus humi totus corruit, et sic fere in extremo uite sue constitutus est. Lapso itaque et auxilio penitus destituto cum iam prope ad feriendum<sup>e</sup> affuissent carnifices,<sup>f</sup> sic equi<sup>f</sup> illorum immobiles perstiterunt, calcaria obliiti, ac si in fronte percussi retro ire compellerentur, donec peregrinus miles equum in pedibus resurgentem ascenderet, et Deo et<sup>g</sup> Domino Iesu Christo donante, fugam ad sociorum<sup>h</sup> stationem iteraret. Vniuersi uero in litore et menibus ad spectacula stantes pre gaudio lacrimati sunt, sic incolumi fratre recepto, in cuius liberatione manifeste digitum Dei affuisse experti sunt.

<sup>g</sup> eius A      <sup>h</sup> om. N

42    <sup>a</sup> omnesque ACHN      <sup>b</sup> procederet A      <sup>c</sup> facie N      <sup>d</sup> naualibus N  
<sup>e</sup> feriendum E      <sup>f</sup> sicque N      <sup>g</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>h</sup> suorum A

deceit on your brothers, stealing away from them and fleeing. For it is certain that if you flee from fear of the enemy, Karbugha and all his multitude will pursue you, and you will never escape from their hands, when the news of your flight first reaches their ears. Let us stand firm and die in the Lord's name as is the purpose of our journey.' At these words everyone became steadfast and they decided to live and die with their brothers.

42. Karbugha and all the legions of the gentiles greatly intensified their attack when they heard of the emperor's retreat, and they were sallying forth from the camp in gangs and ambushing anyone who came out of the city and whom they could behead according to their custom. On one particular day the Christians saw from the city walls certain Turks leaving the quarters of their tents for this purpose with a gang of forty horsemen. Even though they were dejected, and terrified of things going against them, some armed men met them straight away across the Orontes. But they were at once repulsed by the Turks; they fled across the shallows and took up position on the other bank, for they saw that their starved horses could not compare for speed. At length, after a great hail of arrows, a certain stout-hearted<sup>64</sup> knight, who still trusted in the strength of his horse and thought the strength of his comrades was following behind, pursued at breakneck pace the Turks who were turning back far from the river. But none of the comrades dared to follow to assist him, and two dreadful horsemen from the gang flung back their horses at a gallop towards the pilgrim, and they bore down with their horses' lightning speed on the man as he fled, travelling back across the fields by the same route to his comrades. His horse caught its foot in the charge and fell down with him to the ground, and so he decided he was almost at the last moment of his life. When the killers had already come near to slay the thus fallen and completely helpless knight, their horses stopped dead, heedless of spurs as if they had been struck in the face and forced to back away, until the pilgrim knight could mount his horse as it scrambled to its feet, and by the favour of God and Lord Jesus Christ he fled again to his comrades' position. All the people standing on the bank and ramparts to watch wept for joy when they got back their brother unharmed in this way, and they clearly experienced God's hand in his escape.

<sup>64</sup> Iuvencus, *Evangeliorum libri quattuor*, iii, 672; *Carm. de Laud.*, 367 (HL iv. 533).

43. In hac itaque famis afflictione quam audistis,<sup>a</sup> et timore obsidionis et<sup>b</sup> sollicitudine insidiarum<sup>c</sup> et assultuum<sup>c</sup> quos<sup>d</sup> a foris<sup>d</sup> Turci assidue inferebant<sup>e</sup> populo Dei humiliato ac desperato, clericus quidam de terra Prouincie per uisionem sibi lanceam reuelatam asseruit, qua Dominus Iesus in latere perforatus est.<sup>65</sup> Hic etenim clericus domno episcopo Podiensi Naimero,<sup>f</sup> Reimundo comiti locum quo preciosum thesaurum lancee reperirent retulit, uidelicet in ecclesia beati Petri apostolorum principis, uisionem suam sub omni ueritate qua potuit attestatus. Qui uerbis illius credentes ad locum quem clericus asserebat communi decreto uenerunt.<sup>g</sup> In quo fodientes lanceam sicut a clerico didicerant inuenerunt. Inuentam autem in presentiam omnium Christianorum principum in ipso oratorio protulerunt, plurimum hanc diuulgantes et ostro precioso inuoluentes. In huius  
420 denique inuentione<sup>h</sup> et ostensione<sup>h</sup> spes et leticia magna | facta est in populo Christianorum, qui non modica celebritate et oblatione innumerabilis auri et argenti hanc uenerati sunt.

44. Transactis deinde<sup>o</sup> aliquot diebus, omnis primatus et duces Christiani exercitus adhuc hesitantes et uite diffidentes in tot aduersitatibus et famis pestilentia,<sup>b</sup> et bellum<sup>b</sup> cum tot nationibus committere metuentes, eo quod uiribus hominum et equorum ualitudine exhausti essent, consilio inito decreuerunt legationem mittere Corbahan magistro et principi exercitus et obsidionis, sed neminem inuenerunt qui tam ferocissimo et superbo loqui auderet, quousque Petrus preuidens, qui principium huius uie extitit, se iturum indubitanter obtulit et homini magnifico nuncia dicturum. Sine mora iniuncta sibi legatione a duce Godefrido, Boemundo et aliis principibus Petrus predictus, statura pusillus sed meritis magnus, ad tentorium Corbahan in medio gentilium iter presumens, Deo protegente solus peruenit. Cui per interpretes nuncia Christianorum in hoc modo retulit: 'Corbahan princeps clarissime et gloriosissime tuo in

43 <sup>a</sup> audistis *H* <sup>b</sup> ac *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> assultuumque *ACHN* <sup>d</sup> afforis *A*  
<sup>e</sup> inferebat *E* <sup>f</sup> Naunero *N*; *A* has Namar- below <sup>g</sup> conuenerunt *A* <sup>h</sup> om. *H*

44 <sup>a</sup> inde *N* <sup>b</sup> bellumque *ACHN*

<sup>65</sup> The cleric is named in other sources as Peter Bartholomew. Extreme hunger and the unfamiliar plants the crusaders were eating may help to explain the dreams and hallucinations reported at this juncture. The discovery of the Lance was pivotal for the crusaders, the boost to morale which enabled them to defeat the massed armies under Karbugha, so it is reported by all the Western sources: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 160, 163, 166, 178; *GF*, pp. 59–60; *FC*, pp. 236–41; *RA*, pp. 68–75; *ChA*, i. 358–60, lines 7200–54. Raymond of Aguilers is at one extreme of veneration for the Lance and may

43. At this time of the affliction of famine, of which you have heard, and of fear of siege and concern over ambushes and attacks which the Turks were constantly inflicting from without, when God's army was humbled and hopeless, a certain cleric from the land of Provence claimed that the lance with which Lord Jesus was pierced in the side had been revealed to him in a vision.<sup>65</sup> And indeed this cleric reported to Lord Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy and to Count Raymond the place where they would find the precious treasure of the lance, that is to say in the church of blessed Peter, prince of apostles, affirming his vision with every protestation of truth he could. They believed his words and came by common decree to the place which the cleric claimed was the site. Digging there, they found the lance just as they had learnt from the cleric. They displayed the find to all the assembled princes of the Christians in that same chapel, spreading news of it widely and wrapping it in precious purple cloth. Then there was hope and great happiness among the Christian people in the discovery and display of the lance, and they venerated it with no small solemnity and by offering countless quantities of gold and silver.

44. Then, after some days had passed, while all the officers and leaders of the Christian army were still hesitating and fearing for their lives with so many problems and the pestilence of famine, and they were afraid to join battle with so many nations, because they were exhausted in terms of the strength of the men and the condition of the horses, they made a plan and decided to send a legation to Karbugha the master and chief of the army and the siege, but they did not find anyone who would dare to speak to such a very fierce and proud man until Peter, who was the origin of this journey, took care of the matter and unhesitatingly offered to go and deliver messages to that magnificent man. At once this Peter, small in size but great in worth, was charged with the legation by Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, and other princes, and undertook the journey to Karbugha's tent in the middle of the gentiles, arriving alone save for God's protection. He delivered the Christians' messages to him through interpreters in this way: 'Karbugha, most renowned and glorious prince in your

be contrasted with Radulf of Caen, who reports the discovery as a cynical political move on the part of the Provençals (RC, pp. 676–8). Albert writes with relative impartiality. For the Lance in general, see S. Runciman, 'The Holy Lance found at Antioch', *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxxviii (1950), 197–205; C. Morris, 'Policy and visions: The case of the Holy Lance found at Antioch', in J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt, eds., *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 33–45.

regno, nuncius sum ducis Godefridi, Boemundi, et principum totius Christiane multitudinis, decreta et consilium eorum quod porto ne dedigneris audire. Decreuerunt ductores Christiani exercitus si Christo Domino qui uerus est Deus<sup>c</sup> et Dei filius credere concesseris, et gentilium spurcitiis abrenuntiaueris, tui fient milites et, Antiochiam ciuitatem in manu tua restituentes, tibi sicut domino et principi seruire parati sunt.<sup>7</sup> Quod audire nedum facere contempsit. Petrum uero heremitam sacrilegos ritus suos et sectam gentilium edocet, asserens numquam se ab hac recedere.<sup>66</sup>

45. Petrus audito Corbahan quod in derisum nomen et ammonitionem Christiane fidei acciperet, alia ei aperuit nuncia: 'Visum est,' inquit, 'adhuc Christianis principibus quandoquidem tam egregios homines tibi subdi recusas, et Christianus fieri abrenuncias, ut uiginti tirones de tua eligas multitudine, quod et<sup>a</sup> Christiani facient, et datis utrimque obsidibus, et facto iuramento utrimque, tu in deo tuo, ipsi in deo suo, singulari certamine in medio confligant. Et si Christianis uic|toria non contigerit, ipsi in terram suam pacifice et sine dampno  
421 redeant, Antiochiam tibi reddentes.<sup>b</sup> Si uero tui triumphare nequieverint, pacifice tu tuique ab obsidione repedetis, urbem et terram nobis relinquentes, et non tantum patiaris exercitum perire mutuo confligentem. Si autem hoc a Christianis decretum contempseris, certus sis<sup>c</sup> quia crastina luce uniuersi prelia tecum conserent.' Corbahan hiis auditis Petro in superbia magna respondit: 'Vnum, Petre, scito quod Christiani eligant, scilicet ut omnis inberbis iuuentus<sup>d</sup> ad nos transeant,<sup>e</sup> mihi et domno meo regi Corruzana seruientes, quos magnis beneficiis et muneribus ditabimus. Puellae adhuc intacte similiter ad nos accessum habeant, et uiuendi licentiam. Barbati uero et aliquam caniciem habentes cum mulieribus nuptis decollandi sunt. Alioquin nulli parcam etati, sed omnes delebo in ore gladii, quos autem uoluero in catenis et uinculis ferreis abducam.' Et<sup>f</sup> hoc dicto, ostendit ei totius generis catenarum et uinculorum copiam innumerabilem et inauditam.

<sup>c</sup> C adds Dominus before Deus

45 <sup>a</sup> etiam ACHN <sup>b</sup> restituentes A <sup>c</sup> om. N <sup>d</sup> inuentus N <sup>e</sup> thus ACEH though N has the 'n' crossed out: transeat <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>66</sup> This encounter is also reported in *GF* (pp. 66–7). The gist is the same, but there are some differences in detail, for example the author of *GF* says Peter was accompanied by an interpreter, Herluin, and he does not have Peter offer conversion to Karbughā. The

kingdom, I am the messenger of Duke Godfrey, Bohemond, and the princes of the entire Christian multitude: do not scorn to listen to their decisions and advice which I am carrying. The leaders of the Christian army have decided that if you will consent to believe in Lord Christ who is the true God and son of God, and will renounce gentile superstitions, they will become your soldiers and, restoring the estate of Antioch into your hands, they are prepared to serve you as lord and prince.' Karbugha scorned to listen to this, much less to do it. Indeed he instructed Peter the Hermit in his sacrilegious rites and the doctrines of the gentiles, declaring that he would never give them up.<sup>66</sup>

45. When Peter heard that Karbugha received his mention and preaching of the Christian faith with derision, he revealed other messages to him: 'It still seems', he said, 'to the Christian princes, that since you are reluctant to have such eminent men put under you, and you refuse to become a Christian, you should choose twenty young knights from your multitude, and the Christians should do the same, and, with hostages given on both sides, and an oath sworn on both sides—you in your god, they in theirs—they should join in single combat in the middle. And if the Christians do not obtain victory they will return to their own lands peacefully and without injury, restoring Antioch to you. If, though, your men are unable to triumph, you and yours will withdraw peacefully from the siege, leaving the city and land to us, and you will not allow so great an army to perish in fighting one another. Moreover, if you despise this decree from the Christians be assured that tomorrow morning everyone will join battle with you.' When Karbugha heard these things he replied to Peter very arrogantly: 'Know one thing, Peter, that the Christians should choose, namely to send all their unbearded youth to us, as slaves to me and my lord the king of Khurasan, and we shall bestow on them great favours and gifts. Similarly girls who are still virgins shall have access to us, and permission to live. But any with beards or any grey hair are for beheading, with the married women. Otherwise I shall spare no one on grounds of age, but shall destroy them all by the sword, whom moreover I shall wrap in chains and iron fetters.' And when he had said this he showed Peter a countless and infinite abundance of every kind of chain and fetter.

embassy is also mentioned in Anselm of Ribémont's letter (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 159); RA (pp. 79, 81); FC (p. 248).

46. Petrus ad hec, a Corbahan accepta licentia redeundi, urbem Antiochiam introiuit, renunciaturus iactantiam quam audierat a Corbahan. Et ecce uniuersi principes in circuitu Petri conglobantur, cum ceteris Christianis militibus, quid Corbahan responderit auscultare desiderantes, et scire utrum bellum attulerit, aut aliquod foedus pacis constituende. Petrus circumfusus sibi fidelium turbis Corbahan bellum desiderare indicat, <sup>a</sup>et nihil nisi in superbia et fiducia multitudinis sue locutum fuisse asserit. Et cetera minarum que audierat dum referre incipit, eundem ulterius procedere dux Godefridus non patitur, sed seorsum ductum commonuit, ne quicquam de omnibus que audierat <sup>b</sup> ulli indicet, <sup>c</sup> ne populus pre timore et angustia deficiens a bello subtraheretur. Iam trium ebdomadatum et trium dierum processerat tempus quo populus Christianus obsessus, cepit angustiari penuria necessariorum et defectione panis. Vnde non ultra hec sufferre ualentes, inuicem consultum uadunt magni et parui, dicentes utilius esse mori in bello quam fame tam crudeli perire et de die in diem populum attenuari et mori.

422 47. Ad hanc uocem conquerentis populi indicitur bellum crastina luce futurum, | <sup>a</sup>et iubetur omnibus ut in orationibus pernoctent, et delictorum suorum confessionibus purgati, Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramento muniantur, <sup>b</sup>et sic <sup>b</sup> in primo diei crepusculo armis accingantur. Mane autem facto omnes in armis, lorice et galeis, Christiani milites conuenerunt <sup>c</sup>in uigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, <sup>c</sup>67 et acies ordinauerunt infra urbem adhuc commorantes. Hugonem Magnum fratrem regis Francie prefecerunt <sup>d</sup> prime aciei ductorem et signiferum constituerunt equitum et peditum. Robertus comes Flandrie et Robertus princeps Nortmannorum duabus preferuntur aciebus, et sic iuncti hii duo propinqui in uno latere statuuntur. <sup>e</sup> Episcopus uero Podiensis suam per se aciem uersus montana dirigebat, erecta in medio illius cuneo lancea quam reperant in manibus cuiusdam clerici constituta. <sup>f</sup> Petrus de Stadeneis, <sup>g</sup> Reinardus de Tol frater eius, Warnerus de Greis, Heinricus de Ascha, Reinardus de Hamerbach, <sup>h</sup>68 Waltherus <sup>i</sup> de Domedart suum cuneum

46    <sup>a</sup> nichilque ACHN    <sup>b</sup> audierunt N    <sup>c</sup> uidelicet N

47    <sup>a</sup> omnibusque iubetur ACHN    <sup>b</sup> sicque ACHN    <sup>c</sup> iiii kal Iulii ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> om. A    <sup>e</sup> constituuntur ACHN    <sup>f</sup> statuta ACHN    <sup>g</sup> Staneis C. C has Staeneis below  
<sup>h</sup> Hamersbach CE, but all MSS have Hamerbach below    <sup>i</sup> Waltherus C

<sup>67</sup> 28 June 1098.

46. After this Peter received from Karbugha permission to return, and entered the city of Antioch, where he was to relate the boasting he had heard from Karbugha. There all the princes gathered round Peter in a circle, with the rest of the Christian soldiers, wanting to hear what Karbugha had replied, and to know whether he offered war or some treaty for making peace. Peter told the crowds of faithful people pressing around him that Karbugha wanted war, and said that he had uttered nothing except in arrogance and confidence in his multitude. And when he started to report the rest of the threats which he had heard, Duke Godfrey did not allow him to go on, but drew him aside and warned him to say nothing to anyone about all the things he had heard, lest the people should fail through fear and torment and withdraw from the war. Now three weeks and three days had passed since the Christian people were besieged and began to suffer from shortage of supplies and lack of bread. They did not have the strength to suffer these things any longer, so great and small consulted together, saying it was better to die in battle than to perish from so cruel a famine and to grow weaker from day to day and die.

47. When this voice of the complaining people was heard it was proclaimed that battle would be joined on the following morning, and all were ordered to spend the night in prayers, and when they had been purged of their sins by confession they would be strengthened by the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, and so at first light they would be armed. When morning came, moreover, the Christian soldiers assembled, all with weapons, hauberts, and helmets, on the eve of the apostles Peter and Paul,<sup>67</sup> and drew up battle divisions while they were still inside the city. They appointed Hugh the Great, brother of the king of France, leader of the first division and standard-bearer of cavalry and infantry. Robert count of Flanders and Robert prince of Normans were put in charge of two divisions, and, thus joined, the two of them stood close together on one side. The bishop of Le Puy was directing his division himself towards the mountains, and the lance which they had found was raised on high in the middle of his formation in the hands of a certain cleric. Peter of Astenois, his brother, Rainald of Toul, Warner of Grez, Henry of Esch, Reinhard of Hamersbach,<sup>68</sup> and Walter of Domedart were

<sup>68</sup> Not otherwise known. Murray suggests Hemmersbach (Kr. Bergheim, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany) as Reinhard's probable place of origin (*Crusader Kingdom*, p. 224).

regere disponuntur, uersus hec montana et uiam que ducit ad portum maris Symeonis predicti quondam heremite. Comes Reinboldus de Oringis, Ludwicus<sup>j</sup> de Munzons,<sup>k</sup> Lambertus filius Cunonis<sup>l</sup> de Monte Acuto, uni<sup>m</sup> aciei<sup>n</sup> preesse destinantur. Dux<sup>o</sup> Godefridus cum Theutonicis,<sup>p</sup> Alemannis, Bawariis, Saxonibus, Lotharingiis<sup>q</sup> ex duobus milibus equitum et peditum aciem suam composuit, quorum manus et gladius solet esse seuissimus in ceruicibus inimicorum.<sup>69</sup> Tancradus solus suam aciem ex equitibus et peditibus constituit. Hugo<sup>r</sup> de Sancto Paulo et filius eius Engelrandus,<sup>s</sup> Thomas de Feria castro, Baldwinus de Burg, Robertus filius Gerardi, Reimundus Pelez, Reinoldus Beluacensis, Walo de Calmunt, Euerardus de Poisat, Drogo de Monzei,<sup>70</sup> Rotholdus<sup>t</sup> filius Gosfridi,<sup>u</sup> Conanz<sup>v</sup> Britannus, Rodolphus similiter Britannus,<sup>71</sup> hii omnes duas acies regere eliguntur. Gastus de Bederz, Gerardus de Rosclon<sup>w</sup> ciuitate, Willelmus de Montpehler,<sup>x</sup> acie una tantum contenti sunt. Boemundus de Sicilia in extrema acie que erat densissima equitibus et peditibus ductor<sup>y</sup> attitulator, ut ceteras acies tueretur, et forte auxilio indigentibus subueniret.<sup>72</sup>

- 423 48. Sic omnibus istis<sup>a</sup> ordinatis ac<sup>b</sup> dispositis, comitem Reimundum aliquantulum | infirmitate laborantem ad tuendam urbem propter Turcos qui erant in eminentiori arce cum Sansadonia filio Darsiani reliquerunt, cum plurima uirtute Christianorum. Hoc expleto unanimiter<sup>c</sup> sicut ordinati erant, principes singuli cum suis aciebus, aperta porta qua porrigitur trans Fernam pons lapideus, aduersus barbarorum legiones<sup>d</sup> procedere decreuerunt in uexillis mille uariis et decoris, in loriceis et galeis. Corbahan similiter et Solimannus in dextro et sinistro cornu, in fronte et a tergo multiplices statuunt acies, arcus osseos et<sup>e</sup> corneos<sup>f</sup> in manibus ad pugnandum tenentes.

<sup>j</sup> Ludouicus A; Lüdewicus C; Lüdowicus H; Ludewicus N <sup>k</sup> Monzinis A; Munzons CN; Monzons H <sup>l</sup> Cononis A; Cūnonis CH <sup>m</sup> unius H <sup>n</sup> ACHN add ordini after aciei <sup>o</sup> ACHN add uero after Dux <sup>p</sup> Teutonicis E, but Theut-below <sup>q</sup> Lotharingis HN <sup>r</sup> Hūgo H <sup>s</sup> Engilrandus ACHN <sup>t</sup> Rodolfus AC; Rudolfus HN <sup>u</sup> Gotfridi A; Goffridi N <sup>v</sup> Conans H <sup>w</sup> Rossclon ACHN <sup>x</sup> Montpehler A <sup>y</sup> om. A

48 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> et A <sup>c</sup> H adds omnes before unanimiter <sup>d</sup> acies A <sup>e</sup> ac CHN <sup>f</sup> cornuos N

<sup>69</sup> Gen. 49: 8.

<sup>70</sup> Mouchy-le-Châtel (dép. Oise, France). Drogo's departure on crusade is reported by Orderic Vitalis (v. 30; vi. 192) and in *ChA* his presence at Nicaea is mentioned, as well as at Antioch (*ChA*, i. 70, line 1172; i. 307, line 6133). After his return from the crusade, he married Edithua, widow of Gerard of Gournay (see above, ii. 23).

placed in charge of their formation towards these mountains and the road which leads to the seaport of Symeon the aforesaid former hermit. Count Raimbold of Orange, Louis of Mousson, and Lambert son of Cono of Montaigu were sent to govern one battle division. Duke Godfrey made up his battle division from two thousand cavalry and infantry, with Germans, Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Lotharingians, and their hand and sword was accustomed to be most fierce on the necks of the enemy.<sup>69</sup> Tancred drew up his battle division alone from cavalry and infantry. Hugh of Saint-Pol and his son Engelrand, Thomas of Castle Fere, Baldwin of Bourcq, Robert son of Gerard, Raymond Pilet, Rainald of Beauvais, Walo of Chaumont, Everard of Le Puiset, Drogo of Mouchy,<sup>70</sup> Rothard son of Godfrey, Conan the Breton, Rodolph, also a Breton,<sup>71</sup> all of these were appointed in charge of two divisions. Gaston of Béziers, Gerard of the city of Roussillon, and William of Montpellier were content with just the one. Bohemond of Sicily was named general of the last division, which was most numerous in cavalry and infantry, so that he could protect the other divisions and perhaps help with reinforcements any who needed them.<sup>72</sup>

48. Once all their men were organized and their positions decided, they left Count Raymond, who was suffering slightly from illness, to protect the city with a strong force of Christians, because of the Turks who were in the higher citadel with Sansadonias, son of Yaghi-Siyhan. When the plans were complete they unanimously decided to set out just as they had been organized, each prince with his battle division, through the open gate from which the stone bridge spans the Orontes, towards the legions of the barbarians, bearing a thousand different, decorated banners, and wearing hauberks and helmets. Karbugha, likewise, and Suleyman positioned their manifold battle divisions on right and left wing, in front and to the rear, holding bows of bone and horn in their hands for the fight.

<sup>71</sup> Ralph I of Gael: BD, pp. 28, 33; OV, ii. 318, v. 34, 54, 58; *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. van Houts, ii. 146, 226. Ralph had formerly held Norwich, but had been expropriated and exiled. He was accompanied on crusade by his wife, daughter of William Fitz Osbern and Adeliza, daughter of Roger of Tosny.

<sup>72</sup> The primary authorities vary as to the number of divisions: Fulcher says four (FC, pp. 251-8); the *Gesta Francorum* six (p. 68); Anselm of Ribemont five (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 160); Orderic Vitalis and Peter Tudebode seven (OV, v. 110-1; PT, p. 111); Raymond of Aguilers eight or thirteen (p. 82); Gilo nine (pp. 184-5); Albert, followed by William of Tyre, has twelve (WT, pp. 330-1). For a discussion, see France, *Victory*, pp. 289-91.

<sup>s</sup>Ac celeris<sup>s</sup> pede e castris procedentes Christianis obuiam inuehuntur, ut primi grandine sagittarum certamen ineant, bucina tubis et cornibus intolerabili clamore intonantes. Prouiderant namque sibi non solum ex legatione Petri, qui bellum in crastino eis predixerat affuturum, sed cotidie suspecti et solliciti erant ne Christiani ex inproviso bellum cum eis committerent. Vnde ad arcem Sansadonie nuncios assidue dirigebant, quatenus si quando persentiret Christianos armari aut hortari ad pugnam eis nunciaret, eo quod ab arce in supercilio montis sita spectaculum uniuersarum rerum undique infra urbem habuerit, quo et ipsi parati <sup>h</sup>et cuneati<sup>h</sup> occurrere possent, et prouisis minus Galli nocerent. Sansadonias nuncia<sup>i</sup> mittere negat, sed pannum latissimum nigerrimi et horrendi coloris in summitate hastarum prefixum in culmine sue arcis erigere pollicetur, deinde horrisona bucina uehementer perstrepere, et ita gentiles certos reddere de apparatu belli Christianorum. Hunc itaque pannum fuscum in signum conserendi Martis erigens, in montis uertice super ipsam predictam arcem fixit, eadem hora qua Christianorum apparatus summo diluculo fieri ceperunt, et acies ordinabantur, ut uiso hoc signo etiam gentiles ad resistendum prouiderent arma, et acies ordinarent. Protinus panni huius signo et buccine fragore horribiliter tonantis<sup>j</sup> premoniti densantur ac<sup>k</sup> cuneantur, et Christianis turmis<sup>i</sup> in occursum tendunt, ab equis circiter duo milia descendentes ad prohibendum pontem eiusque fluuii transitum.

49. Christiani autem principes in eadem porta ordinati et conglobati, suspecti ac prescientes Turcos in arcu et sagitta sibi in exitu suo aduersaturos, omnem manum sagittariorum pedestris uulgi premiserunt a porta trans pontem <sup>a</sup>et fluuium<sup>a</sup> Farfar, qui Deo fauente pontem anticipantes, in Turcos sagitta infestos et ipsi sagitta irruerunt, scuto tectis pectoribus resistentes et a loco amouentes, quousque ad stationem equorum ipsorum sagitta Christianorum transuolante peruentum est. Turci itaque qui ad pontem ab<sup>b</sup> equis descendentes pede precucurrerant, uidentes se non posse obsistere, nec uiros

<sup>s s</sup> Celerique ACHN    <sup>h h</sup> om. A    <sup>i</sup> nuncios A    <sup>j</sup> intonantis A    <sup>k</sup> et H  
<sup>i</sup> turbis N

49    <sup>a a</sup> fluuiumque ACHN    <sup>b</sup> om. A

And they charged from the camp at speed to meet the Christians, so that they might first begin the conflict with a hail of arrows, sounding blasts of the trumpet and a dreadful blare of bugles. For they had had foreknowledge not only from Peter's legation, who had foretold to them that the battle would be on the next day, but they had daily been suspicious and anxious lest the Christians unexpectedly join battle with them. For this reason they constantly sent messengers to Sansadonias's citadel to ask that if at any time he spotted the Christians arming themselves or inciting to battle he should send word to them—because he had a view from the citadel sited on the mountain ridge of everything everywhere within the city—and then they themselves could also be ready and formed up for battle, and the Gauls would harm them the less since they were prepared. Sansadonias refused to send messages, but he promised to fly a very big cloth of a horrible black colour fixed on the end of spears on the top of his citadel, then to sound loudly the terrible trumpet blasts, and thus to inform the gentiles with certainty of the Christians' preparations for war. Therefore, erecting this dark cloth as a sign of battle being joined, he fixed it on the mountain top upon the aforesaid citadel itself, at the same hour when the Christians' preparations began to be made at very first light, and their battle formations were being drawn up, so that when they saw this sign the gentiles would also take care of their weapons in order to fight back, and would order their battle formations. Straight away, warned by the sign of this cloth and the din of the horribly blaring trumpets, they massed and formed up, and set out to meet the Christian troops, about two thousand of them dismounting from their horses to deny them the bridge and its way across the river.

49. The Christian princes, however, who were organized and assembled at that same gate, had suspected and foreseen that the Turks would oppose them with bow and arrow as they left the city, and sent forward all the archers of the common infantry from the gate across the bridge and the river Orontes, and with God's favour they took the bridge first; they attacked the Turks, who were shooting dangerously, by themselves shooting arrows, and with their chests protected by shields they were able to withstand and to move away from the place until, with Christian arrows flying overhead, they arrived at the place where the Turkish horses were stationed. The Turks, who had dismounted from their horses at the bridge and run ahead on foot, realized that they could not resist, nor drive away the

424 Christianos a ponte abigere, | sed equos suos posse sagittarum lesione perire, uersi in fugam ad equos quantotius properantes ipsos ascenderunt, et sic <sup>c</sup>liberum exitum Christianis<sup>c</sup> licet inuiti concesserunt. Ad hec Anselmus<sup>d</sup> de Riburgis Monte qui erat in prima hac acie constitutus cum Hugone Magno, gaudens prospero successu et prima uictoria fidelium, uibrata hasta<sup>e</sup> medio Turcorum inuoluitur, qui hos deicit,<sup>f</sup> hos perforat, alios resupinat, et ingenti illorum occisione laborat. Hugo siquidem Magnus, uidens quia Anselmus sine aliquo timore mortis hostes represserat, sine mora aduolat, simili cede multans inimicorum cateruas. Robertus Flandriensis, Robertus Nortmannus,<sup>g</sup> Baldwinus Hainaucorum princeps, Eustachius quoque, fortiter et audacter cum hostilibus<sup>h</sup> cuneis luctabantur,<sup>i</sup> quos non modica strage interemerunt. Solimannus uero dux Turcorum, miles seuissimus, et Rossilion consocius eius, unus ex quatuor capitalibus Antiochie sub rege Darsiano, cum suis cuneis circiter quindecim milia<sup>j</sup> a cetera societate<sup>k</sup> sequestrati, uersus hec montana et uiam que respicit ad portum sancti Symeonis festinato contendunt, ut si Christiani uicti forte illuc fugam meditarentur ad maritima eis occursarent et incautos subito adtererent. Hoc in proposito auide feruentes, properata uia plus solito, super aciem Reinardi comitis, Petri de Stadeneis, Walteri de Domedart, Heinrici de Ascha, Reinardi de Hamerbach, militis illustrissimi, Warneri de Greis, casu irruerunt, quibus subito ad impedimentum ignem proiecerunt ab ollis in faciem terre quo eorum erat transitus ad societatem Christianorum. Ignis itaque ut hesit terre, arreptis herbis aridis et frondibus siccis ueprium, statim uires in latitudine et amplitudine adquisiuit, et sic a uento suscitata nebula, fumus concreuit tenebrosus solummodo oculos fidelium obumbrans et aspectum impediens.

50. Igitur Turci callide eos post fumi nebulam insequentes, errore caliginis dissociatos, alios trucidabant, alios sagittis transfigebant. Solummodo equis insidentes uelocitate equorum euaserunt, sed non omnino illesi<sup>a</sup> a sagittis, peditum uero trecenti occisi, et pars in uinculis retenta est. Karaieth<sup>b</sup> autem, Turcus<sup>c</sup> de ciuitate Karan, uiso

<sup>c</sup> c liberis Christianis exitus *N*  
before medio <sup>f</sup> deicit *H*

<sup>h</sup> hostibus *N*

<sup>i</sup> luctantur *A*

<sup>d</sup> Anselmus *CH*; Ancelnus *N*

<sup>e</sup> *C* adds in <sup>g</sup> abbreviated *Nortm E*; Nortmannorum comes *ACHN*

<sup>j</sup> milibus *ACHN*

<sup>k</sup> multitudine *H*

50 <sup>a</sup> lesi *A*

<sup>b</sup> Karaget *C*

<sup>c</sup> de Turcis *N*

Christian men from the bridge, but that their horses could perish, wounded by arrows, and they turned in flight, hurrying as quickly as they could to their horses and mounting them, and so they conceded, albeit unwillingly, an unimpeded way out to the Christians. At this, Anselm of Ribemont, who had been stationed in this front division with Hugh the Great, rejoicing at the happy outcome and first victory of the faithful, brandished his spear and swept into the middle of the Turks, unhorsing some, piercing some, overthrowing others, and inflicting an enormous slaughter on them. Hugh the Great, indeed, seeing that Anselm had checked the enemy without any fear of death, charged up at once, punishing the hostile troops with a similar slaughter. Robert of Flanders, Robert the Norman, Baldwin prince of Hainaut, Eustace as well, were struggling bravely and boldly with the enemy forces, destroying them in a considerable massacre. Suleyman, duke of the Turks, most fierce of knights, and Rosseleon his associate, who was one of the four chief men of Antioch under King Yaghi-Siyhan, were cut off from the rest of the alliance with their troops, which numbered about fifteen thousand, and they hastily made their way towards these mountains and the road which leads to the port of St Symeon, so that if the Christians were by any chance defeated and considered fleeing there they might oppose them at the coast and, catching them unawares, quickly destroy them. They were avidly keen on this idea and hurried their march more than usual, and they came by chance upon the division of Count Reinhard, Peter of Astenois, Walter of Domedart, Henry of Esch, Reinhard of Hamersbach (most illustrious knight), and Warner of Grez, and to hold them up they suddenly hurled fire from pots onto the surface of the ground across which they had to travel to reach the Christian alliance. As the fire stuck to the ground, and the parched grasses and dry branches of thorns caught light, it instantly gained strength in extent and size, and so a cloud was stirred up by the wind, the dark smoke thickened, obscuring the eyes only of the faithful and making it difficult for them to see.

50. Thereupon, as the Turks pursued them cunningly behind the cloud of smoke, they went astray in the gloom and were separated from their companions, and the Turks slaughtered some and shot others through with arrows. Only those on horseback escaped by the speed of their horses, but they were not wholly unscathed by arrows, and indeed three hundred of the infantry were killed and some were kept back in fetters. Karageh, moreover, a Turk from the state of

Solimanni prospero successu in contritione aciei Reinardi, Warneri, Petri et ceterorum, confidentius in circuitu iter accelerans, una cum principe Damascenorum a montanis iuxta ciuitatem et Fernam  
 425 fluuium descendit, appro|piante similiter<sup>d</sup> Brodohan de Halapia<sup>73</sup> ciuitate Turcorum, ad coronandam aciem Boemundi, que erat extrema, peditibus et Francigenis plurimum densata. Quam incur-rentes, sagittis et uirtute suorum irrumpere et<sup>e</sup> dispergere conati sunt. Oppressi siquidem uiribus tantorum, et fraude astutorum hostium<sup>f</sup> circumuenti comitatus Boemundi in miserum et anxium globum quasi oues a lupis periture cogeantur; nec ultra ualebant reniti, sed in proximo erat<sup>g</sup> ut morituri undique ab infidelium cuneis inuoluerentur. At Godefridum ducem cum Pulagi, cum Amasa, Boesa et Balduch atrociter dimicantem, et in nomine Iesu filii Dei uiui triumphantem nuncius trans spacium uie unius uocis percurrrens flebili rogatu pulsatur et ammonet, ut respiciat et cognoscat quam in arto res Boemundi<sup>h</sup> et sue<sup>h</sup> societatis sita fuerit, quibus nisi celeriter subueniret, omnes in breui a Turcis consumi asserebat.

51. Godefridus igitur<sup>a</sup> dux ex relatione uelocis nuncii Boemundi intellecta inuasionem sueque aciei iam a Turcis fere coronate, eleuans oculos intuetur quoniam uirtus Boemundi et cohortes<sup>b</sup> illius pondere belli<sup>74</sup> fatigabantur, et uix inimicorum uires sufferebant. Vnde festinus in faciem aduersariorum cum Alemannis, Bawariis, Saxoni-bus,<sup>c</sup> Lotharingis, Theutonicis et Romanis qui in sua erant acie, aduolat, in uexillis ostreis, uariis et decoris, ut uires gentiliū repelleret,<sup>d</sup> et in angustia positus subueniret.<sup>e</sup> Hugo uero<sup>f</sup> Magnus qui in exitu prime aciei a ponte qui ab urbe trans Farfar porrigitur, fugatis Turcis et adtritibus, spacium campi cum Christianorum pre-missis sagittariis uictor obtinebat, uidens quia ducis Godefridi acies et uexilla reuertebantur uia que ducit ad fluuium Farfar, una ipse<sup>g</sup> festinus eodem itinere ad aciem ducis cum sua legione ad uires et arma augenda refertur, sciens quia hac parte maior angustia belli ingreuebat. Moderabantur utrique principes cursus<sup>h</sup> suorum equitum<sup>i</sup>

<sup>d</sup> simul H      <sup>e</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>f</sup> hominum ACHN      <sup>g</sup> erant N      <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> sueque ACHN

51      <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>b</sup> choortes E      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> repellerent A  
<sup>e</sup> subuenirent A      <sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> A adds et before ipse      <sup>h</sup> cursu H      <sup>i</sup> equorum A

<sup>73</sup> Rīdṡān was not present.

<sup>74</sup> Poeta Saxo, i. 324; *Gesta Berengarii*, iii. 74 (HL iv. 282).

Karan, saw Suleyman's happy success in destroying the battle divisions of Reinhard, Warner, Peter and the rest, and, speeding up more confidently his circling advance, he swept down from the mountains next to the town and the river Orontes along with the prince of Damascus; Ridwan of Aleppo,<sup>73</sup> a Turkish city, was similarly approaching to outflank Bohemond's division, which was the last and most numerous in infantry and Franks. They attacked the division and tried to break it and scatter it with arrows and strength of numbers. Since they were overwhelmed, indeed, by the forces of so many and the cunning enemy's trick, Bohemond's surrounded troops were forced into a wretched and worried flock, like sheep about to be killed by wolves, and they could no longer resist, but were on the point of dying, surrounded on all sides by troops of infidels. But yet a single messenger ran the length of the road and in a tearful demand urged and exhorted Duke Godfrey, who was fighting fiercely with Pulagit, with Amasa, Boesas, and Balduk and conquering in the name of Jesus son of the living God, to look back and realize what a difficult situation Bohemond and his company were in, and unless he quickly came to their assistance, the messenger declared, they would all be destroyed instantly by the Turks.

51. When Duke Godfrey heard about the attack from the account of Bohemond's swift messenger, and that his divisions were already almost surrounded by the Turks, he lifted his gaze and saw that Bohemond's strength and his divisions were exhausted by the weight of warfare<sup>74</sup> and could hardly withstand the enemies' forces. Whereupon he rapidly sped against the adversaries with the Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons, Lotharingians, Germans, and Romans who were in his division, bearing purple banners differently decorated, in order to repulse the forces of the gentiles and to assist the troops who were in difficulties. Hugh the Great, with the advance archers of the Christians, was occupying as victor part of the plain taken in the sortie of the first division from the bridge which stretched out from the city across the Orontes, the Turks having fled and been destroyed, and he saw that Duke Godfrey's division and banners were turning back on the road which led to the river Orontes, and he too rapidly went back on the same journey to the duke's division, taking with him his division to reinforce Godfrey's troops and weaponry, knowing that this was the place where the greatest intensity of the battle was happening. Both princes slowed down the pace of their cavalry so that

secundum quod pedites propinquare poterant. Quos ubi in se Turci indubitanter tendere uiderunt ad subueniendum Christianis conso-  
ciis, paulatim ab inuasionem et assultu ceperunt subtrahi, et dato dorso  
remensi uiam ad tabernacula sua fugam arripiunt, duce cum Chris-  
tianis tyronibus atrociter insequente et cedente.

- 426 52. Tandem superato quodam humili et modico torrente, a montanis  
defluente, paululum Christianis peditibus in ualle retardatis, Turci in  
uertice cuiusdam montis consistentes ad defensionem frena reiciunt,  
et sagittis suis Gallos insequentes abstertere nituntur. Ad hec  
peregrini Theutonici, corda intrepida habentes, altis uocibus Christi  
clementia inuocata, obsistentes Turcos indubitanter incurrunt. Quos  
ex tunc et deinceps sic in fugam continuam mittunt, ut non ultra  
aliquis eorum stare aut remordere in eodem conflictu presumeret.  
Boemundus ergo princeps magnus et Adam filius Michaelis, uisa  
uirtute Godefridi resistentis et populum alleuantis et quia cede<sup>a</sup> cum  
suis inter hostium agmina fulminabat cum omni acie et fortitudine  
quam ultimus regebat abruptit<sup>b</sup> moras, et in impetu et<sup>c</sup> uociferatione  
per medias Turcorum acies infertur. Quorum immanissima strage  
facta, sic campi operiebantur corporibus occisorum quasi grandine  
hinc et abhinc<sup>d</sup> seuissime commixtis cuneis. Sed Deo auxiliante  
ingrauatum est bellum gentibus, et totum belli<sup>e</sup> pondus uersum est  
illis in contrarium. Corbahan autem superbus, qui ampliores sibi  
retinuerat copias et uires et a sinistris Christianorum stationem  
occupauerat, nequaquam suis fugitiuis et adtritit sociis ad opem  
contendere poterat, nam illi episcopus Podiensis cum omni manu  
Prouincialium fortiter in faciem resistebat, et ei<sup>f</sup> lanceam dominicam  
semper obponebat. Vnde colligendum est quoniam Deo et Domino  
Iesu operante uirtus<sup>g</sup> illius timore diuinitus sibi incusso elanguit,<sup>h</sup> et  
corda suorum tremuerunt, quia sic immobilis permanebat in obstaculo  
et uisione celestis armature, acsi omnis pugne immemor cum infinito  
suo satellitio haberetur.

53. Sic, Deo uolente, in stupore et extasi posito, quidam affuit illi  
sinistra portans nuncia et dicens: 'Corbahan princeps illustrissime,

52 <sup>a</sup> om. N  
prelii ACHN

<sup>b</sup> abruptit N  
<sup>f</sup> cique ACHN

<sup>c</sup> ac ACHN

<sup>g</sup> Turci N

<sup>d</sup> hinc ACHN

<sup>h</sup> elangerunt N

<sup>e</sup> totumque

the infantry could catch up. When the Turks saw them coming towards them unhesitatingly to reinforce their Christian comrades, they began one by one to withdraw from the attack and assault, and they turned tail and travelled the road back to their tents and took flight, while the duke and the young Christian knights fiercely pursued and cut them down.

52. At length, after crossing a certain small and scanty stream which flowed down from the mountain region, while the Christian foot soldiers were somewhat held up in the valley, the Turks who were positioned for defence on the top of one of the mountains reined in their horses and tried to frighten away the Gauls with their arrows. In response the German pilgrims, who had fearless hearts, called on Christ's mercy in loud voices and unhesitatingly charged the Turks who stood against them. From then onwards they put the Turks to flight one after another, so that not one of them dared any longer to stand against them or torment them in that fight. The great prince Bohemond and Adam, son of Michael, saw the strength of Godfrey's resistance and relief of the people, and saw that he and his men were inflicting great slaughter among the battle divisions of the enemy with all the troops and military strength of which he was the supreme commander, and so they broke off delays and charged through the middle of the Turkish divisions with a charge and a loud cry. They inflicted a terrible slaughter on them, and the plain was covered with bodies of the fallen like hailstones, on this side and that the troops most cruelly intermingled. But with God's help the fighting oppressed the enemy peoples and the entire weight of war was turned against them. Moreover, arrogant Karbugha, who had held back the greater part of his forces and resources and had occupied a position on the left of the Christians, had not been able to render any assistance to his fleeing and defeated comrades, for the bishop of Le Puy was fighting back strongly against him with the whole army of Provençals, and was always holding before him the Holy Lance. From this it is to be deduced that with God and Lord Jesus at work Karbugha's strength grew feeble, stricken with the fear of God, and the hearts of his men shook, because Karbugha remained motionless in this way before the obstruction and vision of the heavenly weapon, as if he found himself forgetful of the whole battle with his countless followers.

53. So, as he was stuck there in stupor and ecstasy, by God's will, a man approached him bearing bad news and saying: 'Karbugha, most

quid longius moram protrahis aduersus hanc Christianorum aciem? An non uides quoniam totus quem eduxisti exercitus uictus et adtritrus fuga dilapsus est? Ecce in castra tua tuorumque Galli diffusi spolia auferunt, et res uniuersas colligunt, et ecce sine mora ad te peruenturi sunt.' Corbahan hac tristi et dura legatione pulsatus eleuatis oculis uidens acies suas fuga defluxisse, continuo ipse una  
 427 cum omni comitatu suo dorsa uertit in fugam, | uiam<sup>a</sup> qua uenerat ad regnum Corruzan et flumen Eufraten insistens.<sup>75</sup> Quem sacer episcopus cum omni acie sua persecutus est, non longe tamen pre defectione equorum et peditum lassitudine. Defecerant enim Christianis equi quos a Gallia eduxerant, pre diuersis plagis, ut affirmant ex ueritate qui aderant quoniam uix ducenti supererant equi bello apti in die qua prelium cum tot nationibus gentilium commiserunt.

54. Plurimi siquidem egregii equites et nobilissimi quorum latet numerus, equis mortuis et pre famis inopia consumptis, in numero peditum computati, pedites prelia discebant, qui a puerili euo semper equis assueti et inuecti certamen inire solebant.<sup>76</sup> Ex hiis uero egregiis uiris qui mulum aut asellum uel uile iumentum uel palefridum<sup>a</sup> nunc<sup>b</sup> adquirere poterat<sup>c</sup> pro equo utebatur. Inter quos fortissimi et ditissimi sua in terra principes asino insidentes certamen inierunt. Nec mirum, nam diu deficiente illis proprio sumptu egentes mendicauerant, et suis armis uenditis propter inopiam, armis Turcorum insuetis et incongruis in bello utebantur. Horum in numero comes Hartmannus, diues et nobilissimus et unus de prepotentibus in terra Alemannie, fuisse perhibetur, asino insedissee, umbonem Turci et gladium tantum in die<sup>d</sup> ad pugnam habuisse. Nec mirum, nam rebus omnibus exhaustus, lorica, galea et armis uenditis diu mendicauerat, et eo fere peruenerat quod nec mendicando uiuere poterat. Peruenerat una Henricus de Ascha miles nobilis et laude militari dignus. Quousque<sup>e</sup> Godefridus dux gloriosus illorum misertus panem unum cum portione carnis uel piscis ex suo proprio

53 <sup>a</sup> uia H

54 <sup>a</sup> palefridum A <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> solebat N <sup>d</sup> ACHN add illo after die  
<sup>e</sup> Sed ACHN

<sup>75</sup> More, legendary detail concerning Karbughā's flight is to be found in *Les Chétifs*: see Myers' introduction, p. xxiv.

<sup>76</sup> 'certamen inire solebant': a hexameter ending; cf. *HL* i. 323 (e.g. Poeta Saxo).

illustrious prince, why are you going to drag out longer this delay in front of this Christian battle division? Do you not see that all the army you led out has been defeated and destroyed and has slipped away in flight? Look, in your own camp and your men's the Gauls are all over the place stealing spoils and gathering up all sorts of things, and look, very soon they will arrive where you are.' Karbugha was disturbed by this sad and hard message and he lifted his gaze and saw that his battle divisions had disappeared in flight, and immediately he too, together with all his company, turned tail and fled, making for the road by which they had come to return to the kingdom of Khurasan and the river Euphrates.<sup>75</sup> The holy bishop pursued him with all his division, but not for long because of the lack of horses and the weariness of the foot soldiers. For the Christians had lost the horses they had brought out from Gaul through different misfortunes, so that people who were there declare truly that scarcely two hundred horses skilled in war survived on the day when they joined battle with so many nations of gentiles.

54. Very many eminent and very noble cavalymen indeed—their number is not known—were numbered among the foot soldiers after their horses had died and been eaten because of the shortages of the famine, and these people, who had always been used to horses from boyhood and were accustomed to go into battle<sup>76</sup> on horseback, learned to fight as foot soldiers. Any of these eminent men who had now been able to acquire a mule or a donkey or a worthless pack animal or a palfrey used it as a horse. Among them, princes who were very powerful and rich in their own land went into battle riding on a donkey. No wonder, for their own funds had long since run out and from need they had begged, and after their own weapons had been sold from want, they used Turkish weapons which were unaccustomed and incongruous in battle. Count Hartmann belonged to this number: he is said to have been rich and very noble and one of the most powerful people in the land of Swabia, but to have ridden a donkey to the battle and held merely a Turk's round shield and sword on the day. No wonder, for he was impoverished of all things; his hauberk, helmet, and weapons had been sold and for a long time he had begged, and he had almost reached the point where he could not live by begging. Henry of Esch, noble knight and worthy of soldierly praise, had reached that point too. And then glorious Duke Godfrey took pity on them and he allocated one loaf with a portion of meat or

sumptu Hartmanno constituit. Heinricum<sup>f</sup> quoniam miles et homo suus multis sibi seruiuit in<sup>g</sup> annis et bellorum periculis, conuiuiam et mense sue<sup>h</sup> socium aditulauit.

55. Super hiis miseriis et adtenuationibus nobilium procerum mirantur solummodo hii qui numquam huic simile audierunt, nec mala uiderunt que in tam<sup>d</sup> longo exilio contigerunt tam egregiis uiris, sed non mirantur qui ipsum ducem Godefridum et Robertum principem Flandrie ad ultimum egere rebus et equis se uidisse testati sunt. Eguit  
428 siquidem dux Godefridus qui equum in quo in die | magni belli sedit dono comitis Reimundi suscepit multa prece extortum. Nam defecerat illi pecunia pre angustia memorate famis, et nimia largitione elemosinarum et rerum quas in mendicis et extenuatis<sup>b</sup> militibus expendit. Eguit pariter Robertus ditissimus et potentissimus princeps pinguis Flandrie, quem sepius in exercitu mendicasse asserunt qui affuerunt et oculis inspexerunt,<sup>77</sup> et ipsum<sup>c</sup> equum quem in die magni<sup>d</sup> belli ascenderat mendicando eum adquisisse multorum relatione didicimus. Hiis denique equis labore adquisitis nunc tam egregii principes in die ad bellum inuecti aduersus infidelium acies considerantes Corbahan tergum cum omni comitatu suo uertisse, ueloci cursu post cum frena dirigunt, cedendo et sternendo fuga deficientes et fugientes<sup>e</sup> in spacio trium miliariorum sine intermissione insecuti sunt. Tancradus qui etiam Christianorum aciem dirigebat, ut fugam persensit aduersariorum, una cum equestri manu in cede illorum uelociter affuit, quos uia sex miliariorum fugientes insecutus est. Corbahan uiso suorum diffugio et exercitus sui dispersione semper fuge intendebat, quousque ad Eufraten fluuium magnum perueniens, cum suis nauigio elapsus est.

56. Hiis prefatis Christianorum principibus aide inimicorum cedi et insecutioni intendentibus, societas comitis Reimundi et episcopi Naimeri de terra que dicitur Prouincia, prede inhians et spoliis Turcorum, in loco eodem quo uictoria data est parum persequens remansit,<sup>a</sup> et grandia spolia auri, bisantiorum, frumenti,<sup>b</sup> uini, uestimentorum et papilionum depredata est. Alii uero qui pugne intenti erant, uidentes illos spoliis manus inferre, eadem auaricia

<sup>f</sup> Heinricus *H*      <sup>g</sup> *om. ACHN*      <sup>h</sup> sue *om. H*

55    <sup>a</sup> tot *H*      <sup>b</sup> attenuatis *A*      <sup>c</sup> ipsumque *ACHN*      <sup>d</sup> *om. ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> *om. A*

56    <sup>a</sup> permansit *H*      <sup>b</sup> *A adds et before frumenti*

fish from his own funds to Hartmann. He named Henry his guest and table companion, because he served him for many years and through many dangers of battle as knight and his man.

55. Only those who have never heard anything like it marvel at these miseries and impoverishments of the noble leaders, and those who did not see the evils which befell such eminent men in the course of so long an exile, but those people do not marvel who bear witness that they saw Duke Godfrey himself and Robert prince of Flanders in need of provisions and horses at the last. Even Duke Godfrey was in need, and he accepted the horse on which he rode on the day of the great battle as a gift from Count Raymond, exacted by much entreaty. For he had lacked money on account of the difficulty of the famine we have spoken about, and the very great distribution of alms and of things which he paid out for beggars and impoverished soldiers. Robert was likewise in need, the very rich and powerful prince of fertile Flanders, and those who were there and saw this with their own eyes claim he often used to beg in the army,<sup>77</sup> and we learnt from many people's account that he obtained the very horse which he had mounted on the day of the great battle by begging. On these horses, then, which had been obtained by suffering, the eminent princes now rode into battle against the divisions of the infidels on the day; perceiving that Karbugha had turned his back with all his company they gave their horses their heads and pursued the Turks at a constant gallop as they failed and fled, giving ground and scattering, for a distance of three miles. Tancred, who was also commanding a division of Christians, saw plainly his opponents' flight, and arrived swiftly with his cavalry troop to slaughter the Turks, and he pursued them as they fled for six miles on the road. Karbugha saw his men flee and his army scatter, and he always pressed on to escape, until he arrived at the great river Euphrates and slipped away with his men by boat.

56. These aforesaid princes of the Christians were intent upon the slaughter and pursuit of the enemy; the company of Count Raymond and Bishop Adhémar from the land called Provence, eager for booty and Turkish spoils, did not join the pursuit but stayed in that same place where victory was given, and plundered abundant spoils of gold bezants, corn, wine, clothing and tents. Others, indeed, who were keen to fight, saw those men filling their hands with spoils and were

<sup>77</sup> Radulf of Caen also has a graphic description of Robert, reduced to begging for his very horse (RC, p. 646).

corrupti, manus similiter prede inicientes et spoliis copiosis et infinitis, Antiochiam in laude et leticia<sup>e</sup> et<sup>d</sup> uoce exultationis reuersi sunt, et qui antea inopes et famelici erant, nunc omnibus bonis satiati sunt. Codices uero innumerabiles in eisdem castris gentilium repperunt,<sup>e</sup> in quibus sacrilegi ritus Sarracenorum, Turcorum, quarumque gentium inscripti erant, et nefanda carmina ariolum et aruspicum cum caracteribus<sup>f</sup> execrabilibus. Catenarum, uinculorum laqueorumque<sup>g</sup> ex funibus et ferro, <sup>h</sup>et coriis<sup>h</sup> taurinis et equinis diuersa genera ibidem in tentoriis reperta sunt ad uinculandos Christianos, que omnia Antiochie allata sunt, plurima<sup>i</sup> et<sup>j</sup> numero infinita, cum plurimis rebus et tentoriis, et cum tentorio ipsius Corbahan, quod in modum ciuitatis turribus et menibus diuersi coloris et preciosi serici edificatum erat. | Habebat idem mirabile tentorium uicos a se defluentes, in quibus duo milia hominum spaciose habitasse referuntur. Mulieres, pueri teneri et adhuc plurimi lactentes, quotquot in castris reperti sunt, alii trucidati, alii equorum pedibus conculcati, misero et lacero cadauere campos impleuerunt, destituti auxiliis<sup>k</sup> suorum gentilium de bello terga uertentium. Cetera que in hoc bello acta sunt, tam in populo Christiano quam gentili, que et<sup>j</sup> in obsidione urbis Antiochie mira et inaudita gesta sunt, nullius stilo, nullius memoria estimo retinenda, tot<sup>m</sup> et tam<sup>m</sup> diuersa illic<sup>n</sup> extitisse<sup>o</sup> referuntur.<sup>p 78</sup>

<sup>e</sup> A adds magna after leticia      <sup>d</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>e</sup> repperunt C      <sup>f</sup> carectis E  
<sup>g</sup> -que om. H      <sup>h</sup> coriisque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> plurimo ACHN      <sup>j</sup> om. H      <sup>k</sup> N adds  
eorum after auxiliis      <sup>l</sup> etiam ACHN      <sup>m</sup> tamque ACHN      <sup>n</sup> om. H  
<sup>o</sup> extitisse A; fuisse H      <sup>p</sup> ACH add Explicit liber quartus

corrupted by the same avarice; they took possession likewise of booty and abundant and infinite spoils and returned to Antioch in praise and happiness and shouting with delight, and those who had previously been poor and famished were now satisfied with all kinds of good things. They found countless volumes in that same camp of the gentiles, in which were written the sacrilegious rites of the Saracens, Turks, and all the other races, and wicked charms of prophets and soothsayers with detestable writings. Different kinds of chains, fetters, and nooses made of rope and iron and ox and horse hide were found there in the tents for binding the Christians. They had all been brought to Antioch, very many and infinite in number, with very many objects and tents, and with Karbugha's own pavilion, which was constructed in the style of a town with turrets and walls of various colours and precious silks. That same wonderful pavilion had streets flowing away from it in which two thousand men are reported to have lived in comfort. Of all the women, young boys, and the many infants still being suckled whom they found in the camp, some were slaughtered, others trampled by the feet of horses, and they filled the plains with wretched and mangled remains, destitute of help from their own gentile peoples who were running away from the battle. The other deeds which were done in this battle, among the Christian people as well as the gentile, and those wonderful and unbelievable things which were done during the siege of Antioch cannot, I think, be recorded by any pen, any memory, so many and such various things are reported to have happened there.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>78</sup> See France, *Victory*, pp. 282–96 for a detailed analysis and reconstruction of the battle.

## LIBER QVINTVS

433 1. Accepta hac uictoria in campo Antiochie, magne et regie ciuitatis Syrie, episcopus Podiensis et ceteri principes a fuga et cede exercitus Corbahan reuersi in prefate urbis menia, basilicam beati Petri apostoli quam Turci suis sacrilegis ritibus prophanauerant, ab omni inquinamento mundantes, altaria sancta que subuersa erant in omni honestate reedificauerunt, imaginem uero Domini nostri Iesu Christi et figuras sanctorum quas in modum uiuentis persone excecatas<sup>a</sup> et cemento obductas obscurauerant summa reuerencia renouabant,<sup>b</sup> cultores catholicos in exequendis ibidem diuinis mysteriis restituentes,<sup>c</sup> ex omni clero tam Grecorum quam Latinorum. Deinde ex ostro purissimo et serico precioso, et reliquis ornamentis que in Antiochia sunt reperta, infulas, dalmaticas, cappas et omnem decorem ad usus ecclesiarum Dei uiui fieri<sup>d</sup> constituerunt, quibus diuina officia in templo beati Petri celebraturi sacerdotes et ministri ornarentur, uel quando in processione dominicarum dierum, aut in celebri festo, ad oratorium sancte Marie matris Domini nostri Iesu Christi in psalmis et ymnis migrarent. Hoc idem oratorium breui interuallo distans ab ecclesia sancti<sup>e</sup> Petri adhuc ab eisdem Turcis inuiolatum et intactum permansit, et Christianis inter se post sibi subiugatam urbem dono et licentia eorum commorantibus solummodo relictum<sup>f</sup> est.<sup>1</sup> Patriarcham<sup>g</sup> uero urbis uirum Christianissimum quem Turci cum adhuc Christianorum obsidione circumdarentur sepius funibus astrictum uiuum ad menia suspenderunt in oculis omnium ad augendas Christiano populo molestias, et cuius pedes frequenter compedum lesione adtriuierant, decenter in cathedra sua relocauerunt, et principem Antiochene<sup>h</sup> ecclesie cum omni subiectione et religione prefeceerunt.<sup>2</sup>

1    <sup>a</sup> obcecatas *H*    <sup>b</sup> renouantes *A*    <sup>c</sup> restituebant *A*    <sup>d</sup> om. *N*    <sup>e</sup> beati *H*  
<sup>f</sup> concessum *H*    <sup>g</sup> Patriarcha *N*    <sup>h</sup> Antiochene *ACN*

<sup>1</sup> Albert shows here a surprisingly accurate and unprejudiced understanding of Islam, which on the one hand abhorred the portrayal of humans in their religious buildings, and on the other permitted Antiochene Christians to worship unmolested in their own chapel. It was the arrival of the Latin Christians which caused the persecution of the patriarch described in the following sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Patriarch John IV was a Byzantine Greek, appointed Orthodox patriarch of Antioch in 1091. His restoration by the papal legate has been seen as evidence that Adhémar, as Urban's representative, wanted to impose a unified ecclesiastical organization using both

## BOOK FIVE

1. After this victory on the plain of Antioch, the great and royal Syrian city, the bishop of Le Puy and the other princes came back within the ramparts of the aforesaid town from the flight and their slaughter of Karbugha's army, and they cleansed from all defilement the basilica of blessed Peter the apostle, which the Turks had profaned with their sacrilegious rites, and they rebuilt with every adornment the holy altars which had been overturned, making good with utmost reverence the likeness of our Lord Jesus Christ and the figures of the saints which the Turks had covered over with cement and blinded as if they were living people, and they restored Catholic priests to carry out the divine mysteries in that place, from all the clergy, Greeks as well as Latins. Then they ordered chasubles, dalmatics, copes, and all adornment for the use of the living God's churches, to be made with purest purple cloth and precious silk and ornaments they found which had been left in Antioch, so that with these the priests and ministers would be furnished to celebrate divine services in the temple of blessed Peter, or when they walked in procession with psalms and hymns to the chapel of St Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, on Sundays or on special feast days. This same chapel was a short distance away from the church of St Paul and as yet remained intact and undamaged by those same Turks; after they had conquered the town it had been left by the Turks' gift and licence for the use among themselves of those Christians only who remained.<sup>1</sup> There was a patriarch of the city, a most Christian man whom the Turks, while they were still blockaded in the town by the Christians' siege, used frequently to hang alive by ropes on the ramparts in full view of all to increase the torments of the Christian people, and whose feet they had often injured by shackling him. The Christians restored him to his see with honour, and with all submissiveness and piety they gave him authority as prince of the Antiochene church.<sup>2</sup>

Eastern and Latin clergy. Adhémar's own death and the rivalry of the secular leaders ensured that any such plan came to nothing: B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 7; J. Brundage, 'Adhémar of Puy and his critics', *Speculum*, xxxiv (1959), 201–10. William of Tyre—himself a dignitary of the Latin Church—records that John retired voluntarily to Constantinople some two years later, because he realized that a Greek could not effectively govern Latins (WT, pp. 339–40). The letter sent by the princes to Urban following Adhémar's death hints that they too perceived problems in the situation (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 164).

434 2. Hiis itaque diuinis rebus prelati et preordinati, Boemundum domnum et | aduocatum urbis contulerunt,<sup>a</sup> eo quod multum in traditione urbis expendisset <sup>b</sup>et plurimum<sup>b</sup> laboris pertulisset ut custodias per turres et menia aduersus Turcorum insidias faceret. Boemundus, assumpta potestate et dominio urbis, in presidio quod in eminentiori loco in montanis habetur sedem et custodiam suorum posuit, nulla illic ultra<sup>c</sup> Turcorum defensione sibi aduersante. Nam audita fuga et contritione suorum, Sansadonias et qui in arce erant pariter et<sup>d</sup> ipsi per montana fugerunt, uacuum et immunitum relinquentes presidium. Verum Reimundus comes de predicta regione Prouincie, semper insaciatus desiderio acquirendi, turrinam que ponti Ferne imminet uersus portum sancti Symeonis ui inuadens suo muniuit satellicio, partemque hanc urbis sue ditioni subesse coegit. Ceteri uero principes, Godefridus dux, Robertus Flandriensis, Robertus princeps Nortmannorum cunctique qui non minus laboris circa urbem pertulerant<sup>e</sup> minime urbi preesse aut eius redditus uel tributa sibi inpertiri quesierunt, nolentes fidem et sacramentum imperatori Constantinopolis factum uiolare. Iurauerant enim sibi ut si<sup>f</sup> caperetur Antiochia, quia de regno eius erat sicut Nicea, cum omnibus castellis et urbibus ad regnum eius pertinentibus sibi reseruarent, <sup>g</sup>et sue<sup>g</sup> maiestati restituerent. Ex tunc et deinceps Boemundus comiti Reimundo cepit inuidere, sed tamen occulte.<sup>3</sup>

3. Predicti uero principes, quibus cure erat fidem et iusiurandum seruare, Baldwinum Hainaucorum<sup>a</sup> comitem una cum Hugone Magno fratre regis Francie paulo post uictoriam a Deo collatam direxerunt in legationem ad ipsum imperatorem Grecorum, ut causam ab eo inuestigarent cur tam impie gesserit erga populum Dei, et auxilium quod pollicitus est cur in tanta necessitate exhibere neglexerit, cum in aliquo eos fallaces aut seductores adhuc inuenire nequuerit. Iniunctum est etiam illis ut eidem imperatori indicarent quoniam<sup>b</sup> ab omni promissione et sacramento principes exercitus<sup>c</sup> soluti haberentur, eo quod omnia que promiserat auxilii ex timidorum

2 <sup>a</sup> pretulerunt *N* <sup>b b</sup> plurimumque *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> om. *H* <sup>d</sup> etiam *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> pertulerunt *A* <sup>f</sup> sic *N* <sup>g g</sup> sueque *ACHN*

3 <sup>a</sup> Hanianeorum *N* <sup>b</sup> quomodo *A* <sup>c</sup> om. *N*

<sup>3</sup> Raymond's thinking at this time is equivocal. Albert implies he was making a bid for Antioch, while Raymond of Aguilers naturally makes him an ally of Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, outmanoeuvred by Bohemond (*RA*, pp. 83-4). There is no doubt of Bohemond's

2. When these religious matters had been considered and put in order as a priority, they made Bohemond lord and advocate of Antioch, because he had laid out a great deal for the betrayal of the city and had put in a lot of hard work to place guards along the towers and ramparts against the Turkish raids. Bohemond assumed power and lordship over the city, and placed his residence and a guard of his men in the citadel which was higher up in the mountains, since there was no Turkish defence there any more to oppose him. For when they heard of the flight and ruin of their men, Sansadonias and those who had themselves been in the citadel likewise fled through the mountains, leaving the fortress empty and undefended. Raymond, count of the aforesaid region of Provence, who was always insatiable in his acquisitiveness, attacked that tower which was close to the bridge on the Orontes in the direction of the port of St Symeon and garrisoned it with his followers, and forced this part of the city to submit to his authority. The rest of the princes, Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, Robert prince of Normandy, and all those who had laboured no less hard about the city, did not seek at all to rule the city or to bestow on themselves its revenues or tribute, for they did not want to violate the treaty and solemn promise they had made to the emperor of Constantinople. They had vowed to him that if Antioch were taken they would keep it for him with all the castles and cities belonging to his kingdom, because it was part of his kingdom like Nicaea, and they would restore it to his sovereign power. From that time on Bohemond began to envy Count Raymond, but secretly as yet.<sup>3</sup>

3. Shortly after the victory God granted to them, the above princes—those whose concern was to keep the treaty and oath—sent Baldwin count of Hainaut together with Hugh the Great, the king of France's brother, in a legation to that same emperor of the Greeks, to find out from him the reason why he had acted so wickedly towards the people of God, and why when they were in such great difficulty the emperor had failed to produce the assistance he had promised, since he could not find the princes deceitful or misleading in anything so far. They were also instructed to point out to that same emperor that the princes of the army were released from any promise or oath because at the prompting of fearful and fugitive men he lied about all the things

ambitions: already in July 1098 he was granting privileges in the city to the Genoese (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 155–6).

et fugitiuorum suggestionem mentitus est.<sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>Hii quidem<sup>d</sup> duo predicti principes, assumpta suorum confratrum legatione, ad ipsum imperatorem uiam insistunt per mediam Romaniam, ubi in confinio Nicee in insidias Turcopolorum<sup>e</sup> forte inciderunt, non a dextris uel a sinistris declinare ualentes. Turcopoli itaque, gens impia et dicta Christiana nomine non opere, qui ex<sup>f</sup> Turco patre et Greca matre procreati, uidentes uiros sibi inter manus oblatos subito irruerunt in eos, Baldwinumque, qui Hugonem aliquantulum precesserat, ut aiunt, sagittis confixerunt. Quidam uero asserunt quoniam<sup>g</sup> uiuum et captiuum illum abduxerint,<sup>h</sup> sed latet usque in hodiernum diem  
 435 quo fine | tam nobilissimus et Christianissimus princeps perierit.<sup>5</sup> Hugo uero<sup>i</sup> Magnus, qui modico<sup>j</sup> intervallo uiam post Baldwinum continuabat, cernens angustias anime illius celeri cursu iter remensus est ad siluam quamdam montibus contiguam, cuius absconsione protectus manus impiorum euasit.

4. Post hec ex omni parte crebro affluente nauigio in cibariis ad portum sancti Symeonis, et peregrinis in uictoria Dei ab obsidione barbarorum liberatis felici habundantia escarum <sup>a</sup>et omnium<sup>a</sup> necessariorum fruentibus,<sup>b</sup> plaga maxime mortalitatis facta est infra urbem Antiochiam, qua plurima et innumerabilis multitudo Christiani exercitus, tam nobilium procerum quam humilis uulgi, absumpta est. Hac clade mortifera primum uenerandus presul de Podio percussus uitam finiuit kalendas Augusti. Quem nimia lamentatione nobiles et ignobiles deflentes, in ipsa basilica sancti Petri sepulture contulerunt, in loco eodem quo lancea dominica reperta est.<sup>6</sup> Sepulto itaque tam uenerabili sacerdote, amplior et grauior inualuit hec plaga seuissima, et morte minui adeo Christianorum cepit exercitus ut per spacium sex mensium uix non aliqua oriretur dies quin centum aut quinquaginta <sup>e</sup>uel triginta ad minus<sup>c</sup> tam nobiles quam ignobiles spiritum uite exalarent. Eiusdem cladis atrocitate Heinricus de Ascha, miles nobilis genere, moriens occubuit in castello Turbaysel, illic catholice sepultus. Reinardus pariter de Hamerbach, miles

<sup>d d</sup> Siquidem *A*      <sup>e</sup> Tricopolorum *E*; Turcopolorum *N* (and *E* later)      <sup>f</sup> et *E*  
<sup>g</sup> quod *H*      <sup>h</sup> abduxerunt *N*      <sup>i</sup> autem *ACHN*      <sup>j</sup> *A* adds in before modico

4      <sup>a a</sup> omniumque *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> fluentibus *H*      <sup>c c</sup> ad minus triginta *N*

<sup>4</sup> Albert goes further than the author of *GF*, who says only that Hugh was sent to ask the emperor to take over the city and fulfil his obligations ('He went and he never came back'): *GF*, p. 72. William of Tyre is more temperate than Albert, making it clear that the princes considered that their agreement with Alexios was contractual, and if he did not come to

he had promised.<sup>4</sup> These two princes accepted the legation of their brothers and made their way to that same emperor through the middle of Rūm, where they fell by chance into a Turcopole ambush in the neighbourhood of Nicaea, being unable to turn away to left or right. The Turcoples, a wicked race and Christian in name not in deed, who were born of Turkish fathers and Greek mothers, saw the men falling into their hands and suddenly charged down on them, and they shot Baldwin, who was travelling slightly in front of Hugh, so they say, full of arrows. Some declare it is true that they led him away alive and captive, but it is not known to this very day what death so very noble and Christian prince suffered.<sup>5</sup> Hugh the Great, who was making his way a short distance behind Baldwin, saw the torments of that man's soul and retraced his journey at a gallop to a wood next to the mountains, where he took refuge and escaped the hands of the wicked Turcoples.

4. After this, while many ships plentifully laden with supplies sailed into the port of St Symeon from all directions, and the pilgrims who had been set free from the barbarians' siege by God's victory were enjoying a happy abundance of food and all necessary supplies, a plague of most severe mortality happened in the city of Antioch, by which a very great and countless multitude of the Christian army, as many noble leaders as of the common crowd, were taken. In this fatal scourge the reverend bishop of Le Puy was the first to be struck down and ended his life on the first of August. Nobles and lesser people wept over him with overwhelming grief and brought him for burial in the basilica of St Peter itself, in the same place where the Lord's lance was found.<sup>6</sup> After the venerable priest was buried this severe plague grew more widespread and serious, and death began to diminish the Christian army to such an extent that for six months scarcely a day dawned but a hundred, or fifty, or thirty at least, gave up the ghost, as many nobles as lesser people. In the harshness of this scourge Henry of Esch, a knight of noble birth, fell sick and died in the castle of Turbessel and was given a Christian burial there. Reinhard of

their assistance then they did not consider themselves bound by it. He dwells at some length on Hugh's disgraceful desertion (WT, p. 343).

<sup>5</sup> Fulcher, like *GF*, notes only Hugh's departure to Constantinople (not Baldwin's) and thence to France (FC, p. 258). Guibert of Nogent can throw no light on Baldwin's fate: 'we are still not sure what misfortune befell him', while he is reluctant to think ill of Hugh, who redeemed himself by a martyr's death in 1101 (GN, p. 243).

<sup>6</sup> For Adhémar's death and something of its impact, see *GF*, p. 74; FC, p. 258; RA, p. 84, and the letter from the princes to the pope (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 161–5).

clarissimus opere et genere, uitam amisit, sepultus in atrio basilice Petri<sup>d</sup> apostolorum principis. Preterea multi tam equites quam pedites, nobiles et ignobiles, monachi et clerici, parui et magni, quin sexus femineus supra centum milia sine ferro morte uastati sunt.

5. Interea multi gaudentes pace et uictoria <sup>a</sup>et mortalitatis<sup>a</sup> huius cladem uitantes, et causa necessariorum dum uiam frequenter Rohas<sup>b</sup> insisterent, sperantes aliquid accipere de manu Baldwini, plurimas  
 436 insidias et cedes a Turcis qui | habitabant in presidio Hasarth<sup>c</sup> <sup>7</sup> patiebantur, et sepius capti aliqui abducebantur. Quadam autem die quidam Folbertus,<sup>d</sup> miles egregius de castello Bullon<sup>e</sup> ortus,<sup>8</sup> dum cum uxore sua, que erat forme elegantis, Rohas cum ceteris fratribus iter faceret, forte in manus insidiantium Turcorum incidit. Qui ilico cum ceteris post non multam defensionem uictus ac<sup>f</sup> decollatus est. Vxor uero illius quia multum pre honestate uultus sui placuit in oculis<sup>9</sup> eorum capta in presidium Hasarth abducta est. Princeps uero<sup>g</sup> et domnus presidii<sup>10</sup> hanc honorifice tractari iussit, dum uideret si in eius redemptione aliquid magni precii consequeretur. Nec diu quidam Turcorum miles illustrissimus, qui ad domnum presidii<sup>h</sup> Hasarth in conuentione solidorum uenerat, in concupiscentia forme capte uxoris Folberti inmoderato amore exarsit, ac nimium pro ea domnum presidii flagitabat ut eam dono eius pro conuentione solidorum in coniugium<sup>i</sup> accipere mereretur. Quod et actum est.

6. Miles idem Turcus, letatus hiis nuptiis, multo amplius quam solebat insidias et bellum hostibus domni Hasarth inferebat, et predam de Halapia,<sup>a</sup> ciuitate magna Brodohan cuiusdam principis Turcorum, sepius abducebat, insequentes ad excutienda spolia frequenter captiuabat, aut uictos detruncabat. Erant enim adinuicem inter Brodohan de Halapia et principem de Hasarth odium et graues inimicie. Transactis dehinc aliquot diebus, Brodohan indignatus quia miles predictus <sup>b</sup>et manus<sup>b</sup> militum de Hasarth sepius sibi aduersarentur, de uniuersis partibus ciuitatis Halapie Turcos sue

<sup>a</sup> ACHN add beati before Petri

5 <sup>a</sup> mortalitatisque ACHN <sup>b</sup> Roas AE here and elsewhere <sup>c</sup> Hasart ACHN here and elsewhere; A has Asart later <sup>d</sup> Fulbertus A <sup>e</sup> Bullun A <sup>f</sup> et A <sup>g</sup> igitur ACHN <sup>h</sup> om. A <sup>i</sup> coniugem N

6 <sup>a</sup> Alapia H, here and elsewhere; A and C sometimes. <sup>b</sup> b manusque ACHN

<sup>7</sup> A'zāz (prov. Halab, Syria).

<sup>8</sup> No more is known about Folbert: Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 195–6. J. Riley-Smith believes him to be another Fulcher: *First Crusaders*, pp. 204, 206.

Hamersbach, a very famous knight in deeds and birth, likewise lost his life and was buried in the entrance of the basilica of Peter the prince of apostles. Many more—cavalry and infantry alike, nobles and lesser people, monks and clerics, great and small, even the feminine sex—over one hundred thousand were laid waste by death, without a weapon being wielded.

5. Meanwhile many rejoiced in peace and victory and they avoided the fatal scourge, and while they were making their frequent journeys to Edessa for supplies, hoping to get something from Baldwin's hand, they suffered very many ambushes and attacks from the Turks who lived in the fortress of Azaz,<sup>7</sup> and quite often some were taken away as prisoners. One day a certain Folbert, an outstanding knight from the castle at Bouillon,<sup>8</sup> fell into the hands of Turkish raiders while he was making the journey to Edessa with his wife, who was of graceful appearance, and the other brothers. He was overcome there and beheaded with the rest after putting up no great resistance. His wife, because she was greatly pleasing to their eyes<sup>9</sup> on account of her beautiful face, was taken prisoner and led away into the fortress of Azaz. The prince and lord of the fortress<sup>10</sup> ordered her to be treated honourably while he found out if she might be worth some great sum of money in ransom. Not long after, a renowned Turkish knight, who had come to the lord of the fortress of Azaz as a mercenary, saw Folbert's wife and was inflamed with excessive love and eager desire, and he entreated the lord of the fortress very earnestly for her, asking that he might be rewarded by receiving her in marriage as the lord's gift in place of wages. This was done.

6. This same Turkish knight, happy at his marriage, inflicted ambushes and warfare much more than he used to on the enemies of the lord of Azaz, and he frequently plundered Aleppo, a great city belonging to one Ridwan, a Turkish prince, and he would often take prisoner those who pursued him to seize the spoils, or he would defeat and behead them. For between Ridwan of Aleppo and the prince of Azaz there were on both sides hatred and bitter hostility. Then, when some days had passed, Ridwan was angry because this knight and his band of soldiers from Azaz were often opposing him, and he collected from all parts of the city of Aleppo Turks who acknowledged his authority, intending that on an agreed day they

<sup>9</sup> Biblical, e.g. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 18: 26; 24: 5.

<sup>10</sup> His name was Omar, according to Kemal al-Din, p. 595.

ditionis collegit, ut die decreto Hasarth in manu ualida obsidens expugnaret. Hoc comperto, princeps Hasarth anxie meditatur qualiter uires auxiliares acciret cum quibus occurrere congregatis tot milibus Brodohan ualeret.

437 7. Ad hec, inter diuersa consilia<sup>a</sup> que fiebant, miles Turcus qui Christianam duxerat uxorem instinctu eiusdem coniugis sic principem Hasarth adhortatur dicens: 'An uides quoniam Brodohan undique Turcorum manum et<sup>b</sup> uires con|trahit, et<sup>c</sup> in multis milibus te et presidium quod habes uallare et expugnare disposuit? Nunc si me credere uis consilio, Godefridum ducem Christiani exercitus qui Antiochiam, Corbahan fugato, potenter obtinet, amicum datis<sup>d</sup> dextris tibi facere non tardabis, et sic uniuersam Christianorum opem et comitatum in hac instanti necessitate scias te adepturum. Nosti enim quod hec gens Christiana cunctis gentibus militari actu et audacia prefertur, et nulli eis fide et honore comparantur. Vnde nequaquam consilium hoc paruipendas, sed sine dilatione eius tibi amicitiam apprehendas, et sic eo tibi foederato, uniuersos Christianos tibi scias ad omne auxilium uoluntarios.' Hic uero princeps sciens hoc sanum esse consilium et Brodohan 'et eius<sup>e</sup> copiis numerosis sic posse resistere, nuncium Christiane professionis,<sup>f</sup> genere Syrum, hominem mire disertum, Godefrido duci Antiochiam misit, in hec uerba loquentem:

8. 'Princeps Hasarth Godefrido magno principi ac duci Christianorum<sup>a</sup> salutem, et omne quod melius optari potest. Consilio nostrorum ad te direximus pacem et<sup>b</sup> concordiam inter nos componere, fidem et amicitiam statuere, et<sup>c</sup> ad omnem bellicam necessitatem arma nostra esse communia. Comperimus enim quoniam uir et princeps es potens uiribus, et quia auxilium ferre uales tibi confoederatis, et nulla leuitate a fidei tue uinculo potes resolui. Vnde pre omnibus te eligimus, te conuenimus, opem a te querimus, foedus percutimus fiducia hac qua certus nostre fidei semper habearis. Brodohan de ciuitate Halapia nobis factus inimicus, Turcorum undique contraxit auxilia, in breui ad presidium nostrum Hasarth<sup>d</sup> in uirtute magna et exercitu copioso uenturus. Cui non in alio auxilio principum Turcorum occurrere et resistere decreui, nisi in manu tua, si credere

7 <sup>a</sup> colloquia H <sup>b</sup> atque H <sup>c</sup> atque ACHN <sup>d</sup> datum H <sup>e</sup> eiusque ACHN <sup>f</sup> om. A

8 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> ac ACN <sup>c</sup> atque ACHN <sup>d</sup> om. A

would besiege Azaz in a strong force and conquer it. When he found this out, the prince of Azaz was anxiously concerned how he might summon auxiliary forces to enable him to meet the many thousands assembled by Ridwan.

7. At this point, among the various plans which they were making, the Turkish knight who had married a Christian wife urged on the prince of Azaz at her prompting, saying: 'Surely you see that Ridwan is bringing together an army and forces of Turks from everywhere, and has decided to blockade and conquer with many thousands you and the fortress you hold? Now if you will trust my advice you will waste no time before pledging friendship by giving your right hand to Godfrey, duke of the Christian army, who powerfully took Antioch when Karbugha had fled, and in this way you may be sure that you will acquire the whole assistance and alliance of the Christians in this emergency. For you know that this Christian race excels all others in military performance and courage, and none may be compared to them for loyalty and honour. So do not scorn this advice, but embrace his friendship without delay, and so with him allied to you you will know that all the Christians will be volunteers for every assistance.' The prince knew that this was sensible advice and that in this way he would be able to withstand Ridwan and his many forces, so he sent a messenger of the Christian faith, a Syrian by race, a wonderfully eloquent man, to Duke Godfrey at Antioch, speaking in these words:

8. 'The prince of Azaz sends greeting to Godfrey the great prince and duke of the Christians, and everything he may desire. On the advice of our men we are sending to you to arrange peace and friendship between us, to establish loyalty and love, and for our weapons to be shared in any emergency of war. For we have discovered that you are a man and a prince powerful in military strength, and that you are able to offer assistance to those allied by treaty to you, and you cannot be released from the bond of your loyalty by any inconstancy. For these reasons we choose you before all others, we are speaking to you, we request assistance of you, we are making a treaty with this assurance, by which you may be certain of having our trust always. Ridwan of the state of Aleppo has become our enemy, he has assembled Turkish reinforcements from everywhere and he will shortly come in great strength and with a numerous army to our fortress at Azaz. And I have decided not to meet and resist him with any assistance of the Turkish princes, but to put our defence in your

mihi et subuenire<sup>e</sup> non recuses.<sup>f</sup> Godefridus dux hac audita legatione, consilio suorum habito, fiduciam statuende pacis requirit, hesitans ne Turcorum perfidia sibi suisque aliquo iniquo machinamento obesse possit, corrupto foedere sub aliqua iniqua<sup>g</sup> occasionis industria.

9. Princeps uero de Hasarth audiens ex legati sui relatione quia dux et  
 438 sui de | hac concordia hesitent, et non multum in Turcorum  
 promissis confiderent, duci filium suum, Mahumeth<sup>a</sup> nomine, quem  
 tenere diligebat, obsidem misit, ut certior statuende inter se pacis et<sup>b</sup>  
 foederis abhinc et deinceps redderetur. Dux, filio illius obside  
 suscepto,<sup>c</sup> fidem et amicitiam cum illo pepigit, et se ad omnia  
 aduersantia sibi auxiliari et numquam deficere stabili iure promisit.  
 Hiis ita<sup>d</sup> promissis diem certam statuit qua ad auxilium contra  
 Brodohan Christianum conduceret exercitum, et Turcorum legiones  
 ab obsidione Hasarth, Domino Deo suo Iesu Christo auxiliante,  
 effugaret. Hec dux dum constanter polliceretur, legati de presidio  
 Hasarth uehementer iocundati et letati sunt, et sine mora columbas  
 duas aues gratas ac domitas secum allatas eduxerunt a<sup>e</sup> sinu suo et,  
 carta ducis responsis<sup>f</sup> et promissis<sup>f</sup> fidelibus inscripta caudis illarum  
 filo innodata, e manibus suis has ad ferenda leta nuncia emiserunt.  
 Dux et uniuersi qui cum eo aderant de hac auium emissionem  
 ammirantur, sed ilico cur per aues hec fiant nuncia illis a legatis  
 responsum est: 'Non domnus noster dux<sup>g</sup> et eius<sup>g</sup> fideles super  
 emissis mirentur auib, quas non pueriliter nec frustra premisimus,  
 sed hac de causa premisse sunt, ut rapido et incessabili uolatu  
 legationem fidei quam erga eum habes accelerent, et de auxilio tuo  
 certificent qualiscumque nobis in uia fortuna uel impedimentum  
 occurrerit. Est et aliud quare he aues cum cartulis premittuntur, ne  
 si in sinu nostro reperte fuerint ab aliquibus confratribus<sup>h</sup> nostris  
 Turcis, rei mortis dampnaremur.' Iam cum cartis sibi commissis aues  
 auolauerunt, in solium et mensam ducis Hasarth fideliter reuerse.  
 Princeps<sup>i</sup> de Hasarth ex more solito aues domesticas pie suscipiens,

<sup>e</sup> succurrere ACHN<sup>f</sup> recusas N<sup>g</sup> prauae ACHN9 <sup>a</sup> Mahumet C<sup>b</sup> ac ACHN<sup>c</sup> accepto ACHN<sup>d</sup> itaque N<sup>e</sup> de A<sup>f</sup> promissisque ACHN<sup>g</sup> eiusque ACHN<sup>h</sup> fratribus H<sup>i</sup> ACHN add

autem after Princeps

hands, if you do not refuse to trust me and to help.' After Duke Godfrey had heard this legation he took his men's advice, asking them about their confidence in the proposed peace, since he was doubtful lest it might be Turkish treachery which would harm him and his men with some wicked device, and the treaty might be broken on some evil pretext.

9. The prince of Azaz heard from his messenger's account that the duke and his men were doubtful about this agreement and did not greatly trust the 'Turks' promises, so he sent his own son, Mahumeth by name, whom he dearly loved, as hostage, so that from this time onwards he would be more confident about agreeing the peace and treaty between them. The duke received his son as hostage and agreed on trust and friendship with him, and promised with an enduring vow that he would assist him against all opposition and would never fail. When these promises were made they agreed a certain day on which Godfrey would lead out the Christian army as reinforcements against Ridwan, and would put to flight the Turkish legions from the siege of Azaz, with the help of their Lord God Jesus Christ. When the duke promised these things faithfully the envoys from the fortress of Azaz were very joyful and happy, and without delay they took from their garments two pigeons, nice tame birds which they had brought with them. They wrote the duke's replies and faithful promises on paper and tied them to the birds' tails with thread, and sent them forth from their hands to carry the good news. The duke and everyone who was with him wondered at this sending out of birds, but the reply came at once as to why the messages were sent by way of birds: 'Our lord duke and his supporters should not wonder at these birds we have sent, for we haven't done it childishly or frivolously. They were sent for this reason, so that they may hasten with rapid and unceasing flight the message of trust which you hold towards the lord of Azaz, and they may bear assurances concerning your assistance and whatever good luck or hindrance has befallen us. There is yet another reason why these birds were sent ahead with letters: if they were found in our garments by any of our brother Turks then they would be our death sentence.' The birds had already flown away with the letters entrusted to them, and they faithfully returned to the palace and home of the lord of Azaz. The prince of Azaz welcomed the tame birds affectionately, as was his custom, released the written papers from their tails, opened them, and read

cartas intitulas a caudis earum<sup>j</sup> soluit, secreta ducis Godefridi aperiens<sup>k</sup> perlegit, diem sui aduentus ad auxilium Hasarth<sup>l</sup> pernoscit, et in quantis milibus Christiani exercitus subueniret.<sup>11</sup>

10. Hiis perlectis et agnitis, et Godefridi<sup>a</sup> certus amicitie et<sup>b</sup> fidei, presidium Hasarth plurimis muniuit militum armis et copias Turcorum sibi auxiliantium e diuersis acciuit locis. Et ecce Brodohan in<sup>c</sup> manu forti et numero quadraginta milium Turcorum descendit in campos Hasarth, <sup>d</sup>et sedem<sup>d</sup> in circuitu murorum illius fixis tentoriis locauit, graui assultu menia et turres de die in diem oppugnans. Vix quinque sederat diebus, et ecce dux Godefridus in fortitudine multa ab Antiochia est egressus in uexillis mire pulchritudinis, in loricis et  
439 galeis, in | sagittariis equitum et peditum, spacio dierum trium iter faciens. Peracta uia unius diei Baldwinus frater ipsius<sup>e</sup> sibi a Rohas proficiscens cum tribus milibus uirorum pugnatorum occurrit in uexillis per aera coruscantibus, ex ducis legatione accitus. At Boemundus et Reimundus uehementi<sup>f</sup> inuidia indignati sunt, quod ipse princeps de Hasarth primum ad Godefridum mittens foedus inierit, filium<sup>g</sup> suum sibi obsidem mutue fidei dederit, et ideo omnino se in hanc ducis expeditionem proficisci interdixerunt.<sup>h</sup>

11. Dux itinere unius diei expleto, uidens quia principes hii pre inuidia remanserant, nec blandis monitis aut humili prece flecti poterant ut uenirent, iterato eis legationem misit, sic in hunc modum locutus: 'Non decet uos qui estis columnae et ductores<sup>a</sup> exercitus ut nos fratres uestros conchristianos <sup>b</sup>auxilio uestro<sup>b</sup> immunes relinquatis, occasionem falsam aduersum nos assumentes, cum adhuc in nulla angustia uel necessitate uobis defecerimus, sed semper in uia hac pro uobis etiam mori parati fuerimus. Credite proculdubio quia si hodie remanseritis nec opem nobis ad id negotii contuleritis hostes uestri erimus, ad nullam causam ad uos pertinentem non<sup>c</sup> ultra pes noster mouebitur.' Boemundus, Reimundus

<sup>j</sup> eorum E      <sup>k</sup> om. H      <sup>l</sup> ad auxilium Hasarth om. A; Hasarth om. CHN

10    <sup>a</sup> Godefridus A      <sup>b</sup> ac CN      <sup>c</sup> om. E (erased)      <sup>d</sup> sedemque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> N adds ducis after ipsius      <sup>f</sup> uehementer E (-i erased)      <sup>g</sup> filiumque ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> recusauerunt ACHN

11    <sup>a</sup> ACHN add Christiani after ductores      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> auxilii uestri ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN

Duke Godfrey's secrets. He thus knew all about the day of his arrival to support Azaz, and in how many thousands the Christian armies would relieve him.<sup>11</sup>

10. When he had thoroughly read and understood the letters, and was sure of Godfrey's friendship and loyalty, he garrisoned the fortress at Azaz with very many soldiers and their weapons and summoned the forces of his Turkish allies from different places. And Ridwan was there with a strong force numbering forty thousand Turks, coming down onto the plains of Azaz, and he pitched tents and took up position around its walls, attacking the ramparts and towers day after day with a heavy assault. He had been there just five days when Godfrey appeared, marching out of Antioch in great strength with banners of wonderful beauty, the army wearing hauberks and helmets, bringing archers both mounted and on foot, and completing the journey in three days. After one day's journey Baldwin his brother, setting out from Edessa with three thousand warriors, met him with banners fluttering in the breeze, summoned by the duke's messenger. But Bohemond and Raymond were very envious and angry, because the prince of Azaz himself had sent first to Godfrey and entered into an alliance, and given his own son to him as hostage for their mutual loyalty, and so they utterly refused to set out on this the duke's expedition.

11. When the duke had travelled for one day, and he realized that these princes had remained behind because of envy, and they could not be prevailed upon to come by coaxings, threats, or humble entreaty, he sent a legation to them once again, which spoke in this way: 'It is not fitting for you who are pillars and leaders of the army to leave us, your fellow Christian brothers, without your assistance, asserting a false pretext against us, since we have never failed you yet in any difficulty or emergency, but have always been prepared even to die for you on this journey. Believe absolutely that if you stay behind today and do not bring us help in this enterprise we shall be your enemies, and we shall not lift a finger for any difficulty you get into.' When Bohemond and Raymond saw that the entire Christian army

<sup>11</sup> The tenor of Albert's description makes it apparent that his audience would find the use of carrier pigeons novel. This episode and the subsequent use of pigeons in the east, and their adoption, or reintroduction, into western Europe, is examined in S. B. Edgington, 'The doves of war: The part played by carrier pigeons in the crusades', in M. Balard, ed., *Autour de la Première Croisade* (Paris, 1996), pp. 167-75.

uidentes quia manus uniuersa Christianorum ad uocem ducis Godfridi uiam Hasarth insistebat, et quia dux eis <sup>d</sup>et ceteri<sup>d</sup> confratres in ira loquerentur, recordati sunt quia iniuste egissent erga fratres suos, ac compuncti sociis suis tam equitum quam peditum circiter quatuor milia adunatis, Godefridum regia uia secuti, in regione Hasarth associati sunt. Erant enim numerus congregatorum principum et eorum exercitus triginta milia uirorum pugnatorum. Brodohan et qui cum eo in obsidionem Hasarth<sup>e</sup> conuenerant, cognoscentes quia agmina Christianorum campos uicinos intrassent, a longe a castris eorum ignes <sup>f</sup>in nocte<sup>f</sup> relucere et nebulam fumorum ascendere intuentes, ex consilio et pari mente castra ab obsidione mouerunt, scientes quia tot milibus resistere minime ualerent. Ex hiis ad decem milia in circuitu longa remocione uie per notas semitas et montana gradientes, tardatos et subsequentes peregrinos et<sup>g</sup> postremos exercitus sagittis a tergo incurrerunt, et<sup>h</sup> sexcentos subito expugnatos et exterritos clam duce et eis qui longo spacio duum miliariorum precesserant, in ore gladii percusserunt.

- 440 12. Hanc famam crudelem dux et sui comperientes, equorum uelocitate inuecti, Turcis a cede hac reuertentibus in ualle montium regionis Hasarth properata uia occurrerunt, non modicam stragem illorum lanceis et gladiis illic<sup>a</sup> facientes. Hiis attritis et fuga per montana et<sup>b</sup> ueprium condensa dilapsis, dux et ceteri comprimores ad presidium Hasarth applicuerunt, quibus princeps illius cum trecentis galea et lorica fulgenti opertis occurrit, multas gratiarum actiones referens<sup>c</sup> duci super omnibus que eius auxilio aduersus inimicorum uires uictoriose sibi<sup>d</sup> contigerunt. Illic renouato foedere et amicitia inuiolabili duci coniunctus est in aspectu omnium qui aderant, promittens se stabilem et numquam alienari ab societate ipsius ducis <sup>e</sup>et Christianorum<sup>e</sup> familiaritate et<sup>f</sup> dilectione. Dux, ex consilio suorum uiro sibi confoederato, galeam auro et argento mire insertam et loricam magne honestatis contulit, qua Herebrandus de Bullon miles nobilis<sup>g</sup> et bellico actu insignis prelia commissurus semper induebatur. Brodohan<sup>h</sup> ab obsidione Hasarth fugato, et principe eiusdem presidii a duce et omnibus comprimoribus benigne

<sup>d d</sup> ceterique ACHN    <sup>e</sup> om. N    <sup>f f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>h</sup> om. H

12    <sup>a</sup> illis H    <sup>b</sup> ex H    <sup>c</sup> agens A    <sup>d</sup> illis ACHN    <sup>e e</sup> Christianorumque ACHN    <sup>f</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>g</sup> om. N    <sup>h</sup> ACHN add igitur after Brodohan

had answered Duke Godfrey's call and was making its way to Azaz, and that the duke and the other brothers spoke to them in anger, they realized that they had acted unfairly towards their brothers and, conscience-stricken, they called up around four thousand of their comrades, as many cavalry as infantry, and they followed Godfrey on the royal way and joined up with him in the region of Azaz. So the number of the assembled princes and their army was thirty thousand warriors. Ridwan and those who had come with him to besiege Azaz, knowing that the Christians' divisions had arrived on the neighbouring plains, seeing from a distance the fires from their camp glowing in the darkness and the cloud of smoke going up, consulted and, as they were of like mind, they moved camp away from the blockade, knowing that they could not withstand so many thousands. Some ten thousand of them were marching in a wide circle on a route through known footpaths and mountainous country, and from the rear they attacked with arrows the pilgrims who were lagging and following after the army, and, unknown to the duke and his men who were well ahead by two miles, they overcame and terrorized six hundred, and put them to the sword.

12. When the duke and his men heard this cruel news, they rode swiftly and hastened to meet the Turks as they were returning from this massacre in a mountain valley in the region of Azaz, inflicting no small slaughter on them there with lances and swords. When they were destroyed and fleeing through the mountain slopes and thickets of thorns, the duke and his other fellow leaders made for the fortress of Azaz, and its prince came out to meet them with three hundred wearing helmets and shining hauberks, giving many thanks to the duke for everything which had happened victoriously for him with the duke's assistance against the forces of his enemies. He was joined to the duke in that place in a renewed treaty and unbreakable friendship, in full view of all the people who were there, promising that he would stand firm and never be estranged from the company of that same duke and from friendship and love of the Christians. The duke, who made a treaty with the prince on his men's advice, bestowed on him a helmet marvellously inlaid with gold and silver and a hauberk of great beauty, which Herbrand of Bouillon, a noble knight and distinguished in warlike performance, always used to wear when fighting battles. With Ridwan fled from besieging Azaz, and the prince of that fortress graciously commended by the duke and all his

commendato ac pacifice in sua relato, exercitus Antiochiam repēdauit, et in uictoria et<sup>i</sup> pace magna uniuersi principes in ea consederunt.<sup>12</sup>

13. Post hec predictae pestilentie tempestate amplius et ualidius ingruente, multisque de<sup>a</sup> principibus una<sup>b</sup> cum plebeia manu morientibus, Godefridus dux, memor quoniam persimili clade olim Rome est tactus in expeditione quam egit cum Heinricho 'rege quarto,' imperatore Romanorum tercio,<sup>d</sup> et quoniam illic in pestifero mense Augusto quingenti fortissimi milites 'et plures' nobiles obierint,<sup>f</sup> pluresque<sup>g</sup> exterriti cum ipso cesare ab urbe recesserint,<sup>h</sup> 13 nunc idem malum metuens ab Antiochia recedens, secessit uersus montana Pancratii et Corrauassilii,<sup>i</sup> habitauitque in urbibus Rauenel et Turbaisel,<sup>j</sup> a fratre Baldwino ante | obsidionem Antiochie subiugatis et post transmigrationem suam in Rohas eidem fratri et duci relictis.<sup>14</sup>

14. In eisdem siquidem presidiiis quidam Armenici fratres monachico habitu Deo deseruientes,<sup>a</sup> multas passi calumnias a militibus Pancratii habitantibus in presidio prefatis locis Rauenel et Turbaisel contermino,<sup>b</sup> ipsum ducem uidentes uirum pacificum et amatorem iusticie, sunt aggressi, querimoniam super illatis<sup>c</sup> sibi iniuriis facientes et super arce Pancratii, super eisdem castellis<sup>d</sup> et eorum inhabitatoribus<sup>d</sup> infesta. Dux uero Christianissimus querimoniis pauperum Christi pulsatus, et harum iniuriarum non inmemor quas sibi idem<sup>e</sup> Pancrati fecerat cum adhuc a Christianis obsidio circa muros Antiochie fieret, moleste tulit, omnibus modis de hiis ultionem sumere<sup>f</sup> meditatus.<sup>g</sup> Spoliauerat enim idem Pancrati legatos Baldwini, fratris eiusdem ducis, magnis et honorificis donis, tam pecunie

<sup>i</sup> ac ACHN

13 <sup>a</sup> om. AN <sup>b</sup> om. H <sup>c</sup> inserted E <sup>d</sup> om. E <sup>e</sup> pluresque ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> obierunt N <sup>g</sup> et plures ACHN <sup>h</sup> recesserunt N <sup>i</sup> Corrouassilii H;  
 Corvasilii all MSS later <sup>j</sup> E has uel Bersabee inserted over

14 <sup>a</sup> seruientes ACHN <sup>b</sup> conterminio AH <sup>c</sup> illatas N <sup>d</sup> eorumque  
 habitatoribus ACHN <sup>e</sup> om. A <sup>f</sup> om. N <sup>g</sup> meditans H

<sup>12</sup> The truce with A'zāz was significant because it was the first with a Muslim leader, and the ensuing successful campaign showed the Christian leaders how dissension among the Turks could be exploited. Albert's story of Folbert's widow and her part in the agreement is not substantiated even by William of Tyre, who says only that the amir despatched a loyal Christian to Godfrey (WT, p. 347). Albert may have introduced, or embellished, that part of the tale to please his audience in Lotharingia. However, the rest of the narrative is so circumstantial, and Albert's information about Turkish politics so well informed, that it is convincing (see Beaumont, 'Albert of Aachen', p. 118). Raymond of Aguilers has a brief

fellow leaders and peacefully restored to his own, the army retraced its steps to Antioch and all the princes settled there together in victory and great peace.<sup>12</sup>

13. After this the aforesaid plague epidemic was growing more widespread and more severe, with many of the princes dying alongside the common people, and Duke Godfrey left Antioch, fearing that this was the same illness which he remembered had afflicted Rome long ago with a very similar disaster when he was on an expedition with King Henry IV, third emperor of the Romans, in which five hundred of the strongest soldiers and many nobles had died during the plague-bearing month of August, and many had been terrified and had left the city along with the emperor himself.<sup>13</sup> Duke Godfrey withdrew towards the mountainous regions of Pakrad and Kogh Vasil, and lived in the cities of Ravendel and Turbessel, which had been subdued by his brother Baldwin before the siege of Antioch and after his removal to Edessa had been handed on to his brother the duke.<sup>14</sup>

14. In those very same fortresses there were certain Armenian brothers who served God devoutly in monastic habit and had suffered many insults from Pakrad's soldiers who lived in a fortress neighbouring the above places Ravendel and Turbessel, and they saw in the duke a peace-loving man and one devoted to justice, so they came to him, making complaint about the injuries inflicted on them and about Pakrad's citadel, about those same castles and their occupants. The Christian duke was moved by the complaints of Christ's paupers, and had not forgotten those injuries which that same Pakrad had done to him when there was still a Christian siege around the walls of Antioch, and he was vexed and planned to take revenge for all these things. For this same Pakrad had robbed legates of Baldwin, the duke's brother, of great and magnificent gifts, of money as well as

account, agreeing in essentials though suppressing any reluctance on the part of Raymond to take part in the expedition (p. 88). Most interestingly, Kemal al-Din (writing in the 13th c.) describes the revolt of Omar, the summoning of Frankish allies, the retreat of the Aleppan army, and the giving of Omar's son as hostage (Kemal al-Din, p. 595). However, he calls the Frankish leader Saint-Gilles.

<sup>13</sup> In 1084. The siege and epidemic are described by Frutolf, though he gives no details about numbers: Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 96.

<sup>14</sup> Kogh Vasil was Pakrad's brother: see iii. 17 above. Raymond of Aguilers says only that Godfrey went in the direction of Edessa (RA, p. 84). Fulcher was still with Baldwin in Edessa, but does not mention Godfrey's visit. The episode which follows, therefore, is reported only by Albert; it would appear to be in character for Pakrad, given his earlier behaviour, though Kogh Vasil usually remained on good terms with the Franks.

quam ceterarum rerum, dum iter per terram et patriam illius agerent, que omnia Boemundo principi ad componendam cum eo amicitiam mittere non expauit. Hiis itaque iniuriis et pauperum querimoniis dux nunc commotus, quinquaginta milites suorum sequacium eligens, in loriceis, clipeis et lanceis, in balistis et sagittariis Armenicis profectus est ad uicinam arcem, in qua noxii predones Pancratii morabantur. Hanc, omni uirtute instans, oppugnat repentino assultu, expugnatam<sup>k</sup> flamma et igne humi coegit procumbere, uiginti ex militibus quos in ea reperit iussu eius excecatis, in retributione et uindicta superbie et iniuriarum quas sibi Pancratius<sup>j</sup> et pauperibus Christi<sup>j</sup> inferre presumpsit. Similiter arx et presidium Corrauassilii assultu et uirtute militum ducis<sup>k</sup> ex diuersis calumniis et iniuriis quas Christianis intulerat criminatum, expugnatum<sup>j</sup> et humi<sup>j</sup> prostratum est.

442 15. Duce itaque Godefrido ab Hasarth in Antiochiam reuerso, dehinc obside suo Mahumeth in manu et custodia fidelium<sup>a</sup> suorum Antiochie relicto, Turbaisel et Rauene profecto, Baldwino a Hasarth cum suis Rohas reuerso, plurimi de exercitu uiri nobiles et ignobiles, Drogo de Nahella, Reinardus de Tol,<sup>b</sup> Gastus de Bederz, Folkerus Karnotensis<sup>c</sup> ceterique primates et commilitones per centenos et quinquagenos, alii equo, alii pede uenerunt ad ciuitatem Rohas, ut a Baldwino, duce et principe in ciuitate et regione facto, pro obsequio militari premia<sup>d</sup> mererentur, moram aliquam apud eum facientes. Erant enim summa necessitate grauati, et longa expeditione rebus necessariis exhausti. Affluebant et accrescebant<sup>e</sup> singulis diebus in numero et uirtute, dum fere tota ciuitas a Gallis obsessa et eorum hospitalitate occupata est. Baldwinus singulis de die in diem in bisantiis auri, in talentis et uasis argenteis dona plurima conferebat, regiones et cuncta sibi aduersantia congressione belli edomabat, Turcos et omnes in circuitu subiugabat, donec foedus nobiliores et prepotentes terre cum eo percusserunt.

16. Hanc Francorum gentem sic ab Antiochia et e cunctis locis ebullire et preualere in omni actu et arte duodecim principes et indigene ciuitatis Rohas uel Edisse intuentes, <sup>a</sup>et eorum<sup>a</sup> consilia suis

<sup>k</sup> expugnata N    <sup>j</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>j j</sup> Christique pauperibus ACHN    <sup>k</sup> om. N  
<sup>i i</sup> humique ACHN

15    <sup>a</sup> om. H    <sup>b</sup> Tùl CH; Tul N    <sup>c</sup> Carnotensis ACH    <sup>d</sup> om. N  
<sup>e</sup> crescebant A

16    <sup>a a</sup> eorumque ACHN

other things, while they were travelling through his country and homeland, all of which things he had no qualms about sending to Prince Bohemond with the intention of making an agreement with him. Since the duke was now troubled by these injuries and the poor brothers' complaints he chose fifty soldiers from his followers and they set out in hauberks, with shields and lances, with ballistas and Armenian archers to the neighbouring citadel, in which Pakrad's guilty robbers were living. When he was there in strength he attacked the citadel with a sudden assault and overcame it by flame and fire and brought it down to the ground; on his orders twenty of the soldiers they found there were blinded, in retribution and revenge for the arrogance and injuries which Pakrad had dared to inflict on him and Christ's paupers. In the same way there were complaints about Kogh Vasil's citadel and fortress, so the duke attacked it and razed it to the ground with an assault and military show of strength, because of the various insults and injuries which he had inflicted on Christians.

15. After Duke Godfrey returned to Antioch from Azaz, and after he set out for Turbessel and Ravendel, leaving his hostage Mahumeth in the hands and guardianship of his faithful people of Antioch, and after Baldwin returned from Azaz with his men to Edessa, there arrived in the city of Edessa very many from the army, noble and lesser men: Drogo of Nesle, Rainald of Toul, Gaston of Béziers, Fulcher of Chartres, and other leaders and fellow soldiers in hundreds and fifties, some on horseback, some on foot, to earn rewards for military service from Baldwin, who had been made duke and prince in the city and region, by spending some time with him. For they had suffered the utmost difficulty and become impoverished of necessities by the long expedition. They flocked there and increased in numbers and strength day after day, until almost the whole city was besieged by Gauls and taken up by their hospitality. From day to day Baldwin made them individually many gifts of golden bezants, silver talents, and vessels, he overcame the regions and every opposition to him by warlike attacks, subdued the Turks and all peoples in the area, until the nobles and powerful men in the land struck a treaty with him.

16. When the twelve princes and the natives of the city of Rohais, or Edessa, realized that the Frankish people were swarming in from all over the place and distinguishing themselves in every deed and skill,

preponi, et cum eis de omni re et negociis terre Baldwinum agere eosque et eorum decreta plus solito negligere, uehementi indignatione aduersus eum suosque exarserunt, et omnino ab hiis<sup>b</sup> exterminari estimantes, nimium penituit eos quod Baldwinum ducem et<sup>c</sup> domnum ciuitati prefecissent. Vnde facta clam conspiratione et missa Turcis legatione traditionem aduersus Baldwinum machinabantur qualiter cum suis aut occidi aut ab urbe posset depelli.<sup>d</sup> Quod dum inter se frequenti et secreto conuentu aptarent quidam ex eis, Enzhu nomine,<sup>15</sup> fidem <sup>e</sup>ex puro<sup>e</sup> corde et mente erga Baldwinum seruans, fraudis adinuentores et consentaneos sibi ex ordine aperuit,<sup>f</sup> et ideo<sup>f</sup> se suosque et ciuitatis introitus nocte ac<sup>g</sup> die ab illorum traditione necesse esse tueri,<sup>h</sup> ne inprouisos et incautos Turcorum uires et insidie reperire<sup>i</sup> possent. Baldwinus talem <sup>j</sup>et tantam<sup>j</sup> perfidiam eos machinari nunc ueraci relatione, nunc tristis uultus illorum<sup>k</sup> immutatione expertus, missa familiari et deuota sibi manu Gallorum, uniuersos iussit teneri et carceris custodie<sup>l</sup> mancipari, omnem uero substantiam et pecuniam illorum inauditam suo inferri palatio, quam non parce suis sequacibus pro militari exequio<sup>m</sup> expendit.<sup>n</sup>

- 443 17. Deinde plurimis diebus euolutis et multum illis pro uita et salute membrorum petentibus plurimumque se excusantibus, dona uero non modica per exoratores pro sua redemptione offerentibus, Baldwinus semper consilio suorum ad ampliora<sup>a</sup> tendebat, sciens ex ore delatorum quia per uicina castella et munitiones thesauros ampliores <sup>b</sup>et quod<sup>b</sup> habebant preciosius a facie Christiani exercitus absconderant. Postremo ex nimia datione et solidorum conuentione Baldwinus exhaustus et magnitudine donorum que non solum Gallorum primatibus sed et inferiori manui<sup>c</sup> contulerat, munera pro redemptione captiuorum suscipienda concessit. Duorum uero<sup>d</sup> tantum munera refutauit, quos nimium culpato et reos traditionis iussit excecari. Plures uero uulgi consocios<sup>e</sup> sceleris naribus amputatis, manibus aut pedibus, condemnatos urbe iussit expelli. Non minus a singulis redemptis quam uiginti<sup>f</sup> milia bisantiorum aut triginta<sup>g</sup> uel sexaginta<sup>h</sup>

<sup>b</sup> eis *A*      <sup>c</sup> ac *ACHN*      <sup>d</sup> expelli *A*      <sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> puram ex intimo *H*      <sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> ideoque *ACHN*  
<sup>g</sup> et *ACHN*      <sup>h</sup> seruari *A*      <sup>i</sup> reperiri *C*; repperiri *N*      <sup>j</sup> <sup>j</sup> tantamque *ACHN*  
<sup>k</sup> eorum *A*      <sup>l</sup> custodia *E*      <sup>m</sup> obsequio *H*      <sup>n</sup> inpendit *A*

17      <sup>a</sup> altiora *H*      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> quodque *ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> manu *CH*      <sup>d</sup> om. *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> consocios *A*      <sup>f</sup> triginta *N*      <sup>g</sup> quadraginta *N*      <sup>h</sup> quadraginta *A*

<sup>15</sup> Not otherwise known.

and their advice was being preferred to their own, and Baldwin was dealing with every matter and business of the country with them and was ignoring the Edessans and their decisions more than usual, they burned with violent indignation against him and his men, and since they thought they would be entirely driven out by the Franks it displeased them very much that Baldwin had been made duke and lord over the city. So by a secret conspiracy and a legation sent to the Turks they plotted Baldwin's betrayal and how he could either be killed or expelled from the city with his men. While they were preparing this with frequent and secret meetings among themselves, one of them, Enzhu by name,<sup>15</sup> who stayed loyal to Baldwin from a pure heart and mind, revealed to Baldwin in detail the instigators and conspirators in the treachery, and that it was therefore necessary to protect him and his men and the entrances to the city night and day from their betrayal, lest the strength and stratagems of the Turks might find them unprepared and careless. When Baldwin heard and understood that they were plotting this great betrayal, both from the truthful account and from the change of expression on their disagreeable faces, he sent a band of Gaulish servants who were devoted to him and he commanded that all of the conspirators were to be detained and delivered into the confinement of prison, and all their property and vast funds carried into his palace, which he then paid out generously to his followers for military service.

17. Then after some days had passed, and while the conspirators were earnestly pleading for their lives and the safety of their limbs and making many excuses, and indeed offering quite large gifts for their own ransom by way of suppliants, Baldwin was always striving on his men's advice to do greater things, knowing from the mouths of spies that throughout the neighbouring castles and fortifications they had hidden great treasures and things they held precious from the eyes of the Christian army. Finally Baldwin was impoverished by excessive giving and hiring mercenaries and by the great size of the presents he had bestowed not only upon the leaders of the Gauls but also on lesser men, and he agreed to accept gifts as ransom for the prisoners. He refused the gifts of only two, whom he ordered to be blinded as overwhelmingly blameworthy and guilty of treachery. Several of the crowd who were accomplices he ordered to be banished from the city as criminals with noses, hands, or feet cut off. From each man ransomed no fewer than 20,000 bezants or 30 or 60 were taken into

in erarium ducis Baldwini allata sunt, preter mulos et equos, uasa argentea<sup>i</sup> et plurima<sup>i</sup> ornamenta preciosa. Ab illo<sup>j</sup> die et deinceps dux Baldwinus in ciuitate Rohas factus est metuendus, et nomen eius usque ad extremum terre diuulgatum est.<sup>k 16</sup>

18. Socer autem Baldwini, Tafnuz<sup>a</sup> nomine, uidens quoniam<sup>b</sup> sic Baldwinus<sup>c</sup> de uiris perfidie ultionem sumpsit<sup>d</sup> et eos<sup>d</sup> dampnis rerum et tormentis membrorum afflixit, occasione assumpta ad munitiones suas in montana perterritus fugit, nec ultra reuocari potuit, timens ne pro pecunia quam adhuc debebat capitalem subiret sententiam. Balas<sup>e</sup> de Sororgia ciuitate,<sup>f</sup> spe frustratus<sup>g</sup> recuperande ciuitatis de manu Baldwini uel quicquam accipiendi propter affluentiam Gallorum, et quia cor Baldwini<sup>h</sup> omnino ad eos intendeat, dolos in secreto cordis sui aptare cepit qualiter Baldwinum ad interitum callido consilio perduceret. Tandem uia reperta inique fraudis qua eum decipere ac perdere<sup>i</sup> estimabat, die quadam acsi in puritate fidei eum conueniens sic locutus<sup>j</sup> est:<sup>k</sup> | 'Scio quia uir magne es potentie et industrie, et non parce eos remuneras qui tibi in obsequio militari uoluntarii habentur. Vnde deuoui tacite mecum ut non solum me<sup>l</sup> filiosque et uxorem meam<sup>l</sup> in manu tua commendem, sed et presidium meum Amacha<sup>17</sup> quo terram plurimam<sup>m</sup> subiugare potes tibi trado, die quam<sup>n</sup> melius aptam ad id suscipiendum tibi<sup>o</sup> elegeris.' Baldwinus uiro tam benigne et fideliter sibi loquenti, gaudis de susceptione presidii, adprime credidit, diem statuit qua sibi secundum uerbum Balas traditio presidii sine aliquo fieret impedimento.

19. Iam die appropinquante, Balas, doli sui non inmemor, Turcos centum armis et loriceis munitos castro Amacha induxit, per mansiunculas presidii hac et illac insidias inclusit, ut sic Baldwinum cum suis ingredientem uiuum comprehenderent<sup>a</sup> et sue<sup>a</sup> ditioni submitterent. Baldwinus fraudis huius nescius eadem die assumptis ducentis militibus strenuis ad omne belli opus, usque ad presidium Amacha

<sup>i i</sup> plurimaque ACHN    <sup>j</sup> illa H    <sup>k</sup> ACHN add uirtute preclarus existens *after* diuulgatum est

18    <sup>a</sup> Taphnuz ACHN    <sup>b</sup> quia H    <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>d d</sup> eosque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> ACHN add quoque *after* Balas    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> frustratus H    <sup>h</sup> illius ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> A adds posse *after* perdere    <sup>j</sup> allocutus ACHN    <sup>k</sup> A adds eum *after* locutus est  
<sup>l l</sup> meosque filios et uxorem A    <sup>m</sup> plurimum E    <sup>n</sup> qua H    <sup>o</sup> om. ACHN

19    <sup>a a</sup> sueque ACHN

<sup>16</sup> Guibert of Nogent refers to the same conspiracy, which he says was at Christmas.

Duke Baldwin's treasury, in addition to mules and horses, silver vases, and very many precious ornaments. From that day on Duke Baldwin became a man to be feared in the city of Edessa, and his name was spread among the people right to the limits of his land.<sup>16</sup>

18. Baldwin's father-in-law, called Taphnuz, seeing that Baldwin had taken revenge in this way for the men's treachery and had punished them with loss of possessions and torture of their limbs, was very frightened and took an opportunity to escape to his fortifications in the mountains, and he could not be brought back, because he feared he would undergo the death sentence for money which he still owed. Balak of the city of Sororgia, frustrated in his hope of recovering the city from Baldwin's hands or of receiving anything at all because of the influx of Gauls, and knowing that Baldwin's heart was entirely set on them, began deep in his own heart to prepare deceits by which he might lead Baldwin to destruction by cunning advice. At length he found a way of wicked deceit by which he calculated to deceive and destroy him, and on a certain day he came to him as if in complete loyalty and said: 'I know that you are a man of great power and industry, and you reward in no mean way those who volunteer for military service with you. For this reason I have vowed secretly in my heart that I shall commend into your hands not only myself and my sons and my wife, but shall also hand over to you my fortress of Amacha,<sup>17</sup> from which you will be able to subdue a very great deal of land, on a day which you shall choose as most suitable to take it over.' Baldwin rejoiced at taking over the fortress and totally believed the man who spoke to him so graciously and loyally, and he fixed a day on which, according to Balak's word, the handing over of the fortress would be achieved without any difficulty.

19. Now the day drew near and Balak, mindful of his own deceit, led into the castle at Amacha a hundred Turks protected with weapons and hauberks and shut them in rooms here and there throughout the fortress in ambush, so that they might take Baldwin alive when he came in with his men and make him submit to Balak's authority. Baldwin, who was unaware of this deception, set out on the same day to the fortress at Amacha, taking with him two hundred soldiers who

However, Albert provides a logical reason for the disaffection: envy of the Western incomers. The mutilations were more severe, according to Guibert (GN, pp. 164-5).

<sup>17</sup> Not identified. William of Tyre describes the same events in similar terms, but does not name the castle (WT, pp. 350-2).

profectus est, Balam iuxta quod promiserat paratum ad reddendum presidium inuenit, Balam uero multum rogante, et in dolo mellito ore adulante, ut cum aliquibus de societate electis presidium intraret et<sup>b</sup> susciperet, et in eius custodia fideliores quos uellet relinquere ordinaret. Ille uero<sup>c</sup> fere adulantem audiuit et credidit, sociosque secum ascensuros et intraturos iam assumere parabat, qui extra remanerent<sup>d</sup> disponebat. Sed ecce quidam uiri sensati Gallorum nil fidei in huius uerbis et promissis astruentes, Baldwinum seorsum ducunt, uehementer arguunt quoniam uerbis huius Turci gentilis tam subito crediderit et sine<sup>e</sup> aliqua fiducia uel obside<sup>e</sup> eius presidium cum modica manu intrare concesserit.

20. Tandem diu de hoc dubitantibus, <sup>a</sup>et plurimum<sup>a</sup> consilii habentibus et Baldwinum ab ingressu presidii ex toto auertentibus, decretum est utrimque ut Baldwinus cum sociis in ualle prestolar-  
etur, et duodecim ex sociis in quibus confideret ad arcem susci-  
445 piendam premitteret, qui eam sue ditioni clauibus | <sup>b</sup>et seris<sup>b</sup>  
sumptis potenter subicerent, et uiros Balas excluderent. Nec mora uiri duodecim ad arcem suscipiendam electi, armis et loricis induti, presidium et turrim Amacha intrauerunt. Qui mox ut mediis insidiis astiterunt, centum Turci e mansiunculis<sup>c</sup> in impetu exilientes, uiros armis et sagittis circumdederunt et parum aduersum<sup>d</sup> tantos in defensione ualentes apprehenderunt. Duo uero<sup>e</sup> solummodo ex duodecim se uirili et multa repugnatione a manibus hostium extorquentes, subito in solium quod fenestratum in uallem respiciebat euaserunt, gladiis eductis se ab insequentibus<sup>f</sup> hostibus ualide adeo defendentes, dum caput a<sup>g</sup> fenestris exerentes Baldwinum ad radicem montis cum suis stantem ammonuerunt, ut se a dolis obseruaret, asserentes decem in fide falsa captos et se in periculo mortis euidenter constitutos.

21. Baldwinus intelligens ex illorum anxia uociferatione rem uniuersam in aduersitate positam et dolos Balas manifestos magnis doloribus de captione suorum torquetur. Sed quid ageret aut quid insisteret ad liberandos uiros nullo consilio inuenire potuit. Erat enim presidium situm in excelso rupium, humanis ingeniis aut uiribus

<sup>b</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>d</sup> remaneret AC      <sup>e</sup> obside fiducialiter ACHN

20      <sup>a</sup> plurimumque ACHN      <sup>b</sup> serisque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> A adds suis after  
mansiunculis      <sup>d</sup> aduersus ACHN      <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>f</sup> sequentibus H      <sup>g</sup> e A

were ready for any military engagement. He found Balak ready to deliver up the fortress in accordance with what he had promised, Balak asking him insistently, and fawning on him in deceit with honeyed words, to enter and take over the fortress with some men chosen from his company, and to arrange to leave any he wished of his faithful followers in Balak's charge. Baldwin heard the fawning man and almost believed him, and he was ready now to take with him some men to ascend and enter, and he decided who would remain outside. But there were some sensible men among the Gauls who did not trust the man's words and promises and they took Baldwin aside and put the case convincingly against believing the words of this gentile Turk so readily and agreeing to enter his fortress with a small group without any security or hostage.

20. At last, after a long time undecided about it, and taking much advice, and entirely preventing Baldwin from entering the fortress, it was decided on both sides that Baldwin should wait with his companions in the valley, and he would send ahead twelve of them whom he trusted to take over the citadel, and they would effectively bring it under his authority by taking over the keys and bars, and they would shut out Balak's men. At once the twelve men chosen to take over the citadel, bearing weapons and hauberks, entered the fortress and tower of Amacha. They soon found themselves in the middle of ambushes as a hundred Turks leapt out in a rush from the rooms, surrounded the men with weapons and arrows and, the Christians being able to do little to defend themselves against so many, they seized them. Only two out of the twelve managed to extricate themselves from the enemy's hands by a great and spirited fight; they suddenly escaped into an upper room with windows which looked down onto the valley; they drew their swords and defended themselves valiantly from the pursuing enemy while they put their heads out of the windows and shouted to Baldwin, who was standing at the foot of the mountain with his men, to save himself from treacheries, declaring that ten had been captured in false faith and they were obviously in danger of death.

21. When Baldwin understood from their anxious shouting that the entire affair had gone against them and Balak's deceptions were exposed, he was tormented by great sorrow at the capture of his men. But he could not form any plan as to what he should do or what efforts to make to secure his men's release. For the fortress was sited

insuperabile. Tandem Baldwinus, de infortunio tam egregiorum uirorum condolens, Balam multum de iniqua fraude arguit,<sup>a</sup> de iureiurando ammonet, quatenus captos suos restituat, pondus auri et bisantium pro eorum redemptione recipiat. Sed omnia refutat, solam ciuitatem Sororgiam requirit. Baldwinus nequaquam ciuitatem sibi reddere in Domino<sup>b</sup> Deo iurat, etiam si membratim in aspectu eius omnes quos ceperat detruncaret. Sic<sup>c</sup> nequaquam Bala Baldwini preces et ammonitiones audiente, nec eius munera curante preter Sororgiam,<sup>d</sup> Baldwinus mestus et grauiter conquerens de captiuis suis Rohas reuersus est, et<sup>e</sup> ab eo die Turcos<sup>f</sup> et eorum<sup>f</sup> consilium<sup>g</sup> et auxilium<sup>g</sup> ac frequentationes uehementi odio habere cepit.

22. Post hec non multi<sup>a</sup> preteriere<sup>b</sup> dies, Balduch de Samusart,<sup>c</sup> qui uxorem et filios Baldwino obsides daturus erat sed plurimis diebus  
446 in dolo distulerat, ad<sup>d</sup> palatium Baldwini in adulatione ingressus iussu Baldwini<sup>e</sup> a Gallis tentus ac capite detruncatus<sup>f</sup> est. Baldwinus in ciuitate<sup>g</sup> Sororgie Folbertum Carnotensem<sup>18</sup> cum centum probis et bello assuetis militibus constituit, ut semper Amacha assultu uexarent et Balam in ultione<sup>h</sup> captiuorum fratrum dignam uicem rependere conarentur. Die igitur quadam Folbertus cum suis egressus<sup>i</sup> est ad capiendas predas in terra Amacha. Qui, premissis aliquibus sociis, Turcos ab arce usque ad locum quo Folberti erant insidie protraxerunt, dum<sup>j</sup> commisso prelio sex ex Turcis et<sup>k</sup> militibus Balas capti et abducti sunt. Hiis captis et abductis Balas sex de sociis Baldwini in redemptione suorum restituit, sex usque ad<sup>l</sup> diem discessionis illius in Ierusalem in sua retinuit custodia. Post hec quatuor euaserunt ob negligentiam et pre longo tedio custodum Balas. Gerardum<sup>m</sup> uero, priuatum et secretarium Baldwini, una cum Pisello filio sororis Vdelardi,<sup>n</sup> preclari militis et<sup>o</sup> nobilissimi de Wizan,<sup>19</sup> decollari iussit.

23. Godefrido propter<sup>a</sup> cladem diffusam tam graui mortalitate per Antiochiam, Rauenelem, Turbaisel moram faciente, eodem tempore

21 <sup>a</sup> redarguit ACHN <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN <sup>c</sup> Sed A <sup>d</sup> Sorgiam H <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN <sup>f f</sup> eorumque ACHN <sup>g g</sup> om. A

22 <sup>a</sup> multum N <sup>b</sup> preterire N <sup>c</sup> Samusarht A; Samosart E; Samûsart H <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN <sup>e</sup> eius ACH; Baldwini om. N <sup>f</sup> truncatus ACHN <sup>g</sup> ciuitatem E <sup>h</sup> ultionem ACHN <sup>i</sup> ingressus N <sup>j</sup> tum ACHN <sup>k</sup> ex A <sup>l</sup> in A <sup>m</sup> Gerhardum CH <sup>n</sup> Uoderardi A; Udelardi C <sup>o</sup> om. A

23 <sup>a</sup> ob ACHN

on the top of cliffs, unconquerable by human artifice or strength. At length Baldwin, who was suffering greatly concerning the disaster which had befallen such outstanding men, confronted Balak bitterly with his wicked deceit, reminded him of his oath and told him that if he gave up his prisoners he would receive a weight of gold and bezants for their ransom. But Balak refused everything: he wanted only the city of Sororgia. Baldwin vowed by Lord God that he would never surrender the city to him, even if Balak cut the limbs one by one off all those whom he had captured in full view of Baldwin. So, as Balak refused to listen to Baldwin's pleadings and warnings, and cared nothing for his gifts except for Sororgia, Baldwin returned to Edessa, sorrowful and complaining greatly about his men who were prisoners, and from that day he began to hold in bitter hatred the Turks and their advice and help and constant presence.

22. It was not many days after this that Balduk of Samosata, who was supposed to give Baldwin his wife and sons as hostages but had put it off for many days deceitfully, came fawningly into Baldwin's palace and he was detained on Baldwin's orders and had his head cut off. Baldwin stationed Folbert of Chartres<sup>18</sup> in the city of Sororgia with a hundred soldiers well tried and experienced in warfare, so that they might torment Amacha with constant attacks and try to pay back Balak a suitable return in revenge for the captured brothers. Therefore one day Folbert set out with his men to seize plunder in the lands of Amacha. They sent some comrades on ahead and lured the Turks out of the citadel to the place where Folbert's ambush was, until battle was joined and six of the Turks who were Balak's soldiers were captured and led away. For these who were captured and led away Balak restored six of Baldwin's comrades as their ransom; he kept back six in his charge up till the day of Baldwin's departure for Jerusalem. After this four escaped by the negligence and on account of the long weariness of Balak's guards. Then he ordered Gerard, Baldwin's confidant and secretary, to be beheaded along with Pisellus son of the sister of Udelard, the celebrated and noble knight of Wissant.<sup>19</sup>

23. While Godfrey was spending time in Ravendel and Turbessel because of the widespread devastation caused by the severe mortality

<sup>18</sup> This is probably, but not certainly, a mistake for Fulcher, whose arrival at Edessa was noted above (v. 15).

<sup>19</sup> Pisellus' uncle was mentioned earlier (iii. 27). They came from Wissant (Pas-de-Calais, France): Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 221.

pestifero mille et<sup>b</sup> quingenti uiri de genere Theutonicorum ex Regnesburg<sup>c</sup> ciuitate fluuii Danubii<sup>d</sup> et ex aliis ciuitatibus Rheni<sup>e</sup> fluminis conspirati et collecti, ad urbem Antiochie<sup>f</sup> nauigio maris advecti, ad portum sancti Symeonis descenderunt ut Christianorum turmis solatio et auxilio in Ierusalem ituris augerentur. Sed sic illa cohors<sup>g</sup> recenter uictoriosus peregrinis Augusti mense admixta, eadem mortalitatis clade consumpta et deuastata est, ut de mille et quingentis<sup>h</sup> unus superesse nusquam uideretur.<sup>h</sup>

447 24. Eodem tempore post uictoriam Christianorum Sansadonias filius Darsiani | regis Antiochie, matrem suam cum duobus filiis redemit, precio trium milium bisantiorum, de manu Willelmi,<sup>20</sup> uiri nobilissimi, commilitonis et compatriote comitis Reimundi de Prouincia, quos idem Willelmus in prima inuasionem et ingressione Antiochie adhuc sopore occupatos<sup>a</sup> primo diluculo captiuauit. Eodem quoque<sup>b</sup> tempore Winemarum de terra Bullonie,<sup>c</sup> Laodicie captus a Turcopolis regis Grecorum, rogatu ducis Godefridi post longa uincula et diutinas carceris<sup>d</sup> moras absolutus, sed graui pena afflictus, Antiochiam reductus<sup>e</sup> est. Puer autem Mahumeth, filius principis de Hasarth, obses Godefrido datus, sub diligenti custodia tam seruorum suorum duodecim quam sub sollerti<sup>f</sup> cura clientele Godefridi, Antiochie remansit, cui nil necessariorum de domo ducis ullis horis deficiebat. Sic etenim quam plures ducem et ceteros potentes per loca ab Antiochia ob imminensem cladem migrasse uidentes, alii ex loci<sup>g</sup> infirmitate, alii ex mense pestifero Augusti hanc mortalitatem asserentes, mense Septembri inchoante ad portum prefati Symeonis causa morandi profecti sunt, ubi naute post Turcorum stragem et fugam Corbahan nauigium iterabant, uite necessaria afferentes,<sup>h</sup> et indigentibus omnia sufficienter uendentes.

25. Mediato deinde mense, in silentio cuiusdam noctis quando omnia somni requie solent refoueri, omnibus<sup>a</sup> qui aderant in custodia uigiliarum uisio mirifica in celi culmine<sup>21</sup> ostensa est. Quasi ex omni plaga celi stelle in unum collecte<sup>b</sup> et strictim<sup>b</sup> densate in

<sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> Regnesburg A; Regnesburch CH      <sup>d</sup> om. N      <sup>e</sup> Reni H  
<sup>f</sup> Antiochiam ACHN      <sup>g</sup> choors EH      <sup>h</sup> ne unus quidem superesse uspiam uideretur ACHN

24    <sup>a</sup> grauatos ACHN      <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> Bolonie E      <sup>d</sup> carceres E  
<sup>e</sup> reuersus H      <sup>f</sup> diligenti A      <sup>g</sup> locis A      <sup>h</sup> asserentes A

25    <sup>a</sup> cunctis ACHN      <sup>b</sup> strictimque ACHN

throughout Antioch, at that same plague-stricken time fifteen hundred men of German race, who had combined and collected from the city of Regensburg on the river Danube and from other cities on the river Rhine, arrived at the city of Antioch by sea and sailed into the port of St Symeon to swell the numbers of Christians who were going to Jerusalem for comfort and assistance. But when this company mingled with the recently victorious pilgrims in August it was destroyed and devastated by that same fatal scourge, so that of the fifteen hundred not even one seems to have survived.

24. At that same time after the Christians' victory Sansadonias, son of Yaghi-Siyan king of Antioch, ransomed his mother, with two sons, at a price of 3,000 bezants, from the hand of William,<sup>20</sup> a noble man, fellow soldier, and fellow countryman of Count Raymond of Provence, who had captured them in the first attack and entry into Antioch at first light when they were still asleep. Also at that time Guynemer of the land of Boulogne, who was taken prisoner at Latakia by the Greek king's Turcoples, was set free at Duke Godfrey's request after a long time in fetters and spending a long period in prison, but he suffered from severe pain when he was brought back to Antioch. Moreover, the boy Mahumeth, son of the prince of Azaz, who was given to Godfrey as hostage, remained in Antioch in the assiduous guardianship both of his own twelve slaves and under the expert care of Godfrey's followers, and he lacked nothing of necessary provisions from the duke's household at any time. And so indeed, when they saw the duke and the other powerful men moving away from Antioch to other places because of the imminent plague, some claiming this mortality arose from the unhealthiness of the place, others from the plague-bearing month of August, as many as possible set out at the beginning of September for the above port of St Symeon to make a stay, for the sailors were once more bringing in supplies there by ship, after the slaughter of the Turks and Karbugha's flight, and selling everything in abundance to those in need.

25. Then after the middle of the month, in the silence of one night when all things are accustomed to be refreshed by sleep's relaxation, a marvellous vision was displayed high in the sky<sup>21</sup> to everyone who was there on the night watch. As if the stars had been collected

<sup>20</sup> William of Montpellier.

<sup>21</sup> Hexameter topos: *HL* i. 228.

spacio latitudinis unius atrii<sup>22</sup> tria<sup>c</sup> iugera continentis, igneo fulgore sicut prune in camino ardentes et in globo contracte scintillabant ac<sup>d</sup> post hanc diutinam et terribilem flagrantiam rarescentes in modum corone cinxerunt polum, sub spacio<sup>e</sup> <sup>23</sup> ciuitatis murate, diuque sic in giro persistentes indiuisse ad ultimum aditum et uiam in uno latere<sup>f</sup> sui circuli scisse<sup>g</sup> exhibuerunt. Huius signi ostensione uigiles Christianorum exterriti, tumultuosa uociferatione uniuersos sopore depressos suscitant, ad uidendum <sup>h</sup>et discutiendum<sup>h</sup> portenti huius indicium.<sup>i</sup> Vniuersi sunt admirati et quid portendat diuersas protulerunt<sup>j</sup> sententias. Alii ciuitatem Ierusalem uirorum gentilium turbis densatam portendere asserebant, et eam a<sup>k</sup> suis uiribus et<sup>l</sup> densitate sic rarescere et<sup>m</sup> attenuari, ut aditum tandem Christianis filiis exhibere uideatur. Alii Christianum exercitum adhuc in uirtute sua conglobatum <sup>n</sup>et diuine<sup>n</sup> deuotionis ardore flagrantem astruebant, et tandem diuisum  
 448 per terras et ciuitates iniuste a gentibus possessas, | in circuitu Ierusalem et Antiochie potenter preualere et dominari. Quidam uero dicebant hanc presentem mortalitatem et populum copiosum peregrinorum significare et in unum ut nubem densatam attenuari <sup>o</sup>et minui.<sup>o</sup> Et sic in diuersas sententias contendebant. Sed Deo uolente, ut aiunt, in melius mutata est sententia uisionis. Nam<sup>p</sup> Godefrido duce cunctisque Christianis consociis de uniuersis locis accitis et regressis Antiochiam in mense Octobri,<sup>q</sup> caloribus Augusti temperatis, comes Reimundus, Robertus Flandriensis, Robertus Nortmannorum princeps, Boemundus ceterique principes qui adhuc in ipsa Antiochia conglobati morabantur, unius uoluntatis compotes effecti, per terras et ciuitates in circuitu Antiochie sitas diffusi migrauerunt, et resistentes ac rebelles obsidione cingentes sue ditioni subdiderunt.

26. Ad Albaram<sup>24</sup> itaque ciuitatem diuitiis opulentissimam cum cuneis armatis primum descenderunt.<sup>a</sup> Quam non multo labore expugnatam apprehendentes, Turcos, Sarracenos<sup>b</sup> in ea repertos in ore gladii percusserunt. Deinde uero succedente uictoria, comes Reimundus, Robertus Nortmannorum princeps, Eustachius frater

<sup>c</sup> om. C      <sup>d</sup> et A      <sup>e</sup> Thus all MSS although specie is more likely      <sup>f</sup> latera N  
<sup>g</sup> se isse N      <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>i</sup> iudicium N      <sup>j</sup> protulere ACHN      <sup>k</sup> om. N  
<sup>l</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>m</sup> ac N      <sup>n</sup> diuineque ACHN      <sup>o</sup> minuique ACHN  
<sup>p</sup> Iam HN      <sup>q</sup> Octobre CEHN

26      <sup>a</sup> ascenderunt A      <sup>b</sup> ACHN add et before Sarracenos

<sup>22</sup> An agrarian measure: cf. Du Cange, s.v. 'atrium' (2).

<sup>23</sup> Meyer suggests 'sub specie' for 'sub spacio', which reading, however, is shared by all the manuscripts (RHC Occ iv. 447 n. b).

together from every region of the sky and closely massed in a space the width of one *atrium*<sup>22</sup> containing three acres, they shone with the brilliance of fire, like live coals burning in a forge and heaped together, and as they died down after this long and terrible blaze they circled the heavens in the style of a crown, beneath the course<sup>23</sup> of a walled city, and they lasted like this continuously in a circle until in the end they were rent and showed an entrance and way in on one side of their circle. The Christians' watchmen were terrified by the showing of this sign and shouted loudly to rouse everyone who was sunk in sleep, to see and discuss the meaning of this portent. They all wondered at it and put forward different opinions as to what it meant. Some claimed it meant the city of Jerusalem crowded by the hordes of gentiles, and that it would die down and be weakened in this way by their own forces and numbers, so that at last it would appear to offer an entry to its Christian sons. Others asserted it was the Christian army still gathered in strength and blazing with the ardour of divine devotion, and at length, divided in the lands and cities unjustly seized by the peoples, they would powerfully prevail and have dominion around Jerusalem and Antioch. Some, indeed, said it signified this present mortality and the abundant people of the pilgrims both massed together in one like a cloud and lessened in numbers. And thus they argued their different meanings. But by God's will, as they say, the meaning of the vision was changed into a better one. For when Duke Godfrey and all his Christian companions were summoned from places everywhere and returned to Antioch in the month of October, after August's heat was moderated, Count Raymond, Robert of Flanders, Robert prince of Normandy, Bohemond, and the other princes, who were still gathered in that same Antioch and staying there, spread out of one accord and travelled through the lands and cities situated around Antioch, blockaded those who resisted and rebelled, and subdued them to their authority.

26. Therefore they went down first with their armed divisions to the town of Albara,<sup>24</sup> which was very rich in resources. They conquered it without much difficulty and occupied it, putting to the sword the Turks and Saracens they found within. Then with victory theirs, Count Raymond, Robert prince of Normans, Eustace Duke Godfrey's brother, Robert of Flanders, Bohemond now

<sup>24</sup> Al-Bāra (prov. Idlib, Syria) was one of the 'dead cities' which had been prosperous under the Byzantines and occupied by Arabs after their departure.

Godefridi ducis, Robertus Flandriensis, Boemundus princeps Antiochie factus, Godefridus dux ad Marram, ciuitatem Turcorum armis et robore foetam,<sup>e 25</sup> declinauerunt. Sed tantum quindecim diebus Godefridus, Boemundus, Robertus Flandriensis illic moram in obsidione fecerunt, dein<sup>d</sup> tres hii Antiochiam reuersi sunt. Comitem uero Reimundum et Robertum Nortmannorum principem, Eustachium et Tancradum circa urbem Marram cum suis milibus reliquerunt.<sup>26</sup> Post aliquot deinde dies Godefridus dux, assumptis<sup>e</sup> quadraginta sociis in armis et equo ualentibus,<sup>f</sup> uersus ciuitatem Rohas, que itinere dierum septem ab Antiochia est remota, profectus est, ubi frater eius<sup>g</sup> Baldwinus, qui eandem ciuitatem cum omnibus appendiciis suis obtinebat,<sup>h</sup> mediato itinere trans Eufraten fluuium magnum illi occurrit ad agendum adinuicem colloquium. Boemundus igitur, cuius cor permaxima inuidia et indignatio aduersus comitem Reimundum mordebat, uidens oportunitatem Godefridi ducis discessionis et Reimundi absentia, signo cornicinum sociis suis ammonitis et conglobatis, turrin que ponti Ferne imminabat in uirtute magna assilit,<sup>i</sup> et comitis<sup>j</sup> Reimundi milites qui in ea remanserant bello et sagittariis grauatos ab arce et urbe eiecit,<sup>k</sup> et sic<sup>k</sup> solus dominium Antiochie obtinuit.<sup>27</sup>

- 449 27. Post hec Godefridus dux, cum fratre habito colloquio et eidem ualedicto, Antiochiam ad confratres et principes rediturus cum quadraginta predictis sociis iter<sup>a</sup> festinus mouit, Turbaisel et Rauene<sup>b</sup> et aliis<sup>b</sup> locis pacifice et prospere<sup>c</sup> hospitio susceptus. Dehinc uia maturata in regionem ueniens que Episcopatus<sup>28</sup> nuncupatur, quadam die iuxta fontem quendam in loco prati herbosi ad prandium cum sociis discubuit, utres uino repletos deposuit et cetera que<sup>d</sup> uite necessaria secum in mulis et equis adtulerat.<sup>e</sup> Illic uero dum secure cum suis pranderet, a pueris quos ad speculandum Turcorum insidias emiserat intellexit centum Turcos in carecto et palustri loco grandis<sup>f</sup> et piscosi<sup>f</sup> lacus secus montana latere, ab urbe Antiochie<sup>g</sup> quinque

<sup>e</sup> fretam A; fetam CHN    <sup>d</sup> deinde ACHN    <sup>e</sup> assumptus N    <sup>f</sup> uolantibus A  
<sup>g</sup> om. E    <sup>h</sup> detinebat ACHN    <sup>i</sup> assiliit AN    <sup>j</sup> comitisque ACHN  
<sup>k</sup> sicque ACHN

27    <sup>a</sup> tunc N    <sup>b</sup> aliisque ACHN    <sup>c</sup> prospero C    <sup>d</sup> om. A    <sup>e</sup> detulerat ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> piscosique ACHN    <sup>g</sup> Antiochia ACHN

<sup>25</sup> Ma'arrat-an-Nu'mān (prov. Idlib, Syria). The phrase 'armis et robore foetam' scans as a hexameter and uses Vergilian diction (cf. *Aeneid* ii. 238); it may quote a lost post-classical source.

<sup>26</sup> According to Albert, all the leaders were at Ma'arra, though not all the time. Raymond

become prince of Antioch, and Duke Godfrey descended on the town of Ma'arra, which was full of arms and strength.<sup>25</sup> But Godfrey, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders stayed there at the siege only fifteen days, then these three returned to Antioch. They left Count Raymond and Robert prince of Normans, Eustace, and Tancred around the city of Ma'arra with their thousands of men.<sup>26</sup> Then after several days Duke Godfrey, taking with him forty comrades, well armed and mounted, set out towards the city of Edessa, which is seven days' journey distant from Antioch, and there he met his brother Baldwin, who held that same city with all its dependencies, at a halfway point across the great river Euphrates to hold a conference with each other. Bohemond, whose heart was consumed by very great envy and anger towards Count Raymond, seeing the opportunity of Duke Godfrey's departure and Raymond's absence, summoned and assembled his comrades with a blast of the bugle and attacked in great strength the tower which commanded the Ferna bridge, and overcame with battle and archers Count Raymond's soldiers who had stayed in the tower and threw them out of the citadel and the city, and in this way he gained sole lordship over Antioch.<sup>27</sup>

27. After these things Duke Godfrey, having held the talks with his brother and said goodbye to him, made a swift journey with the same forty companions to return to his brother princes in Antioch, being made welcome in peace and prosperity by Turbessel and Ravendel and other places en route. Then, as he hastened along he came into the region called Episcopate,<sup>28</sup> where one day he lay down to breakfast with his companions next to a certain spring in a place of grassy meadowland; he set down full wineskins and other necessary provisions which he had brought with him on mules and horses. While he was safely breakfasting in that place with his men he learnt from the boys he had sent out to watch for Turkish ambushes that a hundred Turks were hiding below the mountains in a rushy and marshy place by a big lake full of fish, five miles from the city of

of Aguilers says Raymond and Robert of Flanders attacked the city and were later joined by Bohemond (RA, pp. 94-8). The author of *Gesta Francorum*, who was probably present at the siege, mentions only Raymond and Bohemond by name, as does Fulcher (GF, pp. 77-81; FC, p. 266). Radulf of Caen adds Tancred and Robert of Normandy (RC, p. 674).

<sup>27</sup> The rift between Raymond and Bohemond, which Albert dismisses quite briefly, was serious enough to find a place in Fulcher of Chartres's account (p. 268). Both the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond of Aguilers have considerably more detail (GF, pp. 80-1; RA, pp. 98-100).

<sup>28</sup> Not identified.

miliariis distante, qui eiusdem ducis reditum<sup>b</sup> illic occultati operiebantur. Mox illorum insidiis patefactis, dux, dilato prandio, cum adolescentibus suis<sup>i</sup> subito equos ascendit, qui arma arripientes, loricas induentes, uiam in hostes contendunt. Turci autem non<sup>j</sup> segnius aduersum<sup>k</sup> hos frena uertentes, sagittis et arcu fortiter commiserunt<sup>l</sup> prelium. Sed duci<sup>m</sup> et suis<sup>m</sup> numero paucis pro uita pugnantibus sors uictorie collata est. "Dux namque suique tandem<sup>n</sup> preuallentes, Turcos fugaces lanceis transfodiunt,<sup>o</sup> aliosque decollantes, capita illorum<sup>p</sup> in sellis suis dependentia secum usque ad ciuitatem Antiochie portauerunt, cum spoliis et equis illorum. Vbi idem dux Boemundum totius urbis principem factum inueniens, omnia sibi<sup>q</sup> et ceteris comprimoribus et<sup>q</sup> fratribus retulit que sibi Deus in uia fecerit, et quomodo in manu paucorum tot Turci uicti et adtritri sunt.<sup>29</sup>

28. Reuerso autem duce Godefrido hac in uictoria, post aliquot spacium temporis murmurauerunt<sup>a</sup> unanimiter Christianorum populi quoniam in hac urbe Antiochie<sup>b</sup> sola mora eorum haberetur et nullo modo Ierusalem uiam insisterent, cuius desiderio natales oras relinquentes tot aduersa pertulerunt. Et facta est dissensio magna in populo<sup>30</sup> ac subtraxerunt se multi de populo ducis Godefridi, Roberti Flandriensis, Boemundi,<sup>c</sup> qui in<sup>d</sup> responsis et<sup>d</sup> uerbis eorum nullam habuere fiduciam ante multum tempus eundi in Ierusalem. Tandem predicti principes cognoscentes quoniam iam populus tedio affectus paulatim dilaberetur, ne ultra aliquis nauigio pararet reditum  
450 interdixerunt, undique in portibus maris custodiam ponentes. Conuentum uero et colloquium super hac populi querela<sup>e</sup> in purificatione sancte Marie<sup>e</sup> <sup>31</sup> habere decreuerunt.<sup>f</sup> Collatis itaque in unum et colloquio habito ibidem infra Antiochiam, decretum est ab omnibus magnis et paruis, ut in kalendis Martii Laodiciam, que Christiane erat potestatis, pariter<sup>g</sup> conuenirent, et illic collecto circumquaque robore, nil periculi uite post hac considerantes, minime ultra differrent uiam insistere in Ierusalem.

<sup>b</sup> reditu *N*    <sup>i i</sup> adherentibus sibi *ACHN*    <sup>j</sup> haud *ACHN*    <sup>k</sup> aduersus *ACHN*  
<sup>l</sup> commiserere *ACHN*    <sup>m m</sup> suisque *ACHN*    <sup>n n</sup> Tandem dux et sui *ACHN*  
<sup>o</sup> perfodiunt *A*    <sup>p</sup> eorum *ACHN*    <sup>q q</sup> ceterisque primoribus ac *ACHN*

28    <sup>a</sup> murmurauerint *N*    <sup>b</sup> Antiochia *ACHN*    <sup>c</sup> *ACHN* add et before Boemundi  
<sup>d d</sup> om. *A*    <sup>e e</sup> quarto (quarta *A*) nonas Februarii *ACHN*    <sup>f</sup> accreuerunt *N*  
<sup>g</sup> om. *A*

Antioch, waiting in concealment there for that same duke's return. After their ambush was revealed to the duke, he soon put off his picnic and at once mounted horses with his young companions, and they seized weapons, put on hauberks, and rode out to meet the enemy. However, the Turks were no slower to turn their horses against the Christians and they joined battle boldly with bows and arrows. But the victorious outcome was granted to the duke and his men, few in number but fighting for their lives. And indeed, as the duke and his men were winning at last, they pierced the fleeing Turks with their lances and they beheaded some and took back their heads to the city of Antioch with them, hanging from their saddles, with their spoils and horses. When that same duke found that Bohemond had become prince of the entire city, he recounted to him and the rest of the co-leaders and brothers all the things which God had done for him on the journey, and how so many Turks had been defeated and destroyed by a band of few men.<sup>29</sup>

28. Some time after Duke Godfrey's return in triumph, however, the Christian people began as one to mutter that there was nothing but delay for them in this city of Antioch and they were not getting on at all with the journey to Jerusalem, for desire of which they had left their native shores and borne so many difficulties. And there was great discord among the people<sup>30</sup> and many withdrew from following Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Bohemond, having no faith from their replies and words that they would travel to Jerusalem before very long. At last these three princes, realizing that already the people were growing weary and gradually slipping away, forbade anyone else to prepare to sail for home, and they placed a guard everywhere in the seaports. They decided to hold a meeting and discussion about this complaint from the people on the Purification of St Mary.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, having assembled together and held a discussion there in Antioch, all of them, great and small, decided that on the first of March they would come together again in Latakia, which was under Christian authority, and there they would gather strength from all around and after this they would pay no attention to the danger of death and they would put off no longer making the journey to Jerusalem.

<sup>29</sup> Albert might appear to be exaggerating the odds here at 40: 100, but Raymond of Aguilers puts them at 12: 150 and Guibert of Nogent at 20: 120 (RA, pp. 92-3; GN, p. 338).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. John 7: 43; Acts 15: 39, 23: 10.

<sup>31</sup> 2 Feb. 1099.

29. Interea comes Reimundus longa obsidione quinque ebdomadatum circa Marram ciuitatem uexabatur, <sup>a</sup>et uniuers<sup>a</sup> in comitatu suo ibidem commorantes. Qui circa urbem diu sedentes, et a Turcis uehementer repressi, magne famis angustias pertulerunt. Nec mirum, quia pre longa obsidione Antiochie et nunc harum ciuitatum, plurime in circuitu regiones cibariis exhauste erant, et plurima pars habitatorum cum rebus et armentis suis per montana fugam fecerant. Erant enim decem milia exercitus comitis<sup>b</sup> Reimundi et suorum compri-morum. Mirabile dictu et auribus horrendum. Tanta ipsa famis angustia circa has urbes inualuit, quod nefas est dicere nedum facere, ut Christiani non solum Turcos occisos uel Sarracenos, uerum canes arreptos et igni coctos comedere non abhorrerent pre inopia quam audistis. Sed quid mirum? Non est acutior gladius quam a longo contracta fames.<sup>32</sup>

30. Comes ergo Reimundus uidens afflictionem et dolorem populi fame deficientis assumpto robore equitum in montana profectus, interdum copias infinitas pre-darum et cibarium attulit, quibus populus Dei sepe refocillatus est. Ibidem per montana et deserta Lybani plurimi Christiani qui uictum querebant prefata necessitate compulsi<sup>a</sup> a Turcis trucidati reperti sunt. A Damasco denique, qua precipua uirtus erat Turcorum, sepe procedebant insidie, <sup>b</sup>et dispersis<sup>b</sup> ac circumuagis de exercitu et obsidione occursabant, alios trucidantes, alios sagittis mortiferis transfigentes. Comes siquidem Reimundus, intelligens mala que suis circa urbem sedentibus ab  
 451 insidiis Turcorum inferebantur, moleste accepit, et | hoc malum omnibus modis finire meditabatur. Vnde Talamriam<sup>c</sup> castellum in montanis situm aggreditur, quo in manu uirorum fortium expugnato et adrito, cum Turcis in eo repertis, materiam lignorum de eodem castro attulit ex quibus machinam composuit ad superandam urbem predictam Marram, que muris et menibus munitissima erat.<sup>33</sup> Facta autem machina, et ingeniis ordinatis, urbs non post multum tempus

29 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> uniuersique ACHN <sup>b</sup> om. N

30 <sup>a</sup> E adds plurimi after compulsi <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> dispersisque ACHN <sup>c</sup> Talareriam N

<sup>32</sup> Cannibalism at Ma'arra is reported by participants as well as later historians (GF, p. 80; RA, p. 101; FC, p. 267). The sentence 'non est acutior . . .' appears to be a well-known saying, but has not proved traceable; cf. Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, iii. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Talamria is usually identified as Tell-Mannas (prov. Idlib, Syria), but this is much closer to Ma'arra than Albert's account suggests. Furthermore, it is recorded in the *Gesta Francorum* that 'Talamania' was taken earlier by Raymond Pilet (GF, pp. 73-4). According

29. Meanwhile Count Raymond was troubled by the long siege of five weeks around the town of Ma'arra, as were all those who were staying there in his company. Stationed a long time around the city, and strongly repulsed by the Turks, they suffered the torments of a great famine. No wonder, since very many regions round about were impoverished of supplies on account of the long siege of Antioch and now of these towns, and the majority of the inhabitants had made their escape into the mountains with their possessions and herds. For there were ten thousand in Count Raymond's army and that of his fellow leaders. It is extraordinary to relate and horrifying to the ears: these same torments of famine grew so great around these cities that—it is wicked to tell, let alone to do—the Christians did not shrink from eating not only killed Turks or Saracens, but even dogs whom they snatched and cooked with fire, on account of the scarcity of which you have heard. But why marvel? There is no sharper sword than long-drawn-out hunger.<sup>32</sup>

30. When Count Raymond saw the affliction and grief of his people who were growing weak from hunger, he took a force of cavalry and set out into the mountains, and from time to time he brought back vast supplies of booty and provisions, with which the people of God were often refreshed. In that same place throughout the mountains and deserts of Lebanon many Christians who were compelled by the aforesaid necessity to go out looking for food were found slaughtered by the Turks. There were frequent raids then out of Damascus, which was a particular stronghold of the Turks, and they rode down the Christians who were scattered and wandering about away from the army and the siege, slaughtering some, piercing others with fatal arrows. When Count Raymond realized what difficulties his men stationed around the city were suffering from the Turkish raids, he was annoyed and he considered all ways of putting an end to this evil. And so he arrived at Talamria, a castle situated in the mountainous region, which he conquered and destroyed with a band of brave men, along with the Turks found inside, and he took wooden materials from that same castle from which he made a siege engine to overcome the aforesaid city of Ma'arra, which was strongly fortified with walls and ramparts.<sup>33</sup> Once the engine was made, moreover, and devices were put in place, the city was overcome quite soon; it was captured

to Kemal al-Din, the crusaders made their siege tower from timber cut down in the neighbourhood of Ma'arra (Kemal al-Din, p. 587).

superata, a comite et ceteris principibus Roberto et Tancrado et Eustachio capta deicitur, ac Christiani milites scutati, loricati, in uirtute magna media urbe assistentes,<sup>d</sup> Turcos atrociter<sup>e</sup> repugnantes<sup>f</sup> ac se<sup>f</sup> defensantes in<sup>g</sup> gladio percusserunt. Alios uero ad arcem fugientes insecuti combusserunt, et pacifice per tres ebdomadas in ea remanserunt, paucos illic<sup>h</sup> cibos preter olei habundantiam reperientes. Engelrandus<sup>i</sup> filius Hugonis comitis, iuuenis mire audacie in hac urbe egritudine detentus uita decessit, et in basilica beati Andree apostoli corpus eius humatum est.

31. Predicta autem Marra ciuitate uicta et adtrita, ad uallem quandam quam nominauerunt Gaudium predictorum principum descendit exercitus. Vbi reperta habundantia rerum necessariorum, per octo dies corpora fessa et fame attenuata recreauerunt, duo presidia in montanis ibidem<sup>a</sup> expugnantes in quibus Turci et Sarraceni habitabant.<sup>34</sup> Dehinc ciuitate Tortosa nomine<sup>35</sup> expugnata et non multo labore capta, et in manu comitis Reimundi<sup>b</sup> et eius<sup>b</sup> custodia constituta, in uallem que dicitur Camelorum<sup>36</sup> iter suum continuantes applicuerunt. Vbi predam et escas plurimas contrahentes ad presidium quoddam ingeniis et humanis uiribus insuperabile, nomine Archas,<sup>37</sup> profecti sunt. Illic tentoria sua figentes, moram sibi fieri per aliquot tempus statuerunt, donec eadem arx expugnatis eius defensoribus caperetur. Ibi tandem machinas fecerunt et instrumenta manganarum, moles lapidum in impetu iactantium per turres et antiqua muralia, quibus inclusos milites eiusdem presidii absterrerent et effugarent. Sed eos defensores indefessos et inuictissimos reppererunt. Deintus namque simili iactu manganarum et impetu lapidum resistebant, et damnum<sup>c</sup> gentis Christiane tam sagittis quam lapidibus faciebant. Anselmum<sup>d</sup> de Monte Riburgis, uirum nobilissimum et bellicosum, multam uim defensoribus arcis inferentem, impetu saxi ab eadem arce uolantis fracto cerebro percusserunt. Dolentes et turbati principes de interitu fratris et commilitonis

<sup>d</sup> astantes AN    <sup>e</sup> acriter ACHN    <sup>f f</sup> seseque A; seque CHN    <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> illo AN    <sup>i</sup> Engelrandus AH

31    <sup>a</sup> om. H    <sup>b b</sup> eiusque ACHN    <sup>c c</sup> dampnumque ACHN    <sup>d</sup> Anshelmm C; Ancelmum N

<sup>34</sup> Raymond marched his army south down the Orontes valley. One of the fortresses he occupied was Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, later Krak des Chevaliers (RA, pp. 105–6; GF, pp. 81–2).

<sup>35</sup> Tartūs (provincial capital, Syria). According to GF the town was captured by Raymond Pilet and Raymond of Turenne (GF, p. 83).

<sup>36</sup> There has been much discussion about the identification of this valley, for 'Camela'

and overthrown by the count and the other princes, Robert and Tancred and Eustace. Christian soldiers carrying shields and wearing hauberks occupied the middle of the city in great strength; they fought back fiercely against the Turks and defended themselves, and put them to the sword. They pursued some who were fleeing to the citadel and burnt them, and they remained there peacefully for three weeks, finding little food except for an abundance of oil. Engelrand son of Count Hugh, a young man of wonderful bravery, had to stay in this city because of illness and he lost his life, and his body was buried in the basilica of blessed Andrew the apostle.

31. After the aforesaid town of Ma'arra was conquered and destroyed the army of the aforesaid princes went down to a certain valley which they named 'Joy'. There they found plenty of necessary provisions and they refreshed their bodies, weary and weakened by hunger, for eight days. In that same place they took by assault two fortresses in the mountains in which lived Turks and Saracens.<sup>34</sup> Then when the town called Tortosa<sup>35</sup> was conquered and captured without much difficulty, and placed in the hands of Count Raymond and his guard, they continued their journey and entered the valley called 'of Camels'.<sup>36</sup> There they seized booty and great quantities of food and set out for a certain fortress which was unconquerable by artifice and human forces, called Arqa.<sup>37</sup> They pitched their tents there and announced that they would stay there for some time, until that same citadel was captured and its defenders defeated. At length they made engines and apparatus of mangonels there, and a pile of stones for an attack by throwers on the towers and ancient wall works, intending thereby to terrify the soldiers shut up inside that same fortress and put them to flight. But they found those defenders indefatigable and unconquerable. They fought back from inside with a similar barrage of mangonels and bombardment with stones, and wrought damage on the Christian people with arrows as well as stones. While Anselm of Ribemont, a very noble and warlike man, was bringing a great deal of force to bear on the defenders of the citadel, they hit him with a flying rock from that same citadel and broke his skull. The princes grieved and were troubled by the death of their brother and fellow soldier

was the popular name for Hims. However, from the context it must be al-Buqay'a (the plain of 'Akkār in N. Lebanon). Possibly, as Deschamps suggested, it was named for the camels bred there: P. Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte*, i: *Le Crac des Chevaliers* (Paris, 1934), p. 110.

<sup>37</sup> 'Arqa is in N. Lebanon, near the modern border with Syria.

Anselmi,<sup>e</sup> uiri clarissimi, et<sup>f</sup> reluctance inclusorum Sarracenorum, montes sub fundamento murorum castris cauari arte sua disposuerunt ut sic fundamento cum menibus et muris corruente, gentiles qui in<sup>g</sup> menibus, muris et arce essent<sup>g</sup> simul obruti lapidum tectorumque ruina perirent.<sup>h</sup> Sed frustra hic labor consumitur. Nam qui deintus erant econtra fodientes et cauantes instrumenta Christianorum suis ingeniis retinebant, et opus eorum ad effectum peruenire non sinebant.

32. Illic in eadem obsidione facta est contentio et questio de lancea dominica, utrum lancea<sup>a</sup> fuerit qua latus Domini apertum est, an non, nam plures dubitabant, et scisma erat in eis. Qua de re auctor et proditor eiusdem inuentionis per ignem transiens, ut aiunt, illesus abiuit, quem ipse Reimundus comes de Prouincia et Reimundus Pellez a manibus et pressura inuidorum abduxerunt, lanceam uero cum omni comitatu suo ab ea die uenerati sunt. Post hec a quibusdam relatum est eundem clericum hac examinis exustione<sup>b</sup> adeo fuisse aggrauatum ut in breui mortuus ac sepultus fuerit. Vnde minus in ueneratione a fidelibus lancea cepit haberi, credentes magis auaricia et industria Reimundi id adinuentum quam aliqua deitatis ueritate.<sup>38</sup> Dum he obsidiones circa Marram, Tortosam et Archas fierent puer Mahumeth, qui a<sup>c</sup> principe de<sup>d</sup> Hasarth patre suo Antiochie obses missus fuerat, fidei et custodie ducis Godefridi commendatus, egritudine correptus obiit. Quem iuxta morem gentilium precioso ostro inuolutum patri<sup>e</sup> remisit, excusans se<sup>f</sup> sub omni fidei puritate, quod causa sue negligentie minime puer obisset, obtestans se etiam non minus eius mortem<sup>g</sup> quam fratris sui Baldwini moleste sufferre.<sup>h</sup> Qui ducis excusatione benigne accepta,<sup>i</sup> et ex uero comperta ab hiis quos<sup>j</sup> de domo sua custodes pueri misit, nequaquam inmutatus est a fide quam promisit, sed immobilis in omni foedere et pace cum ipso duce et fratre eius Baldwino permansit.

<sup>e</sup> om. H<sup>f</sup> atque ACHN<sup>g</sup> his uel in arce consisterent ACHN<sup>h</sup> interirent A32 <sup>a</sup> ea ACHN<sup>b</sup> adustione A; exultatione N<sup>c</sup> de N<sup>d</sup> om. N<sup>e</sup> om. A<sup>f</sup> H adds etiam after se<sup>g</sup> A adds dolere after mortem<sup>h</sup> ferre A<sup>i</sup> suscepta A<sup>j</sup> quosquos A

<sup>38</sup> Albert is quite even-handed in his reporting of Peter Bartholomew's ordeal (8 Apr. 1099), as is Fulcher (FC, pp. 238-41). Surprisingly, the *Gesta* writer does not mention it, although Guibert of Nogent (a sceptic) does (GN, p. 332). As might be expected, Raymond

Anselm, a most celebrated man, and by the resistance of the besieged Saracens, and they decided to use their skill in mining to hollow out the mountains beneath the foundation of the castle walls, so that when the foundation fell down with the ramparts and walls, the gentiles who were on the ramparts, walls, and citadel would at the same time be buried in the ruin of the stones and buildings and they would perish. But this labour was in vain. For those who were inside were digging and hollowing from their side and they opposed the Christians' apparatus with their own devices and did not allow their work to arrive at a successful conclusion.

32. During that same siege a dispute arose in that place, and an investigation of the Holy Lance: whether it was that with which the Lord's side was opened, or not. For many people were in doubt and there was a split among them. On this account the instigator and betrayer of its discovery passed through the fire; he came out unharmed, so they say, and Count Raymond of Provence himself and Raymond Pilet rescued him from the hands and hustling of envious people, and they revered the lance from that day, along with all their company. It is related by some people that after this the same cleric grew so much more ill as a result of the trial's conflagration that in a short while he died and was buried. Because of this the faithful began to hold the lance in less veneration, believing its discovery to owe more to Raymond's greed and activity than to any divine truth.<sup>38</sup> While these sieges around Ma'arra, Tortosa, and Arqa were happening, the boy Mahumeth, who had been sent as hostage to Antioch by his father the prince of Azaz and had been commended to the trust and guardianship of Duke Godfrey, was seized by illness and died. The duke wrapped him in precious purple cloth according to the gentile custom and sent him back to his father, absolving himself from blame, since he had acted in complete good faith and the boy had not died because of his negligence, and claiming that he was also grieving at his death no less than if it had been his own brother Baldwin's. The prince graciously accepted the duke's apologies, and having ascertained the truth from those whom he had sent from his own household as guardians for the boy, he did not in the least change from the loyalty he promised, but remained steadfast in all the treaty and peace he had made with the duke himself and his brother Baldwin.

of Aguilers writes at length and with conviction about the lance's authenticity (RA, pp. 120–3), while the most vigorous condemnation is to be found in Radulf of Caen (RC, pp. 682–3).

- 453 33. Interea kalendis Martii suis<sup>a</sup> in ordine relatis, Godefridus dux, Robertus Flandriensis, Boemundus et uniuersi principes adhuc Antiochie commorantes, sicut decreuerant, collecto Laodicie exercitu suorum ad uiginti milia equitum et peditum ad ciuitatem Gibel,<sup>39</sup> in litore maris sitam, diuitiis locupletem, castra applicuerunt, in circuitu obsidionem ponentes ut Sarracenos cunctosque gentiles in ea ad defensionem constitutos expugnare et exterminare ualerent. Boemundus uero Laodicia regressus Antiochiam cum suis repedauit, semper sollicitus et suspectus ne urbem Antiochie<sup>b</sup> humanis uiribus insuperabilem aliqua fraude uel odio amitteret. Non mora, audita Albarre et Marre destructione et inhabitantium Turcorum occisione, et nunc Archas longa obsidione eiusque obpugnatione,<sup>c</sup> Sarraceni milites cum ciuibus inito consilio, infinitam duci Godefrido et Roberto Flandriensi pecuniam obtulerunt, quatenus urbs Gibel a facie eorum cum ciuibus suis, uinetis et omnibus frugibus intacta permanerent, et alias eorum migraret exercitus. Quod a predictis principibus omnino refutatum est, nisi eorum potestati cum clauibus ciuitas redderetur. Intelligentes ergo ciues et urbis magistratus quoniam non pecunia nec aliquibus preciosis muneribus corrumpi possent prefati principes ut castra amouerent, nuncios clam ad Archas comiti<sup>d</sup> Reimundo, factis et potentia apud<sup>e</sup> primores gentilium diffamato, miserunt, ut pecuniam a duce<sup>f</sup> et ceteris<sup>g</sup> refutatam acciperet,<sup>g</sup> quatenus ab obsidione Christianos principes prece aut aliqua arte recedere suaderet. Comes uero Reimundus<sup>h</sup> semper auro et argento insaturatus, dolos et ingenia uersat,<sup>40</sup> qualiter eosdem prepotentes ab obsidione Gibel reuocaret et<sup>i</sup> pro pecunia accipienda ciues et eorum uineas ac fruges liberaret, nam precibus eos ab incepto auerti prorsus diffidebat. Vnde hanc finxit occasionem uidelicet quoniam Turci, quorum copia multa erat in Damasco, consilium iniissent cum Sarracenis, Arabitis<sup>j</sup> et cunctis<sup>k</sup> gentilibus<sup>k</sup> in proximo aduersum se apud Archas bellum constituisse, et iam uniuersos in apparatu magno et copioso in terminos illius conuenisse. Hac itaque adinventione aptata, direxit nuncios ad prefatos principes in circuitu Gibel iam per ebdomadam residentes quatenus sibi

33 <sup>a</sup> suo *A* <sup>b</sup> ipsam *ACHN*

<sup>c</sup> aduersus *A*; inter *H*; aduei *N*

susciperet *H* <sup>b</sup> idem *ACHN*

<sup>k</sup> gentibus *H*

<sup>e</sup> expugnatione *ACHN*

<sup>ff</sup> ceterisque *ACHN*

<sup>i</sup> atque *ACHN*

<sup>d</sup> committi *N*

<sup>g</sup> reciperet *ACN*;

<sup>jj</sup> cunctisque *ACHN*

<sup>39</sup> Jabala (prov. al-Lādhiqiyyah, Syria).

33. Meanwhile in due course the first of March arrived, and Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, Bohemond, and all the princes still staying in Antioch assembled their army—some twenty thousand cavalry and infantry—at Latakia, as they had promised, and pitched camp at the town of Jabala,<sup>39</sup> which is situated on the seashore and well endowed with riches, imposing a blockade around it in order to be able to attack and drive out the Saracens and all the gentiles who were stationed in the town for its defence. But Bohemond, who was always wary and suspicious lest he lose the city of Antioch—which was unconquerable by human forces—by some trick or act of ill-will, went back to Latakia and retraced his journey with his men to Antioch. Soon afterwards, when they heard of the destruction of Albara and Ma'arra and the killing of their Turkish inhabitants, and now of the long siege of Arqa and the assault on it, the Saracen soldiers took counsel with the citizens and offered an enormous sum of money to Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders, in return for which the city of Jabala would remain untouched by them, with its citizens, its vines, and all fruits, and their army would move on elsewhere. This was flatly refused by the Christian princes, unless the town was surrendered to their power with its keys. Therefore the townspeople and the magistracy realized that the aforesaid princes could not be bribed to move away their camp by offers of money or by other precious gifts, and they sent messages secretly to Count Raymond at Arqa, because he was notorious among the gentiles' leaders for his deeds and power, to ask him to accept the money the duke and the rest had refused, in return for persuading the Christian princes, by pleading or by any means, to withdraw from the siege. So Count Raymond, always greedy for gold and silver, thought over tricks and ideas,<sup>40</sup> how he might recall those same leaders from the siege of Jabala and free the townspeople and their vines and fruit trees so as to receive the money, for from the beginning he absolutely distrusted their turning down the requests. So he contrived this pretext, namely that the Turks, whose forces were many in Damascus, had consulted with the Saracens, Arabs, and other gentiles and had decided they would next wage war against him at Arqa, and now they had all arrived with a great quantity of equipment in his lands. Having fashioned this invention, he sent messengers to the aforesaid princes, who had now been settled around Jabala for a week, asking

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* iv. 563.

festinato ad auxilium ad<sup>i</sup> Archas properarent, alioquin se et confratres qui secum erant a facie gentilium non posse euadere mortis periculum, eosque dehinc simile posse sperare martyrium.<sup>41</sup>

- 454 34. Legatis uero comitis Reimundi auditis et periculo ac formidine que ex multitudine gentilium superuenire dicebatur, unanimiter dux ceterique compares<sup>a</sup> consultum uadunt, <sup>b</sup>et omnium<sup>b</sup> cor et lingua in hanc erigitur sententiam: 'Magnus Christianorum exercitus cum adhuc simul integer et indiuisus esset Antiochie uix ab innumeris gentilium nationibus et armis est defensus.<sup>c</sup> Nunc autem partim Antiochie est relictus, partim hac in obsidione Gibel, partim ad Archas diuisus ad expugnanda hostium presidia et urbes migravit, et<sup>d</sup> sic uires nostrorum inminute nequaquam stare poterunt nunc<sup>e</sup> aduersus tot milia gentilium, ut nobis ex legatione comitis Reimundi innotuit. Sed<sup>f</sup> si casu aduersante nostrorum uirtus apud Archas adtrita fuerit, idem sperare nos proculdubio certum est. Vnde Gibel quam subito percutere et uincere nequimus necesse est ut hoc tempore intactam relinquamus, et ad opem nostrorum Archas castra et exercitum applicemus, et<sup>g</sup> gentibus una cum sociis nostris in prelio occurramus. Sicut fuerit uoluntas in celo, sic fiat.' Hoc omnibus consilium bonum et utile perspicientibus ac proferentibus, amota sunt castra ab obsidione Gibel, et<sup>h</sup> dux<sup>i</sup> Godefridus, Robertus quoque<sup>j</sup> Flandriensis cum ceteris omnibus uiam insistunt in armis <sup>k</sup>et omni<sup>k</sup> apparatu bellorum et circiter spacium<sup>l</sup> dierum trium Archas conuenerunt ad augendas uires et opem Christianorum consodaliū. Verum a Tancrado et compluribus aliis nullas copias aut<sup>m</sup> minas gentilium adesse didicerunt, sed comitem Reimundum non alia de causa hanc collectionem aduersariorum fecte asseruisse, et ipsos nunc ad auxilium inuitasse nisi ut pecuniam<sup>n</sup> acciperet, quam in liberatione sua<sup>o</sup> polliciti sunt habitatores Gibel, ut Christianos cautela sua ab obsidione murorum amoueret.

35. Hoc itaque dolo et falsa legatione se a comite Reimundo<sup>a</sup> frustratos predicti principes intelligentes, moleste et grauiter acceperunt. Qua de re a societate et communione <sup>b</sup>illius se subtrahentes,<sup>b</sup> spacio duum miliariorum ab eo sequestrati, tentoria sua fixerunt,

<sup>i</sup> om. ACHN

34 <sup>a</sup> comprimores H <sup>b b</sup> omniumque ACHN <sup>c</sup> defensatus ACHN <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN <sup>e</sup> om. A <sup>f</sup> At ACHN <sup>g</sup> atque ACHN <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN <sup>i</sup> ACHN add uero after dux <sup>j</sup> om. ACHN <sup>k k</sup> omnique ACHN <sup>l</sup> spacio ACHN <sup>m</sup> uel H <sup>n</sup> pecunias AHN <sup>o</sup> sui A

35 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN <sup>b b</sup> se priuantes A

them to hasten to his assistance at Arqa, otherwise he and his brothers who were with him could not escape danger of death from the gentiles, and then they could expect a similar martyrdom.<sup>41</sup>

34. When they heard Count Raymond's messengers and the danger and fear which was said to be coming upon him from the multitude of gentiles, the duke and the rest of the nobles unanimously rushed to discuss the matter, and the hearts and tongues of all were lifted in this opinion: 'The great army of Christians only just defended itself from the countless nations and weapons of the gentiles when it was still both whole and undivided at Antioch. Now, however, part is left at Antioch, part in this siege of Jabala, part has been taken away and has moved to Arqa to conquer the enemies' fortresses and cities, and thus the strength of our men was diminished and they could not now manage to stand against so many thousands of gentiles, as has become clear to us from this message from Count Raymond. But if by ill-fortune the strength of our men should be destroyed at Arqa, doubtless we can expect the same fate. Since we cannot strike and conquer Jabala so quickly, it is necessary for us to leave it intact at this time, and for us to take the camp and army to the relief of our men at Arqa, and to meet the peoples in battle together with our comrades. As heaven wills, so let it be done.' As everyone perceived this plan to be a good and useful one and supported it, the camp was moved away from the siege of Jabala, and Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders and all the rest made their way, bearing arms and all equipment of war, and arrived around three days later at Arqa to increase the forces and resources of their Christian fellows. They learnt the truth from Tancred and many others, that no forces or threats were imminent from the gentiles, but that Count Raymond had falsely claimed this assembly of enemies and had called them up now to his assistance for no other reason than to receive the money which the inhabitants of Jabala promised for their freedom, to ensure that the Christians would move away from the blockade of their walls.

35. When the aforesaid princes realized that Count Raymond had deceived them with this trick and false message they were seriously annoyed. Because of the affair they withdrew themselves from Raymond's society and from communication with him; they separated

<sup>41</sup> According to Raymond of Aguilers and *GF*, Raymond genuinely believed that the Turks were going to attack (RA, pp. 110-1; *GF*, p. 84). Fulcher merely says that the expected attack did not materialize (FC, p. 263).

455 nullomodo in assultu Archas illi auxilium ferentes, aut ali|quod colloquium amoris secum habentes. Erant etiam<sup>c</sup> illic apud Archas graues inimicie exorte inter comitem Reimundum et Tancradum, propter conuentionem solidorum et bisantiorum que sibi idem comes pro militari obsequio debebat, sed minime soluebat iuxta laborem et militum copiam quam idem Tancradus procurabat ac ducebat.<sup>42</sup> Ab ipsa denique die qua dux Godefridus illuc se cum ceteris prepotentibus contulit, Tancradus sepius comite de conuentione sua<sup>d</sup> ammonito<sup>e</sup> sed nihil in spe aliqua sibi responso, cum duce remanens fideliter illi in omni subiectione militari astrictus,<sup>f</sup> comitem prorsus exfestucauit, et<sup>g</sup> abhinc iniurias a comite sibi illatas ulciscens, insidiis<sup>h</sup> et omnibus<sup>h</sup> modis sociis et amicis eiusdem comitis nocere non parcebat. Comes igitur Reimundus uidens quia dux et Robertus Flandriensis cunctique qui<sup>i</sup> cum eis erant graue<sup>j</sup> aduersum se ferebant, quod eos falsa legatione seduxerit, auaricia corruptus, cepit iram<sup>k</sup> ducis lenire blanditiis suis et astucia qua doctus et a puerili euo erat imbutus.<sup>l</sup> Et sic<sup>l</sup> ad extremum preter Tancradi, omnium iracundiam mitigauit. Deinde equum magni precii<sup>m</sup> et formosi<sup>m</sup> corporis misit comes duci, ut sic perfectius animum illius placaret<sup>n</sup> et secum ad assultum Archas hiis donis reuocaret,<sup>n</sup> sciens cum uirum magne patientie et amoris,<sup>o</sup> et eo reconciliato et placato<sup>o</sup> ceteros in beniuolentiam<sup>p</sup> et concordiam redire.<sup>p</sup> Nouissime uero<sup>q</sup> principes hinc<sup>r</sup> et abhinc<sup>r</sup> preter Tancradum concordis facti<sup>s</sup> pari assultu et obsidione circa presidium Archas uim inferentes, a die qua dux descendit<sup>t</sup> illuc curriculo quatuor ebdomadarum consederunt.

36. Omnibus tandem in assultu presidii tedio affectis et cauatione montis deficientibus pre labore intolerabile et defensione abintus inestimabili, et<sup>u</sup> inopia necessariorum uite, murmur creuit in populo ducis et Roberti Flandriensis, asserentibus cunctis non ultra illic in obsidione se posse persistere, et hoc presidium arte et ui<sup>b</sup> insuperabile uix per spacium anni capi, <sup>c</sup>si etiam<sup>c</sup> tunc gladio famis expugnari<sup>d</sup> possit.<sup>e</sup> Vnde attentius instabant duci omnes

<sup>c</sup> enim ACHN <sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> commonito ACHN <sup>f</sup> constrictus ACHN  
<sup>g</sup> om. ACHN <sup>h</sup> h<sup>h</sup> omnibusque ACHN <sup>i</sup> om. N <sup>j</sup> ACHN add odium before  
 graue <sup>k</sup> animum ACHN <sup>l</sup> l<sup>l</sup> Sicque ACHN <sup>m</sup> m<sup>m</sup> formosique ACHN  
<sup>n</sup> n<sup>n</sup> ac secum his reuocaret donis ad assultum Archas ACHN <sup>o</sup> o<sup>o</sup> quo placato et  
 reconciliato ACHN <sup>p</sup> p<sup>p</sup> posse redire ac (ad N) concordiam ACHN <sup>q</sup> autem  
 ACHN <sup>r</sup> r<sup>r</sup> inde ACHN <sup>s</sup> effecti ACHN <sup>t</sup> descenderat A

36 <sup>a</sup> atque ACHN <sup>b</sup> om. N <sup>c</sup> c<sup>c</sup> etiamsi ACHN <sup>d</sup> expugnare N  
<sup>e</sup> queat ACHN

from him the distance of two miles and pitched their tents, giving him no assistance at all in the attack on Arqa nor having any friendly intercourse with him. There was also, there at Arqa, serious enmity which arose between Count Raymond and Tancred, concerning a sum of money and bezants which the count owed to Tancred for military service but was not paying in proportion to the effort and effectiveness of the soldiers who were maintained and led by that same Tancred.<sup>42</sup> Then from that same day on which Duke Godfrey took himself there with the rest of the leaders, Tancred, who had often reminded the count of their agreement but received no reply from him offering any hope, stayed with the duke, bound faithfully to him in all military obedience, and he renounced the count completely, and from then on, in revenge for the injuries the count had inflicted on him, he spared no effort to harm by stratagems and by all means the comrades and friends of that same count. When Count Raymond saw that the duke and Robert of Flanders and all who were with them were bearing a grudge against him, because he misled them with a false message when he was corrupted by greed, he began to soften the duke's anger by his coaxing and the cunning in which he was expert and was instructed from the age of boyhood. And so in the end he soothed the wrath of everyone, except Tancred. Then the count sent a horse of great price and beautiful physique to the duke, so he might thus more perfectly please his mind and by these gifts recall him to the assault on Arqa with him, since he knew him to be a man of great forbearance and love, and he knew that if he was reconciled and placated the rest would return to goodwill and amity. From then on the princes who were so recently reconciled, all except Tancred, applied force equally in an attack and blockade around the fortress of Arqa; they took up positions for four weeks from that day on which the duke came down there.

36. Eventually all those besieging the fortress became weary and lost interest in undermining the mountain because of the intolerable effort and because of the incalculable defence from within, and the shortage of things necessary to life, and a muttering grew among the people of the duke and Robert of Flanders, with everyone claiming that they could no longer hold out there in that siege, and that this fortress was unconquerable by skill or strength and could hardly be captured in a year, even if then it could be overcome by the sword of hunger. So they

<sup>42</sup> R. L. Nicholson suggests that Tancred had spread rumours to discredit Raymond (Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 84). He bases this on Raymond of Aguilers, who describes Tancred as making trouble in order to change his allegiance (RA, p. 112).

parui et magni quatenus castra ab obsidione amouerent et uiam sicut deuouerant Ierusalem<sup>f</sup> insisterent, cuius desiderio et<sup>g</sup> causa uisendi sepulchrum Domini Iesu Christi a natalibus oris processerunt. Econtra comes Reimundus omnibus modis et promissionibus  
 456 renitebatur<sup>h</sup> ut adhuc per aliquantulum temporis secum | moram facerent, donec aliqua ui uel arte arx et gentiles in ea inclusi<sup>i</sup> caperentur, recensens quoniam Anselmus de Riburgis Monte illic occisus ceciderit,<sup>j</sup> et quam plures commilitones sui ab eisdem Sarracenis alii morte, alii plagis seuissimis dampnati sint. Sed nequaquam a desiderio et proposito suo eos aliquo molimine blandiciarum aut<sup>k</sup> promissione retinere ualens, se suosque in eodem loco remanere affirmat quousque arx inimica in ultione<sup>l</sup> suorum adtritorum ruina consumeretur.

37. In hac itaque intentione comite perseuerante et multa arte discessionem confratrum auertente, quadam die dux Godefridus, Robertus Flandriensis, Tancradus<sup>a</sup> cum uniuersis sequacibus suis, igne castris suis inmisso, profecti sunt ab<sup>b</sup> obsidione Archas, pluribus adiunctis sibi de comitatu Reimundi. Qui etiam<sup>c</sup> diuturno<sup>d</sup> tedio fatigati, inuiti<sup>e</sup> apud Archas<sup>e</sup> remorabantur, precipue ob desiderium semper<sup>f</sup> eundi in Ierusalem. Per duos enim menses et dimidium in circuitu presidii Archas a principio cum ipso comite consederunt.<sup>g</sup> Comes autem<sup>h</sup> uidens quia post ducem omnis tendebat populus, et sua manus defllexerat, paucique in auxilio secum sunt retenti, nolens uolens simul secutus est ducis<sup>i</sup> et ceterorum<sup>i</sup> uestigia, et in terminos ciuitatis Tripolis uel Triple,<sup>43</sup> in litore maris site, cum ceteris suum applicuit commeatum.<sup>j</sup> Vbi uniuersi procul a ciuitate tabernacula sua extenderunt, ne frugibus terre et uinetis habitatorum urbis tantus noceret exercitus. Intercessores namque et legati ab eadem urbe sepius Archas ad prefatos principes descenderant, plurima dona afferentes et ampliora promittentes si urbi<sup>k</sup> et rebus<sup>k</sup> suis parcerent et non huic facerent sicut fecerunt<sup>l</sup> Albarre et Marre<sup>m</sup> et aliis<sup>m</sup> ciuitatibus. Hac de causa procul ab urbe resedit<sup>n</sup> exercitus et omnis primatus, donec uiderent quo pacto et foedere uel donorum oblatione

<sup>f</sup> A adds in before Ierusalem    <sup>g</sup> ex N    <sup>h</sup> nitebatur H    <sup>i</sup> conclusi ACHN  
<sup>j</sup> occubuerit C    <sup>k</sup> seu ACHN    <sup>l</sup> ultionem H

37    <sup>a</sup> ACHN add etiam after Tancradus    <sup>b</sup> in N    <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>d</sup> ACHN add quoque after diuturno    <sup>e</sup> om. E    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> consederant ACHN    <sup>h</sup> ergo ACHN    <sup>i</sup> ceterorumque ACHN    <sup>j</sup> comitatum uel commeatum C (uel commeatum inserted over)    <sup>k</sup> rebusque ACHN    <sup>l</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>m</sup> aliisque ACHN    <sup>n</sup> recedit N

all, small and great, urged the duke quite insistently to move the camp away from the siege and press on with the journey to Jerusalem as they had vowed, since it was for desire of Jerusalem and in order to see the sepulchre of Lord Jesus Christ that they had travelled from their native shores. On the other hand, Count Raymond was resisting, using all means and promises to persuade them to delay yet some time longer with him in that place, until by some feat of strength or skill the citadel and the gentiles who were shut up within it might be captured, and he recounted how Anselm of Ribemont had fallen and died there, and how many of their comrades had been destroyed there by those same Saracens, some by death, some by very severe wounds. But although Raymond was unable to hold them back from their desire and purpose by any attempt at coaxings or any promise, he said that he and his men would stay in that same place until the enemy citadel was reduced to ruins in revenge for his destroyed men.

37. While the count was persevering in this intention and postponing the brothers' departure with much skill, one day Duke Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Tancred and all their followers set fire to their camp and set out from the siege of Arqa, joined by many from Raymond's company. They were also tired of the long-drawn-out tediousness and were unwilling to remain at Arqa, particularly because of their constant desire to go to Jerusalem. For they had been blockading the fortress of Arqa with Count Raymond for two and a half months from the start. When the count saw that all his army was going after the duke and his company had disappeared, and few had remained with him for his assistance, he had to follow at once in the footsteps of the duke and the rest whether he liked it or not, and he worked his passage with the rest into the territory of the town of Tripoli or Tripla, which was situated on the seashore.<sup>43</sup> There everyone put up their tents at a distance from the town, so that so great an army would not harm the fruits of the earth and the vines belonging to the city's inhabitants. For mediators and messengers had frequently come down from that same city to the aforesaid princes in Arqa, bearing very many gifts and promising greater ones if they would spare the city and its possessions and would not do here as they had at Albara and Ma'arra and other towns. Because of this the army and all the leadership settled far from the city until they saw what sort

<sup>43</sup> Tarābulus, now the most northerly port in Lebanon.

placarentur, et inuicem amicitia firmarentur. Calamellos ibidem mellitos per camporum planiciem habundanter repertos, quos uocant zucra, populus suxit, illorum salubri suco letatus, et uix ad saturitatem<sup>a</sup> pre dulcedine expleri hoc gustato ualebant. Hoc etenim genus herbe summo labore agricolarum per singulos annos excolitur. Et<sup>b</sup> tempore messis maturum mortariolis indigene contundunt, sucum colatum in uasis suis reponentes quousque coagulatus indur-escit<sup>c</sup> sub specie niuis uel salis albi. Quem rasum cum pane miscentes aut cum aqua terentes pro pulmento sumunt, et supra fauum mellis gustantibus dulce ac<sup>d</sup> salubre uidetur.<sup>44</sup> Aiunt quidam quod genus sit mellis illius quod reperiens Ionathas filius Saul regis super faciem |  
 457 terre, inobediens gustare presumpsit.<sup>45</sup> Hiis etiam calamellis melliti saporis in obsidione Albarre, Marre et Archas multum<sup>e</sup> populus horrenda fame uexatus refocillatus est.

38. Preses autem ciuitatis Triple gloriose ac diuitiose<sup>46</sup> intelligens legiones fidelium ante muros et portas ciuitatis multo interuallo consedis-  
 se, ad primos exercitus, Godefridum ducem, Reimundum comitem, Robertum Flandriensem, Robertum Nortmannorum prin-  
 cipem misit, quatenus dona ab eo susciperent, et pacifice terram suam obtineret a facie eorum,<sup>a</sup> et ciuitatem Gibiloth<sup>b 47</sup> et presidium Archas. Tandem inito foedere preses in magna amicitia processit ad tentoria procerum. Quibus satisfaciens donis et uerbis pacificis, ductorem uie, quoniam per montana iuxta litora maris loca semitarum perplexa et ignota erant, uirum etate senem concessit. Qui eos a litore maris uia reflexa per angustas fauces montis tam arcta semita duxit ut uix homo post hominem, animal post animal incederet. Hic mons a montanis procera longitudine usque in<sup>c</sup> mare porrigitur. Huius in summitate turris per portam quandam imminens trans uiam<sup>d</sup> edificata erat, cuius in habitaculo uiri sex consistere poterant, quorum defensione omnibus qui sub celo uiuunt uia contradici poterat. Sed

<sup>a</sup> A adds illorum after saturitatem  
<sup>e</sup> et A <sup>1</sup> om. A

<sup>b</sup> Dein ACHN

<sup>c</sup> indurescat ACHN

38 <sup>a</sup> ipsorum ACHN  
 adds quandam after uiam

<sup>b</sup> Gibilot EN here, but Gibiloth later

<sup>c</sup> ad AN

<sup>d</sup> A

<sup>44</sup> 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 14: 27; Ps. 18: 11; Prov. 24: 13. Evidently sugar was a new commodity to Albert, though there was by this time sugar production in southern Europe and it was being imported by Venice: see W. D. Phillips, 'Sugar production and trade in the Mediterranean at the time of the crusades', in V. P. Goss, ed., *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 393-406. Fulcher of Chartres also mentions sugar, but without

of agreement and treaty or offering of gifts there might be to placate them, and until they confirmed friendship on both sides. In that place the people sucked little honeyed reeds, found in plenty throughout the plains, which they call 'zucra'; they enjoyed this reed's wholesome sap, and because of its sweetness once they had tasted it they could scarcely get enough of it. This kind of grass is cultivated every year by extremely hard work on the part of the farmers. Then at harvest time the natives crush the ripe crop in little mortars, putting the filtered sap into their utensils until it curdles and hardens with the appearance of snow or white salt. They shave pieces off and mix them with bread or with water and take them as a relish, and it seems to those who taste it sweeter and more wholesome even than a comb of honey.<sup>44</sup> Some say that it is a sort of that honey which Jonathan, son of King Saul, found on the face of the earth and disobediently dared to taste.<sup>45</sup> The people, who were troubled by a dreadful hunger, were greatly refreshed by these little honey-flavoured reeds during the sieges of Albara, Ma'arra, and Arqa.

38. The ruler of the town of glorious and wealthy Tripoli,<sup>46</sup> realizing that the legions of the faithful had been stationed in front of the town walls and gates for a long time, sent to ask the chiefs of the army, Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond, Robert of Flanders, and Robert prince of Normandy, to accept gifts from him so that he might peacefully preserve his land from them, and the town of Jubayl<sup>47</sup> and the fortress of Arqa. At length, having made a treaty, the ruler proceeded in great friendship to the tents of the nobles. He satisfied them with gifts and peaceful words and granted them an elderly man as guide on the journey, since the whereabouts of paths through the mountain regions next to the seashore were intricate and unknown. He led them from the seashore on a winding route through difficult mountain passes, on a path so narrow that a man could scarcely march after a man, an animal after an animal. This mountain stretched out from the range an outstanding length right to the sea. On its top a tower, projecting over a certain gate, had been built across the road, and in its living space six men could be stationed, whose defence could deny the road to all who lived under the heavens. But, faced by

the detail about its manufacture, which may reflect the two authors' different audiences (FC, p. 329).

<sup>45</sup> 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 14: 26, 27, 43.

<sup>46</sup> Abū 'Alī b. 'Ammār (*RHC Occ* iv. 457 n. b).

<sup>47</sup> Jubayl (ancient Byblos), Lebanon.

a facie exercitus et presidis Triple conductu, nemo nunc transeuntibus resistebat.<sup>48</sup> Hiis faucibus artis et difficillimis superatis noticia ductoris et conuiatoris sui Sarraceni, uiam ad litora maris repetentes, ad ciuitatem Gibiloth, pro qua preses urbis<sup>e</sup> Tripolis intercesserat, peruenerunt. <sup>f</sup>Qui relictis ea Gibiloth,<sup>f</sup> iuxta promissionem<sup>g</sup> ne ei noceret exercitus peracto tantum ab hac miliario super flumen cuiusdam dulcis aque pernoctauerunt.<sup>49</sup> Vbi et sequenti die remanserunt, opperientes<sup>h</sup> debile uulgus pre lassitudine uie per ardua scopulosa fatigatum.

39. Dehinc tertia die castra amouentes<sup>a</sup> et uiam rursus in litore maris  
 458 continuantes, | in semitam<sup>b</sup> cuiusdam montis mire et inaudite angustie referuntur. Que repentina ymbrium inundatione in preceps decurrentium cauationem accepisse perhibetur, et per hanc iter esse illuc transeuntium. Hic itaque mons tam uicinis et creberrimis undis maris tunditur ut non a dextris uel sinistris ullomodo liceat declinare, ne forte in offensione pedis<sup>c</sup> habeat quispiam in profundum maris cadere promptum. Hoc angustiarum itinere finito, et rursum<sup>d</sup> quodam presidio turris, ut turris prefate inexpugnabili, per alpes transito, quod utrumque uacuum omni defensore remanserat, timore a Deo non ab homine<sup>e</sup> Sarracenis custodibus incusso, ad uesperam applicuerunt iuxta urbem Baurim uel Baruch<sup>50</sup> hospitati, semper comite Sarraceno conuiatore precedente ac eos ducente. Incole autem Baurim cognoscentes aduentum Christianorum et iam hospitatum exercitum per campos ciuitatis, munera acceptabilia cum uerbis pacificis predictis misere principibus in <sup>f</sup>hoc modo loquentes:<sup>f</sup> 'Precamur ut arbores, uites et sata nostra non uastantes pacifice pertranseat. Et si propositum uestrum capiendi Ierusalem prosperante fortuna adimpleueritis, uobis cum omnibus rebus nostris seruituri sumus.' Hiis precibus et promissionibus placati principes <sup>g</sup>et donis<sup>g</sup> incolarum Baurim, surrexerunt cum uniuerso exercitu Christianorum et rursum in litore maris uiam insistunt, per easdem fauces et asperitatem scopulorum, qui procellis maris semper illiduntur.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>ff</sup> Qua relictis ACHN      <sup>g</sup> ACHN add suam after promissionem  
<sup>h</sup> opperientes AEN

39    <sup>a</sup> mouentes A      <sup>b</sup> semitas ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>d</sup> rursus ACN  
<sup>e</sup> hominibus N      <sup>ff</sup> hunc modum ACHN      <sup>xx</sup> donisque ACHN      <sup>h</sup> illiditur CHN

<sup>48</sup> This tower was probably on the narrowest part of the route between the shore and the foothills of the Lebanese range. The modern coastal road passes through a tunnel in the cliff. See also Raymond of Aguilers for difficulties of the coastal path (RA, pp. 105-7, 130).

the army and the ruler of Tripoli's guide, no one now resisted those passing through.<sup>48</sup> When these narrow and very difficult passes had been successfully negotiated using the knowledge of their Saracen guide and fellow traveller, they took the road to the seashore again, and arrived at the town of Jubayl, for which the ruler of the city of Tripoli had interceded. The army left Jubayl alone according to their promise not to harm it and went only a mile away and spent the night on a certain river of fresh water.<sup>49</sup> They stayed there the following day as well, waiting for the crowd of weak people who were worn out by the weariness of the journey through the steep rocky places.

39. Then on the third day they struck camp and moved on their way once more along the seashore and they were brought back onto a certain mountain path of amazing and incredible narrowness. It is said that this had suffered undermining from a sudden downpour of rain flowing down on top of it, and that the way for travellers there was through this hollowing out. And this mountain is constantly pounded by the waves of the sea which were so close that it was strictly forbidden to turn aside to right or left, in case someone stumbled and fell straight into the depths of the sea. When this journey through the defiles was completed, and once more a certain fortress tower was bypassed through the mountains, as unassailable as the above-mentioned tower, both of them remaining empty of any defender—fear of God not of man being inspired in the Saracen guards—towards evening they drew near the city of Baurim or Beirut<sup>50</sup> to take up quarters, always with the Saracen, their companion and fellow traveller, going first and leading them. Moreover, when the inhabitants of Beirut knew about the Christians' arrival and that the army was already quartered on the plains of the town, they sent worthy gifts with peaceful words to the aforesaid princes, speaking in this way: 'We entreat you to pass through peacefully without laying waste our trees, vines, and crops. And if by good fortune you fulfil your purpose of capturing Jerusalem, we shall serve you with all our possessions.' The princes were pleased by these entreaties and promises and gifts from the inhabitants of Beirut, so they struck camp with all the Christian army and once more made their way along the seashore, through those same passes and the rough ground of rocky places, which are always dashed by seastorms.

<sup>48</sup> In the *Gesta* the army is said to have rested by Nahr Ibrāhīm ('Braym'), which is, however, considerably more than a mile from Jubayl (*GF*, p. 86).

<sup>50</sup> Bayrūt, capital of Lebanon.

40. De quibus egressi, in planiciem que urbem <sup>a</sup>Sagitta (Sidon)<sup>a 51</sup> nomine continet descenderunt, ubi super ripam cuiusdam dulcis fluuii hospitio remanserunt.<sup>52</sup> Illic plurimos acervos lapidum reppererunt.<sup>b</sup> Inter quos infinita manus debilis ac pauperis uulgi dum fessa quiesceret et cubaret,<sup>c</sup> a serpentibus quos uocant tarenta quidam percussi interierunt, tumore et inaudita pre intolerabili siti inflatione membris eorum crepantibus. Ibi quoque Sarraceni in uirtute sua confidentes et ab urbe Sidone exeuntes lacescere presumpserunt exercitum, cesis peregrinis in huius urbis regione uictum et necessaria querentibus. Sed ab equitibus Christianis grauiter repressi, aliqui<sup>d</sup> armis, quidam<sup>e</sup> spem salutis ab armis inter undas estimantes, submersi ac suffocati fluctibus<sup>f</sup> perierunt. Hanc itaque ciuitatem proculdubio in ultione suorum Christiani obsidione oppressissent,<sup>g</sup> sed desiderio  
 459 eundi in Ierusalem auersi sunt. Hac in regione Sidonis | dum plures a predictis et ignitis serpentibus periclitarentur, et gemitus<sup>h</sup> et planctus<sup>h</sup> magnus super pereuntibus haberetur, medicina hac ab<sup>i</sup> indigenis edocti<sup>j</sup> sunt,<sup>k</sup> ut omnis a serpente<sup>l</sup> percussus nobiliorem et<sup>m</sup> prepotentiorum exercitus adiret, <sup>n</sup>et dextera manu<sup>n</sup> illius uulnere aculei tacto et<sup>o</sup> circumplexo non ultra uenenum per membra diffusum nocere uideretur. Similiter et alia edocti sunt medicina, ut uir percussus sine mora cum muliere coiret, mulier cum uiro, et sic ab omni ueneni<sup>b</sup> tumore <sup>q</sup>et ardore<sup>q</sup> liberarentur.<sup>r</sup> Didicit etiam populus Christianus ab incolis quatenus lapides adinuicem assiduis ictibus manu<sup>s</sup> quaterent, uel in clipeis crebra percussione sonitum facerent, et sic, a serpentibus hoc sonitu et strepitu exterritis secure socii dormire ualerent.<sup>53</sup> Altera dehinc<sup>r</sup> die illucescente, quidam confrater Christianorum, uir et miles nobili editus parentela, Walterus nomine de Verua<sup>u 54</sup> castello, assumptis quibusdam complicitibus suis de comitatu, in montana profectus est. Vbi ingentes predarum contraxit copias, quas armigeris et aliquibus ex sociis commissas misit ad exercitum. Ipse uero ampliores exploratas<sup>v</sup> in loco undique montibus septo

40 <sup>a</sup> *A* has Sagitta; *C* has Sidon; *EHN* have Sagitta with Sidon written above  
<sup>b</sup> inuenerunt *A* <sup>c</sup> accubaret *H* <sup>d</sup> quidam *ACHN* <sup>e</sup> aliqui *ACHN*  
<sup>f</sup> undis *A* <sup>g</sup> compressissent *ACHN* <sup>h</sup> planctusque *ACHN* <sup>i</sup> om. *N*  
<sup>j</sup> docti *A* <sup>k</sup> om. *N* <sup>l</sup> serpentibus *H* <sup>m</sup> ac *AH* <sup>n</sup> dexteraque manus  
*ACHN* <sup>o</sup> ac *ACHN* <sup>p</sup> om. *A* <sup>q</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>r</sup> *ACHN* add utrique after  
liberarentur <sup>s</sup> om. *N* <sup>t</sup> dein *H* <sup>u</sup> Werra *A*; Verna *N* <sup>v</sup> exploraturus *A*

<sup>51</sup> Modern Saydā, Lebanon.

<sup>52</sup> The largest river on the plain is Nahr al-Awwali.

40. They emerged from these passes and descended onto the plain which contains the city called Sagitta (Sidon),<sup>51</sup> where they stayed in quarters on the bank of a certain fresh-water river.<sup>52</sup> There they found very many heaps of stones. Among these an innumerable group of weak and poor people, who were tired, rested and slept, and while they did so some were bitten by snakes, which are called *tarenta*, and they died, their limbs cracking because they swelled and blew up incredibly on account of unbearable thirst. There also the Saracens were confident of their strength and they rode out from the city of Sidon and dared to challenge the army, killing pilgrims who were looking for supplies and provisions in the region of this city. But they were severely repulsed by the Christian cavalry; some died from weapons, some hoped to seek safety from weapons among the waves, and they were submerged and drowned by the waters. Of course the Christians applied pressure on this town in revenge for their own men, but they were turned away by their desire to go to Jerusalem. In this region of Sidon, while many were in danger from the fiery snakes mentioned above, and there was great weeping and wailing over those dying, they were taught this medicine by the natives: that anyone who was bitten by a snake should go up to one of the more noble and eminent people in the army, and if the wound of the sting was touched and embraced by that man's right hand the poison spread through the limbs would be seen to do no more harm. In the same way they were taught another medicine, that a man who was bitten should lie at once with a woman, a woman with a man, and thus they would be released from all the swelling and heat of the poison. The Christian people also learnt from the inhabitants to clash stones together with constant blows, or to make a noise by frequent banging on their shields, and thus the comrades could sleep in safety from the snakes, which were terrified by this noise and clamour.<sup>53</sup> Then another day dawned, and a certain Christian brother, a man and knight born of noble parentage, called Walter of the castle at Verva,<sup>54</sup> took with him certain close friends from the company and set out into the mountainous regions. There he seized enormous quantities of plunder which he put together and sent back to the army by way of squires and some of his fellows. Walter longed for greater explorations

<sup>51</sup> The snakes were probably soft-scaled vipers, which are exceedingly poisonous and still found in Lebanon. Neither of the native therapies was likely to be of much use (were the Syrians having a joke at the crusaders' expense?), but setting up vibrations in the way described would be effective in warding off the snakes.

<sup>54</sup> Walter of Verva in the earliest manuscripts, but Verna, Verra, and Werra in later ones. He may be the same as Walter of Verveis (AA ii. 23).

concupiuit, per artum et difficilem aditum ad nimia armenta et res Sarracenorum ingressus. Vbi ab hiis<sup>w</sup> circumuentus, latet usque in <sup>x</sup>hodiernam lucem<sup>x</sup> quo fine perierit.

41. Principes autem predicti et omnis comitatus eorum, ignorantes cur miles egregius trans<sup>a</sup> terminum <sup>b</sup>moram fecerit, <sup>b</sup>adhuc tercia luce<sup>c</sup> in regione urbis Sidonis remanserunt, si forte miles honorificus rediret a montanis, uel aliquid de eius aduentu<sup>d</sup> intelligerent. Sed minime eo in prima nec in altera luce recepto, <sup>e</sup>a statione urbis migrauerunt. Et<sup>f</sup> abhinc<sup>g</sup> camporum planiciem habentes, usque Tyrum, <sup>h</sup>quam nunc Sur uocant, <sup>55</sup> cum preductore suo descenderunt, castra<sup>i</sup> illic per agrorum<sup>j</sup> planiciem ad hospitandum collocantes. <sup>k</sup>Manat enim illic fons murato et arcuato opere<sup>l</sup> sic exaltatus ut impetu et habundantia aquarum riu<sup>m</sup> in origine <sup>n</sup>sui in<sup>n</sup> tantum<sup>o</sup> ut omnis exercitus illum exhaurire nequiuert. <sup>p</sup><sup>56</sup> Sequenti uero die Sur relictā, ad ciuitatem Ptolomaidam<sup>q</sup> nomine, quam nunc moderni Acram uocant eo quod urbs esset<sup>r</sup> Dei Accaron, <sup>57</sup> uentum est.

460 Quam ad dexteram in litore maris relinquentes, <sup>58</sup> supra | flumen dulcis saporis quod ibidem mari influit biduo pernoctauerunt. Illic due diuiduntur uie: una que ducit per Damascum et flumen Iordanis a sinistris in Ierusalem, altera que semper a dextris iuxta litus predicti maris continuatur in Ierusalem. <sup>59</sup> Vnde inter quinquaginta milia uirorum uix uiginti milia in bello ualentium reperiri poterant, consilium inierunt ut per Damascum nequaquam transirent<sup>s</sup> propter copias Turcorum qui Damasci habitabant, <sup>t</sup>et propter apertam illic camporum planiciem ubi eis in omni latere spaciosum uidebatur ab hostibus occursari. <sup>u</sup>Qua de re inter mare et montana in litore uiam constituentes, ubi fiducialiter transire poterant, protecti a<sup>v</sup> mari a dextris et a montium altitudine incommenabili a sinistris, ciuitatem Cayphas, <sup>60</sup> dictam a Caypha quondam principe sacerdotum Iudeorum, <sup>w</sup><sup>61</sup> preterierunt. <sup>x</sup>Et eadem<sup>x</sup> die in terminis Cesaree, <sup>y</sup>quam

<sup>w</sup> eis ACHN      <sup>x x</sup> hodiernum diem ACHN

41    <sup>a</sup> ultra ACHN      <sup>b b</sup> faceret moras ACHN      <sup>c</sup> die H      <sup>d</sup> euentu CHN  
<sup>e</sup> reperto A      <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>g</sup> ACHN add ergo after abhinc      <sup>h</sup> A adds ad before  
Tyrum      <sup>i</sup> castris H      <sup>j</sup> camporum A      <sup>k</sup> collocatis HN      <sup>l</sup> om. E      <sup>m</sup> riuum  
ACHN      <sup>n</sup> sua ACHN      <sup>o</sup> ACHN add procreet after tantum      <sup>p</sup> nequiret CHN  
<sup>q</sup> Ptholomaidam E      <sup>r</sup> sit H      <sup>s</sup> iter facerent A      <sup>t</sup> inhabitabant ACHN  
<sup>u</sup> incursari A      <sup>v</sup> om. CH      <sup>w</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>x x</sup> Eademque ACHN  
<sup>y</sup> Cesarie A

<sup>55</sup> Sur: the most southerly city in Lebanon.

<sup>56</sup> A Roman aqueduct. William of Tyre gives a more detailed description of the city's water supply from his own knowledge (WT, p. 589).

in a place enclosed on all sides by mountains, which gave him entry through a narrow and difficult access to very many herds and Saracen possessions. There he was surrounded by the Saracens and it is not known to this day how he died.

41. However, the aforesaid princes and all their company, not knowing why the outstanding knight was held up beyond the frontier, still remained on the third day in the region of the city of Sidon, to see if the honourable knight would return from the mountain regions, or if they could find out anything about his approach. But when they heard nothing about him on the first nor on the second day, they moved on from their position by the city. Keeping to the level plains from here on, they went down to Tyre, which is now called Sur,<sup>55</sup> with their guide, pitching camp there to stay on the level plains of the fields. For a spring flows there which is raised up on a walled and arched structure in such a way that it produces so much water by the rush and abundance in the source of its flow that the whole army could not exhaust the supply.<sup>56</sup> On the following day Tyre was left behind and they arrived at the town named Ptolomaida, which these days is called Acre because the city was God's Accaron.<sup>57</sup> They left Acre on their right on the seashore and spent two nights on a river of fresh water which flows into the sea there.<sup>58</sup> There two routes divide: the one on the left leads through Damascus and the river Jordan to Jerusalem; the other always keeps to the right next to the said seashore to Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> Since out of fifty thousand men scarcely twenty thousand could be found who were fit for battle, they decided they would certainly not go through Damascus, because of the numbers of Turks who lived there and because of the open plains where they could be seen for a long way on every side and attacked by the enemy. For this reason they settled on the road between the sea and the mountains where they could travel confidently, protected by the sea on the right and by the impassable height of the mountains on the left, and they passed by the town of Haifa,<sup>60</sup> so called from Caiphas who was once chief priest of the Jews.<sup>61</sup> And that same day

<sup>55</sup> 'Akkā (Arabic); 'Akko (Hebrew). Fulcher of Chartres says some crusaders mistakenly called it Acharon, which was a Philistine city near Ascalon (FC, pp. 274-5).

<sup>58</sup> The river Na'āman.

<sup>59</sup> It is difficult to make sense of this, as Damascus is north-east of Acre and nowhere near the route to Jerusalem. It would be possible to strike inland *towards* Damascus from Acre, then take the road south to Jerusalem, and perhaps this is what Albert intended to write.

<sup>60</sup> Hayfā (Arabic); Haifa (Hebrew).

<sup>61</sup> John 11: 49, 18: 14; Acts 4: 6.

quondam urbem Stratonis Herodes postea in honore Cesaris reedificatam Cesaream appellauit,<sup>62</sup> castrametati hospitio remanserunt. Ibidem ad radicem montium fons manat, qui eidem urbi influit per apertam camporum planiciem, ubi dux Godefridus et Robertus Flandriensis positus tentoriis hospitati sunt. Comes uero<sup>a</sup> Reimundus Robertusque Nortmannorum princeps, post illos interposita eiusdem fontis amplissima palude, procul abhinc in eodem flumine castra posuerunt,<sup>63</sup> <sup>a</sup>per quatuor dies illic commorantes, et sabbatum sancti Pentecostes ipsumque diem aduentus Sancti Spiritus deuotissime celebrantes.<sup>a</sup> <sup>64</sup>

42. Has itaque urbes predictas<sup>a</sup> pretereuntes intactas, secunda, tertia et quarta feria<sup>65</sup> in terminis et spaciosa planicie prenominate Cesaree Cornelii in regione Palestinorum iter suum continuantes, quinta feria ad flumen ciuitatis Rama uel Ramnes<sup>66</sup> castra applicuerunt, et in crepidine aluei eiusdem fluminis tentoria ponentes pernoctare decreuerunt. Robertus uero Flandriensis et Gastus militaris homo de Bederz, assumptis quingentis tyronibus a societate premissi, ad portas et explorandos muros precesserunt. Quas apertas et reseratas subierunt, neminem in urbe reperientes quoniam, audita tribulatione et infortunio gentilium in circuitu et captione Antiochie, uniuersi ciues  
461 per montana et | deserta<sup>b</sup> loca a facie Christianorum cum pueris, uxoribus, armentis et gavis suis confugerunt.<sup>c</sup> Sic ergo<sup>d</sup> ciuitatem Ramnes ciuibus et armis uacuam inuenientes festinato nuncium remiserunt<sup>e</sup> ad populum catholicum qui castrametatus est<sup>f</sup> in ripa fluminis, ut uniuersos accersiret ad intrandam et possidendam urbem, <sup>g</sup>et recreandos artus<sup>g</sup> quos magnis et longis laboribus afflixerunt.<sup>h</sup> Quod peregrini audientes, ad urbem sine mora profecti sunt, et in ea per dies tres requiem sibi facientes,<sup>i</sup> uino et <sup>j</sup>plurimo frumento et oleo reposito<sup>j</sup> refocillati. Quendam Robertum illic episcopum<sup>k</sup> constituerunt,<sup>67</sup>

<sup>a</sup> om. N      <sup>a a</sup> Per quatuor quippe dies commorantes ibidem, sabbatum sanctum Pentecostes, ipsumque diem aduentus Sancti Spiritus deuotissime celebrauerunt. ACHN

42    <sup>a</sup> prefatas ACHN      <sup>b</sup> H adds fugientes after deserta      <sup>c</sup> se absconderunt H  
<sup>d</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>e</sup> miserunt N      <sup>f</sup> erat ACHN      <sup>g g</sup> artusque recreandos ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> afflixere ACHN      <sup>i</sup> fecerunt ACHN      <sup>j j</sup> oleo, plurimoque reposito frumento  
ACHN      <sup>k</sup> ACHN add etiam after episcopum

<sup>62</sup> Qaysariyya (Arabic); Qesari (Hebrew); Albert refers to it as Caesarea Cornelii in the next chapter, perhaps to distinguish it from other Caesareas, especially Caesarea Philippi. See Acts 10.

<sup>63</sup> The Crocodile River (Nahal ha-Tanninim) still has marshes near its mouth, today a nature reserve.

they pitched camp and were quartered in the territory of Caesarea, which was formerly the city of Herod Strato who afterwards called the rebuilt city Caesarea in honour of Caesar.<sup>62</sup> A spring wells up at the foot of the mountains which flows into that same city across the open plains of fields where Duke Godfrey and Robert of Flanders had sited their tents and were quartered. Count Raymond and Robert prince of the Normans placed their camp on the same river but far from them, because an extensive marsh caused by that same spring was behind them and in between.<sup>63</sup> They stayed there four days and very devoutly celebrated the Sunday of holy Pentecost, and that same day of the advent of the Holy Spirit.<sup>64</sup>

42. And so, passing by the aforementioned cities and leaving them untouched, they continued their journey on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in the territory and wide plains of Caesarea Corneli, named above, in the region of the Palestinians, and on the Thursday<sup>65</sup> they pitched camp at the river of the town of Ramla or Ramnes,<sup>66</sup> and on the bank of the channel of that river they placed their tents and decided to stay the night. Robert of Flanders and Gaston, the military man of Béziers, were sent on ahead, taking with them five hundred young knights from the company, to reconnoitre the gates and walls. As these were open and unlocked they went through, finding no one in the city because when they heard about the distress and misfortune which befell the gentiles in the siege and capture of Antioch, all the townspeople together fled from the Christians through the mountains and deserts with their children, wives, herds, and treasures. Therefore, finding the town of Ramla empty of townspeople and weapons like this, they speedily sent back a messenger to the Catholic army which was camped on the riverbank, to fetch everyone to enter and take possession of the city, and to rest their limbs, which they had punished by great and long endeavours. When the pilgrims heard this, they set out for the city at once and rested themselves within it for three days, refreshed by the wine and much corn and oil they found. They appointed a certain Robert as bishop there,<sup>67</sup> leaving

<sup>64</sup> 29 May 1099.

<sup>65</sup> 2 June 1099.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Ramla (Arabic); Ramla (Hebrew) is some fifty miles south of Caesarea. However, it is famously not on any river: its name means 'sandy' and, being without springs, huge cisterns were built there to store water. Probably Albert confused Ramla and Lydda (Arabic: Ludd; Hebrew: Lod) in this passage, as Lydda is situated near the river Ayyalon.

<sup>67</sup> Robert of Rouen was appointed bishop of adjacent Lydda, where St George's principal shrine was a cult centre (*GF*, p. 87; *RA*, p. 136; *FC*, p. 277). For the thinking which lay behind the appointment of a Latin bishop, see Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 11–12.

Christianos incolas in ea relinquentes qui terras colerent, et iusticias facerent,<sup>i</sup> agrorum<sup>m</sup> et uinearum<sup>m</sup> redderent fructus.<sup>68</sup>

43. Quarta uero relata<sup>a</sup> dehinc luce, pariter peregrini procedentes a sinistris uiam insistunt, relictā Ramnes ciuitate, qui usque ad locum quo hec montana incipiunt, que urbem Ierusalem in medio sitam undique circumstant, proficisci<sup>b</sup> et illic hospitari<sup>b</sup> statuerunt, sed eo<sup>c</sup> in loco penuria aque nimia reperta est. Vnde ad castellum Emaus<sup>d</sup> 69 trans duo<sup>e</sup> miliaria cisternis et irriguis fontibus compertis ex relatione conuiatoris et ductoris sui Sarraceni, plurima manus armigerorum transmissa est. Qui non solum copiam aquarum,<sup>f</sup> sed plurima pabula equorum attulerunt.<sup>f</sup> Ibidem eclipsis lune que quintadecima erat in ipsa nocte facta est, ita ut ex toto a<sup>g</sup> claritate sua deficeret et in colorem sanguineum tota usque ad medium noctis commutata, omnibus id perspicientibus timorem non modicum afferret, nisi a quibusdam quibus noticia astrorum patebat hoc solamen redderetur. Dicebant nempe non hoc portentum malum omen Christianorum esse affuturum, sed defectionem lune<sup>h</sup> et eius sanguineam<sup>h</sup> obscuritatem interitum Sarracenorum proculdubio ostendere. Solis uero eclipsis<sup>i</sup> noxium Christianorum esse portentum affirmabant.<sup>j</sup> 70

462 44. Hospitatis denique Christianis in predicto<sup>a</sup> loco iuxta montana Ierusalem cum | uniuerso exercitu, iam die aduesperascente, legatio catholicorum incolarum urbis Bethleem Godefrido duci innotuit, et precipue illorum quos Sarraceni suspectos traditionis in aduentu Christianorum ab Ierusalem eiecerant, minas mortis adhuc eis inferentes, quatenus in nomine Iesu Christi<sup>b</sup> sine aliqua retardatione<sup>c</sup> eis ad subueniendum uiam maturarent. Gentiles namque ex omni plaga regni Babylonie audito<sup>d</sup> aduentu peregrinorum<sup>e</sup> confluebant in Ierusalem, ad defensionem urbis et occisionem Christianorum.<sup>f</sup> Dux

<sup>i</sup> om. E      <sup>m m</sup> uinearumque ACHN

43    <sup>a</sup> exorta ACHN    <sup>b b</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>c</sup> illo ACHN    <sup>d</sup> Emmaus H    <sup>e</sup> tria ACHN    <sup>f f</sup> uerum etiam pabula equorum attulere plurima ACHN    <sup>g</sup> om. N    <sup>h h</sup> sanguineamque eius ACHN    <sup>i</sup> eclipsin CH; eclipsim N    <sup>j</sup> om. E

44    <sup>a</sup> eodem H    <sup>b</sup> AHN add Domini; C adds Domini nostri before Iesu Christi    <sup>c</sup> tardatione A    <sup>d</sup> auditu C    <sup>e</sup> Christianorum AH    <sup>f</sup> eorum H

<sup>68</sup> According to J. Prawer, at Ramla 'a system of colonization was perfected which . . . created a model': *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 112–14. H. E. Mayer modifies this judgement somewhat, but he does point out that Albert's testimony in this regard is good: whatever his sources of information, he describes Bishop Robert doing exactly as he must have done in using the labour of native Christians. See H. E. Mayer, 'The origins of

Christian inhabitants in the city who would cultivate the lands, and make judgements, and restore the fruitfulness of the fields and vineyards.<sup>68</sup>

43. When the fourth day dawned after this, the pilgrims who were travelling on the road to the left departed from the town of Ramla and they likewise decided to set out for and stay at that place where the mountain regions began which surround the city of Jerusalem on all sides so that it is sited in the middle, but in that place they found a very great shortage of water. Consequently a large contingent of squires was sent to the castle at Emmaus<sup>69</sup> two miles away, where there were known to be cisterns and springs full of water from the account of their Saracen fellow traveller and guide. They brought back not only a quantity of water but also a great deal of fodder for the horses. In that place an eclipse of the moon, which was the fifteenth, happened that same night, such that it totally lost its brightness and was entirely changed into the colour of blood up till the middle of the night, bringing to all who saw this no little fear, except that comfort was offered by certain who understood the knowledge of stars. These people said that this portent would not be a bad omen for the Christians, but they were certain that the absence of the moon and its being shrouded by blood showed the annihilation of the Saracens. They claimed that an eclipse of the sun, indeed, would be an evil portent for the Christians.<sup>70</sup>

44. Then when the Christians were quartered in the above-mentioned place next to the mountains of Jerusalem with the entire army, and as day was already drawing towards evening, Duke Godfrey learnt of a legation from the Catholic inhabitants of the city of Bethlehem, and especially from those whom the Saracens had thrown out on suspicion of treachery and were still threatening with death, and the legation asked that the Christians should hasten their journey with no slackening to help them in the name of Jesus Christ. For the gentiles had swarmed to Jerusalem from every part of the Egyptian kingdom when they heard of the pilgrims' approach, to defend the

the lordships of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum*, ix (1985), 537–52, at p. 539.

<sup>69</sup> 'Amwās (Arabic), some fifteen miles west of Jerusalem. It is identified by William of Tyre as ancient Nichopolis (p. 376), and this identification is discussed by R. D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–), i, 52–3.

<sup>70</sup> 5 June 1099. The eclipse is also described and interpreted by Matthew of Edessa (ME, p. 172).

uero audita legatione cum precibus <sup>g</sup>ac periculo Christianorum comperto,<sup>g</sup> in eadem nocte circiter centum equites loricatos de castris et comitatu suo electos premisit ad subueniendum desolatis et congregatis fidelibus<sup>h</sup> Christi in Bethleem. Qui iuxta imperium piissimi ac Christianissimi ducis equis insidentes cum festinatione sex miliaris per totam noctem superatis, in primo diei ortu in Bethleem peruenerunt. Ciues uero Christiani, cognito eorum aduentu, cum ymnis et laudibus et aspersione sanctificati fontis obuiam procedentes,<sup>i</sup> letanter<sup>j</sup> eosdem Christianorum equites susceperunt, oculos et manus eorum deosculantes et hec ad illos referentes: 'Deo gratias, quia temporibus nostris nunc ea uidimus<sup>k</sup> que semper erant nobis in desiderio, uidelicet uos Christianos confratres ad excussionem iugi seruitutis nostre<sup>71</sup> adesse, et loca sancta Ierusalem restauranda, et ad auferendos gentilium ritus a loco sancto <sup>l</sup>et eorum<sup>l</sup> inmundicias.<sup>72</sup>

45. Vix a castris premissi equites processerunt,<sup>a</sup> et ecce fama ad aures primorum <sup>b</sup>et uniuersi<sup>b</sup> exercitus est perlata, legationem duci a Bethleem esse allatam.<sup>c</sup> Qua de causa, uix medium processit noctis et continuo omnes parui<sup>d</sup> et magni sustulerunt castra per angustias uiarum <sup>e</sup>et artas<sup>e</sup> fauces collium uiam insistentes. Ab inde preire et iter maturare quique equites feruebant, ne in artis semitarum faucibus multitudine peditum inundante magnum fieret<sup>f</sup> equitibus impedimentum. Maturabant siquidem magni et parui iter sub pari intentione in Ierusalem. Quibus centum premissi equites<sup>g</sup> a Bethleem reuertentes in uia associati sunt, cum primum solis calore matutini rores in gramine solent exsiccari. Gastus de Bederz ciuitate, cum triginta uiris gnaris certaminis et insidiarum clam subtractus ab exercitu, sicut erat prouidus, sciens uires propinquantium<sup>h</sup> peregrinorum adhuc latere ciues et milites Ierusalem, per confinia eiusdem urbis cum suis frena laxat, predas undique contrahit et abducit. Sed comperta illius audacia a ciuibus et Sarracenis militibus preda excussa est. Gastum uero <sup>i</sup>sociosque eius<sup>i</sup> usque ad | ascensum cuiusdam

<sup>g g</sup> compertoque Christianorum periculo ACHN <sup>h</sup> N adds a before fidelibus  
<sup>i</sup> processerunt A <sup>j</sup> letantes C <sup>k</sup> uidemus H <sup>l l</sup> eorumque ACHN

45 <sup>a</sup> descenderunt A <sup>b b</sup> uniuersique ACHN <sup>c</sup> perlatam A <sup>d</sup> pusilli ACHN  
<sup>e e</sup> artasque ACHN <sup>f</sup> faceret A <sup>g</sup> milites CHN  
<sup>h</sup> appropinquantium A <sup>i i</sup> eiusque socios A

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Gen. 27: 40; Gal. 5: 1.

city and to kill the Christians. After the duke heard the legation with its entreaties and he understood the Christians' danger, in that same night he sent ahead about a hundred armoured cavalry chosen from the camp and his own company to help the abandoned faithful of Christ who were congregated in Bethlehem. They rode with haste, in accordance with the command of the most devout and Christian duke, and covered six miles by riding all night, arriving in Bethlehem at first light of day. When they knew of their arrival, the Christian townspeople came in procession to meet them with hymns and praises and sprinkling of holy water and welcomed those same Christian riders joyfully, kissing their eyes and hands and reporting these things to them: 'Thanks be to God that we see now in our own time those things which were always our desire, namely you, our Christian brothers, arriving to cast off the yoke of our slavery,<sup>71</sup> and to restore the holy places of Jerusalem, and to take away the rites of the gentiles and their impurities from the holy place.'<sup>72</sup>

45. The cavalry sent out had only just left the camp when the news reached the ears of the leaders and everyone in the army that a legation had been brought to the duke from Bethlehem. For this reason it was scarcely halfway through the night when everyone, small and great, struck camp directly and went on their way through the difficulties of the roads and the narrow hill passes. From then on all the cavalry were keen to go ahead and hurry their journey, lest the crowd of infantry overflowing on the narrow defiles of the paths might be a great hindrance to the horsemen. Indeed, great and small hastened their journey to Jerusalem with equal determination. The hundred riders sent ahead and now returning from Bethlehem joined them on the road, at that time when the dew on the grass is dried by the first heat of the early morning sun. Gaston of the city of Béziers, knowing that the strength of the approaching pilgrims was still unknown to the townspeople and soldiers of Jerusalem, as was prudent secretly withdrew from the army with thirty men who were skilful in battle and ambushes, and he galloped through the boundaries of that same city with his men, seizing booty everywhere and carrying it off. But when the townspeople and Saracen soldiers realized his boldness the booty was seized from him. They pursued Gaston and his companions to the slope of a certain cliff face.

<sup>72</sup> Albert underplays the part played by Tancred and Baldwin of Bourcq in the capture of Bethlehem (Arabic Bayt Lahm); cf. FC, pp. 278–80.

rupis insecuti sunt. Ab eadem autem<sup>j</sup> rupe, Tancrado ex aduerso descendenti,<sup>k</sup> qui et ipse exercitum precessit causa querendi necessaria, idem Gastus obuiam factus est. Qui Sarracenorum ab urbe egressionem et prede sue excussionem manifestans, ad insectandos eosdem hostes ipsius Tancradi animum uehementer accendit. Vnde ambo admixtis sociorum uiribus<sup>l</sup> fortiter in terga aduersariorum equos laxant, usque ad portas urbis Ierusalem eos in fugam remittentes. Predam uero retinentes, ad subsequentem Christianorum exercitum perduxerunt. Visis autem predarum gregibus et<sup>m</sup> reuersis fratribus requirunt uniuersi unde has predarum copias adduxerint.<sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup>Qui has<sup>o</sup> a campo Ierusalem rapuisse et abduxisse professi sunt. Ierusalem uero nominari audientes, omnes pre leticia in fletum lacrimarum fluxerunt, eo quod tam uicini adessent<sup>p</sup> loco sancto desiderate urbis, pro qua tot labores, tot pericula, tot genera mortis et famis passi<sup>q</sup> sunt. Mox pro<sup>r</sup> audite urbis desiderio et amore uidendi sanctam ciuitatem, obliti<sup>s</sup> laborum sueque<sup>t</sup> fatigationis<sup>s</sup> amplius quam solebant iter maturant.<sup>u</sup> Nec mora ulla intermissa est quousque ante muros Ierusalem in laudibus<sup>v</sup> et ymnorum<sup>v</sup> uociferatione pre gaudio lacrimantes, circiter sexaginta milia utriusque sexus constiterunt.<sup>73</sup>

46. Hiis itaque in locis Christianissimo exercitu in signis uariis et armis collato, porte urbis a militibus regis Babylonie clause sunt, turris Dauid<sup>74</sup> satellitio armato munita, uniuersi ciues in menibus ad prohibendum et resistendum populo catholico diffusi sunt. Irruperat enim rex Babylonie foedus quod legati eius Antiochiam missi cum principibus Christianis pepigerant, nihil cause aduersus eos habens, preter quod comes Reimundus Tortosam ciuitatem apprehendit et presidium Archas plurimis diebus obsedit.<sup>a</sup> Christiani ergo<sup>b</sup> uidentes regis miliciam, urbis munitionem ac<sup>c</sup> gentilium contradictionem, muros in circuitu locata obsidione uallant. Ducemque Godefridum, quia<sup>d</sup> erat potens consiliis et uiribus, cum Teutonicis bello ferocissimis in latere turris Dauid, ubi maior<sup>e</sup> uis defensionis redundabat,<sup>f</sup> ordinant, et una cum eo Tancradum, comitem Reimundum cum duobus episcopis Italie ante ianuam eiusdem turris cum suo comitatu sedere decreuerunt. Deinde Robertus Flandriensis, Hugo grandeuus

<sup>j</sup> om. C    <sup>k</sup> descendente ACHN    <sup>l</sup> copiis H    <sup>m</sup> a ACHN    <sup>n</sup> abduxerint AH; adduxerunt N; in E ab- is altered to ad-    <sup>o</sup> Illi eas ACH; Illi autem eas N  
<sup>p</sup> essent ACHN    <sup>q</sup> perpassi ACHN    <sup>r</sup> pre A    <sup>s</sup> laborem suamque fatigationem H    <sup>t</sup> sue N    <sup>u</sup> maturabant A    <sup>v</sup> ymnorumque ACH; et ymnis N

46    <sup>a</sup> expugnauit A    <sup>b</sup> uero N    <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>d</sup> altered to qui E    <sup>e</sup> A adds erat after maior    <sup>f</sup> om. A

However, from that same cliff Gaston met Tancred descending towards him, as he himself had ridden ahead of the army to look for supplies. He explained the Saracens' sortie from the city and their snatching of his booty, and kindled a violent desire in Tancred's mind to pursue those same enemies. So they both joined the forces of their comrades and galloped bravely after the enemies, putting them to flight all the way to the city gates of Jerusalem. They regained the booty, though, and took it back to the army of Christians which was following. When they saw the flocks of plunder, and their brothers returning, everyone asked where they had brought these supplies of booty from. They declared that they had seized them and carried them off from the plain of Jerusalem. Hearing Jerusalem named, all the people burst into floods of tears of happiness, because they were so close to the holy place of the longed-for city, for which they had suffered so many hardships, so many dangers, so many kinds of death and famine. Soon, for desire of the city they heard named, and longing to see the holy city, forgetful of hardships and their weariness, they hastened their journey more than usual. And it was not long before about sixty thousand of both sexes stood before the walls of Jerusalem in praises and singing of hymns, crying for joy.<sup>73</sup>

46. As the most Christian army gathered in these places with different signs and weapons, the city gates were closed by the soldiers of the king of Egypt, the Tower of David<sup>74</sup> was protected by an armed guard, and all the townspeople were spread out on the ramparts to bar the way and resist the Catholic army. For the king of Egypt had violated the treaty which his legates sent to Antioch had agreed with the Christian princes, having no just cause against them, except that Count Raymond had seized the town of Tortosa and besieged the fortress of Arqa for many days. The Christians, seeing the king's military strength, the defence of the city, and the resistance of the gentiles, blockaded and surrounded the walls. They stationed Duke Godfrey, because he was powerful in counsels and forces, with the Germans, who were very fierce in battle, on the side of the Tower of David, where the greater strength of the defence was concentrated, and Tancred along with him; they appointed Count Raymond to take up position with two bishops from Italy before the doorway of the same tower with his company. Then Robert of Flanders and the aged

<sup>73</sup> According to Raymond of Aguilers, whose estimate must be preferred, there were 12,000 troops, of which (he says earlier) 1,500 were knights (RA, pp. 136 and 148).

<sup>74</sup> Jerusalem's citadel, by the western, or Jaffa, Gate.

de sancto Paulo cum suis sodalibus ad obseruandos muros ciuitatis in decliui parte<sup>g</sup> camporum sedere delegerunt.<sup>h</sup> Robertus uero Nortmannorum princeps et Conens<sup>i</sup> Britannus iuxta muros ubi est oratorium beati protomartyris Stephani in ordine sociorum tentoria<sup>j</sup> 464 extenderunt. Comes Reinboldus<sup>k</sup> | de ciuitate Oringis, Lodwicus<sup>l</sup> de Monzun, Cono<sup>m</sup> de Monte Acuto filiusque eius Lambertus, Gastus de Bederz, Gerardus de Roselon,<sup>n</sup> Baldwinus de Burg, Thomas de Feria castro undique in circuitu urbis consederunt. Comes uero Reimundus uidens quia alias posset proficere, castra sua ab obsidione portarum turris Dauid sustulit, relictis quibusdam sociis ad custodiam portarum, et super montem Syon fixis tentoriis urbem obsidere profectus est. Hac<sup>o</sup> itaque in circuitu obsidione collocata<sup>p</sup> a primoribus<sup>q</sup> Gallorum <sup>r</sup>et exploratis<sup>r</sup> locis ne quid<sup>s</sup> uacuum aut oportuno insidiis pateret, ad montem Oliueti uentum est. Vbi etiam uirorum fortium custodias<sup>t</sup> posuerunt, ne aliquis assultus ab hac parte ex inproviso fieret et gentilium insidie per iuga descendantium Christianos incautos deciperent. Vallis uero Iosaphat, super quam etiam urbs et eius edificia<sup>u</sup> iminebant, inobsessa remansit, propter locorum difficultates et uallium profunditates. Erant tamen illic nocte ac die assidue uigilie et custodie Christianorum.<sup>v</sup> 75

<sup>g</sup> latere *A*      <sup>h</sup> decreuerunt *A*      <sup>i</sup> Conans *C*      <sup>j</sup> tabernacula *H*  
<sup>k</sup> Reimboldus *CHN*      <sup>l</sup> Lûdewicus *AH*; Lûdwicus *C*; Ludewicus *N*      <sup>m</sup> Cûno *C*;  
 Cuno *HN*      <sup>n</sup> Rosselon *C*      <sup>o</sup> ac *H* (initial missing)      <sup>p</sup> locata *H*      <sup>q</sup> primorum  
*CH*      <sup>r</sup> exploratisque *ACHN*      <sup>s</sup> quod *H*      <sup>t</sup> custodiam *A*      <sup>u</sup> menia *A*  
<sup>v</sup> *AH* add Explicit liber quintus; *C* Finit liber quintus after Christianorum.

Hugh of Saint-Pol with their fellows were told to position themselves to keep watch on the town walls in the sloping part of the plains. Robert prince of Normandy and Conan the Breton pitched their tents in the due order of their comrades next to the walls where there is the chapel of the blessed protomartyr Stephen. Count Raimbold of Orange, Louis of Mousson, Cono of Montaigu, his son Lambert, Gaston of Béziers, Gerard of Roussillon, Baldwin of Bourcq, Thomas of the castle of La Fère settled on all sides around the city. Count Raymond, seeing that he could do better elsewhere, moved his camp away from the blockade of the gates of the Tower of David, leaving certain comrades to guard the gates, and set out to besiege the city by pitching tents upon Mount Sion. Once this siege was put in place all around by the leaders of the Gauls, and places had been reconnoitred so that none would be left empty or vulnerable to ambushes, they went to the Mount of Olives. There too they placed strong men as guards, so that there would not be any unexpected attack from this side, and ambushes from gentiles coming down over the ridge would not entrap unwary Christians. But the valley of Jehosaphat, above which the city and its buildings towered, remained unblockaded, because of the difficulties of the terrain and the depth of the valleys. Nevertheless there were keen Christian watchmen and guards in that place night and day.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>75</sup> For the disposition of the armies during the siege of Jerusalem see J. Prawer, 'The Jerusalem the crusaders captured: A contribution to the medieval topography of the city', in P. W. Edbury, ed., *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 1-16, and cf. France, *Victory*, pp. 337-45. France refers to Albert's 'rather curious order of siege' and his 'deep topographical confusion', and suggests that he has confused the citadel with the 'Quadrangular Tower', which occupied the north-west angle of the city walls.

## LIBER SEXTVS

467 1. Sancta autem ciuitate sic undique uallata, quinta die obsidionis<sup>1</sup> ex iussione et consilio predictorum principum loriceis et galeis Christiani induti, facta scutorum testudine, muros et menia sunt aggressi, uiros Sarracenos bello fortiter lacescentes in iaculis saxorum, fundibulis et sagittis trans muros uolantibus, et<sup>a</sup> ab intus et deforis per longum dici spacium dimicantes. Multi ex fidelibus sauciati et lapidibus quassati et adtriti<sup>b</sup> sunt, quidam sagittarum infixione oculos amiserunt. Sed primorum nullus Deo donante illa die percussus est. Christiani uero<sup>c</sup> moleste ferentes populi sui<sup>d</sup> contritionem, labori et bello amplius incumbabant, murosque exteriores urbis,<sup>e</sup> quos barbicanas uocant, ualide inpu gnantes, ferreis malleis et lignonibus partim sciderunt.<sup>f</sup> Sed tamen non multum hac die proficere potuerunt.

2. Sedato tandem hoc belli turbine, uidens dux et primi exercitus quoniam urbs<sup>a</sup> armis et assultu esset<sup>b</sup> insuperabilis, in castra ab assultu sunt relati, communi consilio usi, quia nisi ingeniis machine et manganarum urbs adquiratur, numquam aliqua ui armorum posset<sup>c</sup> superari. Quod omnibus utile uisum est consilium; machinas et mangenas arietesque fabricari. Sed deficiebat materia lignorum quorum magna in illis regionibus est penuria. Ad hec quidam confrater<sup>d</sup> Christianus Syrus natione peregrinis locum indicat ubi ligna ad construendas machinas reperiri possent, uidelicet in quibusdam montibus, uersus plagam Arabie. Reuelato autem loco lignorum Robertus Flandriensis et Robertus Nortmannorum dominus, Gerardus<sup>e</sup> quoque de Keresi, assumpta manu equitum et peditum, trans |  
468 quatuor miliaria profecti sunt. Vbi ligna inuenta tergis camelorum imponentes, ad sedem sociorum sine damno reuersi sunt.<sup>2</sup>

1 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>b</sup> attritique ACHN    <sup>c</sup> om. H    <sup>d</sup> om. H    <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> scinderunt E

2 <sup>a</sup> om. A    <sup>b</sup> foret ACHN    <sup>c</sup> possit ACHN    <sup>d</sup> frater A    <sup>e</sup> Gerhardus  
CH, here and later

<sup>1</sup> Saturday 11 June 1099.

## BOOK SIX

1. Once the holy city was blockaded on all sides in this way, on the fifth day of the siege,<sup>1</sup> on the orders and advice of the aforesaid princes, the Christians put on hauberks and helmets, made a shield roof, and attacked the walls and ramparts, bravely provoking the Saracen men to battle with hurled stones, slings, and with arrows flying over the walls, and they fought inside and out all day long. Many of the faithful were wounded and crushed by stones and destroyed; some lost their eyes when arrows pierced them. But by God's gift none of the leaders was struck down that day. Indeed the Christians were vexed by the damage to their army and they intensified the effort and the battle, attacking strongly the exterior walls of the city, which are called barbicans, and partly breaching them with iron hammers and mattocks. But nevertheless they were unable to get very far on this day.

2. At length, when this tumult of battle had subsided, since the duke and the foremost in the army saw that the city was unconquerable by force of arms and attack, they returned from the assault to the camp and reached a common conclusion, that unless the city was taken by siege engines and mangonels it could never be conquered by any other strength of weapons. Everyone realized it was a good plan for engines and mangonels and battering rams to be constructed. But they lacked the timbers, of which there was a great shortage in those regions. At this point a certain brother Christian, a Syrian by birth, told the pilgrims of a place where timbers could be found for building siege engines, that is to say in certain mountains towards the region of Arabia. When the location of timber was disclosed, Robert of Flanders and Robert lord of the Normans, also Gerard of Quierzy, took a group of cavalry and infantry and set out on the four-mile journey. There they put the wood they found on the backs of camels and returned without injury to their comrades' position.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Radulf of Caen also describes the search for wood, led by Tancred, who was suffering from dysentery and discovered the timbers entirely by chance (or by a miracle, as Radulf says), hidden in a cave. They were revealed to be 400 ready-hewn timbers which had been left there by the Saracens after their successful assault on Jerusalem the previous year (RC, pp. 689-90).

3. Crastina uero luce primum terris inmissa, uniuersi artifices operi machine, manganarum et arietis instant, alii securibus, alii terebellis, quousque sub spacio quatuor ebdomadaram opus machine, arietis et manganarum ad unguem<sup>a</sup> perductum est ante turrin Daud in aspectu<sup>b</sup> omnium qui in eodem presidio morabantur. Deinde moniti sunt iuuenes, senes, pueri, puelle ac mulieres<sup>3</sup> ut conuenirent in uallem Bethleem<sup>4</sup> omnes uirgulta in mulis ac asinis aut humeris suis allaturi, de quibus crates trilices<sup>c</sup> contexerentur, ex quibus machina uestita iacula Sarracenorum paruipenderet. Quod et actum est. Vimina et uirgulta plurima allata sunt, quibus crates contexte coriis equinis et taurinis ac camelorum operte sunt, ne facile hostili incendio machina cremaretur.

4. Interea in hac mora longe obsidionis et prolixa et operosa<sup>a</sup> structura machinarum, compulit quosdam indigentia rerum necessariarum ab exercitu surgere, uictus querere.<sup>5</sup> Sed dum casu in finitimas oras<sup>b</sup> Ramnetis urbis prenominate inciderent, predas comportarent, greges cogerent, ab insidiis Sarracenorum qui ab Ascalona<sup>c</sup> ciuitate regis Babylonie descenderant, adtriti sunt, et preda retenta est. Gisilbertus<sup>d</sup> de Treua et Achart<sup>e</sup> de Montmerla, fortes Christianorum duces et uiri nobiles, illic post plurimum certaminis detruncati corruerunt. Reliqui uero ex sociis eorum in fugam conuersi per montana uiam accelerabant ad<sup>f</sup> Ierusalem. Ad hec Baldwinus de Burg<sup>g</sup> ad idem negocium contrahendi escas cum Thoma de Feria castro, assumpta manu equitum, progressus, obuiam fugitiuis et disturbatis confratribus<sup>h</sup> factus est. Qui rem et casum<sup>i</sup> illorum intelligens, consolatus est uniuersos<sup>j</sup> ut redirent secum in ultionem suarum calumniarum. Continuo peregrini<sup>k</sup> confratres ex<sup>b</sup> consolatione fortium uirorum respirantes reuersi sunt unanimiter et recenter in persecutione inimicorum, cum<sup>l</sup> eis diu prelia conserentes.<sup>m</sup> Hinc et hinc plures occisi ac uulnerati sunt. Baldwinus de Burg aduerso telo "in pectore" uulneratus est.

3    <sup>a</sup> unguen *H*    <sup>b</sup> conspectu *A*    <sup>c</sup> triplices *H*

4    <sup>a</sup> operosaque *ACHN*    <sup>b</sup> horas *E*    <sup>c</sup> Ascalona *N*    <sup>d</sup> Ghisilbertus *N. AEHN*  
     <sup>e</sup> have Gisilbertus later    <sup>e</sup> Achar *H*    <sup>f</sup> in *A*    <sup>g</sup> Burch *H*    <sup>h</sup> fratribus *ACHN*  
     <sup>i</sup> causam *A*    <sup>j</sup> uniuersus *E*    <sup>k</sup> *om. ACHN*    <sup>l</sup> *H* adds et before cum  
     <sup>m</sup> conferentes *N*    <sup>n</sup> *om. H*

<sup>3</sup> The part played by old men and by women in the capture of Jerusalem is also recorded in an anonymous account, published by J. France, 'The text', pp. 645-6. The much later *Chanson de Jérusalem* gives the women their own battalion and also describes their bringing water to the warriors (ed. Thorp, pp. 108-9, 112).

<sup>4</sup> Bethlehem (Bayt Lahm) is about six miles south of Jerusalem.

3. At first light on the following day all the master craftsmen set about the making of an engine, mangonels, and a battering ram, some with axes, some with gimlets, until within four weeks the work on the engine, ram, and mangonels was brought to perfection in front of the Tower of David, in full view of all those who were quartered in that same fortress. Then young men, old men, boys, girls, and women<sup>3</sup> were told to go together into the valley of Bethlehem<sup>4</sup> and all to bring back on mules or donkeys or on their own shoulders withies from which panels could be plaited, and when the engine was protected with these it would make light of the Saracens' projectiles. This was done. Very many osiers and withies were brought, from which panels were woven and then covered with the skins of horses, cattle, or camels, so the engine would not easily be burnt by enemy fire.

4. Meanwhile, during this lengthy siege and the long-drawn-out and painstaking construction of the engines, shortage of provisions compelled certain men to sally forth from the army in search of supplies.<sup>5</sup> But when they happened to enter the territory of the aforementioned city of Ramla, and they collected booty and drove together flocks, they were destroyed by ambushes of Saracens who had ridden down from Ascalon,<sup>6</sup> the king of Egypt's town, and the booty was kept by them. Gilbert of Traves and Achard of Montmerle, brave leaders of Christians and noble men, were maimed and fell in that place after a great deal of fighting. The rest of their comrades were put to flight and made their way at speed through the mountain regions to Jerusalem. At this point, as he was going along, Baldwin of Bourcq, who was about the same business of gathering food with Thomas of Castle La Fère, taking a group of cavalry, met their brothers who had been thrown into flight and disorder. When Baldwin realized what was the matter and what had happened to them, he comforted them all with the suggestion that they return with him to avenge their injuries. The pilgrim brothers were immediately revived by the comfort of the brave men and returned wholeheartedly and with renewed vigour to the pursuit of their enemies, joining battle with them for a long time. On this side and that many were killed and wounded. Baldwin of Bourcq was wounded in the chest by a blow from the front.

<sup>5</sup> This expedition is described in *Gesta Francorum* as a hundred knights from the army of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, including Raymond Pilet, Achard of Montmerle, and William of Sabran (*GF*, pp. 88–9). Raymond of Aguilers says it was led by Galdemar Carpenel (*RA*, pp. 141–2). Both authors agree that the sortie was a response to a plea for help from Jaffa, where a Christian fleet had put in.

<sup>6</sup> Al-'Asqalān (Arabic); Ashqelon (Hebrew).



5. At length, as the Christians prevailed and put the Saracens to flight, they held captive one of them, a noble knight, a bald-headed man, of outstanding stature, elderly and corpulent. They brought him back to Jerusalem and bound him in fetters in the tent of the aforesaid Baldwin. But this man sat down in state on Baldwin's couch, which was covered with very precious purple cloth. Moreover, the Christian princes, who saw that this same Saracen was a wise, noble, and vigorous man, frequently enquired about and discussed his life and customs, and tried to convert him to the faith of Christianity. But as he scorned this faith in every way he was brought out in front of the Tower of David to frighten the guards of the citadel and was beheaded by Baldwin's squire in full view of all.<sup>7</sup> The two princes named above, Gilbert and Achard, who were slaughtered in gentile ambushes, were brought back with great lamentation to the place of the siege. Christian priests carried out the funeral rites for them and placed their bones in the sepulchre of their Christian brothers which was outside the town.

6. The holy city and our mother Jerusalem, which her bastard sons had assaulted and her legitimate sons had denied, was besieged on the Tuesday in the second week in July<sup>8</sup> when the heat and burning of the sun is said to be unbearable, and especially in these eastern regions, when not only do the streams lack water, but even the small springs are only to be found three miles away.<sup>9</sup> In this siege the Christian army was severely tormented by the heat of the blazing sun, by the unbearable lack of water and the incredibly arid landscape. When some comrades were sent to track down and draw on the springs scattered here and there, sometimes they returned unharmed, having drawn water, and at other times they were in danger of having their heads cut off in gentile ambushes. The water they brought back in goatskin bags was stirred up and muddied because so many were competing in their efforts to draw it and it had in it slippery worms of leeches. From this, as much as a person could take in his mouth from the narrow opening of the skin was sold for twopence, although it might be old and putrid, or taken from filthy marshes or ancient cisterns. Very many of the noncombatant crowd who were tormented

circumstantial an account as Albert (*GF*, p. 89; *BD*, p. 98). Both the *Gesta* author and Baudri, on the other hand, give very precisely the number of horses captured: 103.

<sup>8</sup> The date should be Tuesday 7 June 1099: cf. *GF*, p. 87; *RA*, p. 134.

<sup>9</sup> The Christians' sufferings from lack of water were exacerbated by the defenders' having blocked the wells and springs in the vicinity of Jerusalem: see *RA*, p. 139.

artabantur, dum sic bibendi licentiam acciperent, lubricos uermes et aquatiles deglutiebant, et sic tumefacto gutture aut uentre exinguebantur.<sup>10</sup> Tantum de monte Syon riuulus perexiguus manat, cuius subterraneus ductus a palacio Salomonis<sup>g</sup> est iactu sagitte, usque ad eum locum quo edificium in modum claustrum muratum et quadratum habetur, et in medio cuius per noctem riuulus congregatus adunatur. De quo in die ciues utuntur, armenta<sup>h</sup> adaquantur.<sup>11</sup>

7. Ex hoc<sup>a</sup> creberrimo haustu exercitus interdum<sup>b</sup> refocillabatur, licet ex<sup>c</sup> hac parte inobsessa, sepius ciues haurientibus iacula intorquerent, et a stillicidio hoc Christianos prorsus abstertere laborarent. Vuarum copia<sup>d</sup> et uini<sup>d</sup> affluentia primoribus semper habundabat, et precium habentibus, egenis uero et<sup>e</sup> rebus exhaustis etiam aque ut audistis nimia erat defectio. Vnde hac sitis pestilentia ingrauescente, populoque catholico diu in obsidione laborante, uisum est primoribus<sup>f</sup> populi, ex consilio episcoporum et cleri qui aderant, ut consulerent quendam uirum Dei qui erat in antiqua turri procere altitudinis in Monte Oliuarum<sup>12</sup> solitarius, quid agerent, quid primum insisterent, reuelantes ei quanto desiderio ad ingrediendam urbem et sepulchrum Domini uidendum estuarent, et quanta in uia pro hac fide et uoto pericula<sup>g</sup> sustinuissent. Vir autem Dei audita eorum intentione et<sup>h</sup> desiderio consilium protulit, quatenus primum in afflictione ieiuniorum et continuatione orationum deuote persisterent,<sup>i</sup> et post hec muris et<sup>j</sup> Sarracenis Deo auxiliante tutius inferrent assultum.

8. Iam ex uiri Dei consilio ab episcopis et clero triduanum ieiunium indicitur, et in<sup>a</sup> sexta feria processionem uniuersi Christiani circa urbem facientes,<sup>13</sup> deinde ad Montem Oliueti uenientes, in loco ubi Dominus Iesus celos ascendit, ac inde procedentes alio in loco ubi discipulos suos<sup>b</sup> Pater Noster<sup>b</sup> orare docuit, in omni deuotione et humilitate constiterunt. Illic in eodem loco Montis Petrus Heremita

<sup>g</sup> Salemonis C, and H later      <sup>h</sup> animalia H

7    <sup>a</sup> hac GEN      <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>d d</sup> uinique ACHN      <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>f</sup> primatibus ACHN      <sup>g</sup> periculi A      <sup>h</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> insisterent ACHN      <sup>j</sup> ac ACHN

8    <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>b b</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the remark by G. Cansdale: 'Leeches normally fasten on the skin but some can invade the throat and nasal passages after being taken into the mouth with water, and this may have fatal results': *Animals of Bible Lands* (Exeter, 1970), pp. 233-4.

<sup>11</sup> This was the spring and pool of Siloam. According to Raymond of Aguilers it was unreliable, and soon contaminated by the bodies of animals. He describes the agonies of

by unbearable thirst took this opportunity of drinking, and while they did so they swallowed down the slippery water worms and so were killed by swollen throat or stomach.<sup>10</sup> Only the tiniest streamlet flowed from Mount Sion, and its subterranean channel runs an arrow flight away from the palace of Solomon to that place where there is a building walled and squared like a cloister, in the middle of which the streamlet collected in a pool through the night. The citizens used it during the day and watered their herds.<sup>11</sup>

7. The army was sometimes refreshed from the constant drawing of water, although this part of the city was not blockaded and the citizens often hurled missiles and tried hard to frighten the Christians off their watering altogether. There was always a good supply of grapes and an abundance of wine for the leaders and those who could afford them, but for the poor and the destitute there was even a very great lack of water, as you have heard. For this reason, as this problem of thirst grew worse and the Catholic people suffered long in this siege, the foremost of them, on the advice of the bishops and clergy who were there, thought it a good idea to consult a certain man of God who was a hermit in an ancient and tall tower on the Mount of Olives,<sup>12</sup> as to what they should do, what should be their first purpose, revealing to him how they were burning with desire to enter the city and see the Sepulchre of the Lord, and how many dangers they had undergone on the journey for this faith and their vow. When the man of God heard their purpose and desire he offered the advice that first they should devoutly stand firm in the suffering of fasting and constant prayer, and after this they would more surely with God's aid carry out an attack on the walls and the Saracens.

8. Now a three-day fast was announced by the bishops and clergy on the man of God's advice, and on the Friday all the Christians made a procession around the city,<sup>13</sup> then came to the Mount of Olives, in the place where Lord Jesus rose into heaven, and going in procession from there they halted in complete devotion and humility in another place where he taught his disciples to pray 'Our Father'. There in that same place on the Mount, Peter the Hermit and Arnulf of

thirst suffered by the Christian armies, as does the *Gesta* author, who also refers to the use of animal skins to carry water, and how foul the contents were (RA, pp. 139-40; *GF*, p. 89).

<sup>12</sup> A short distance outside the eastern wall of the city.

<sup>13</sup> 8 July 1099. The procession and fast are mentioned in *GF*, though not the hermit; Raymond of Aguilers says the instructions were given by Adhémar of Le Puy in a vision (*GF*, p. 90; RA, p. 144).

et Arnolfus<sup>c</sup> de Zokes<sup>14</sup> castello Flandrie, clericus magne scientie et  
 471 facundie ad populum | sermonem facientes, plurimam discordiam  
 que inter peregrinos de diuersis causis excreuerat extinxerunt.  
 Dissensionem uero que inter comitem Reimundum et Tancradum  
 diu inualuit, propter conuentionem solidorum quos ei iniuste comes  
 negauerat, ex ammonitione<sup>d</sup> spirituali utrisque principibus concun-  
 tis, concordie amore placauerunt. Placatis autem hiis et in concordiam  
 cum aliis multis Christianis confratribus reductis, tota illa Christia-  
 norum processio a loco predicto<sup>e</sup> Oliueti<sup>f</sup> Montis descendens, ad  
 proximum montem Syon in ecclesia sancte Dei genitricis<sup>15</sup> collata est.  
 Vbi clerici albis induti et reliquias sanctorum cum reuerentia<sup>g</sup> fer-  
 entes, pluresque<sup>h</sup> idonei laici a sagittis Sarracenorum qui in menibus  
 urbis transeuntes obseruabant, percussi sunt. Est autem ciuitas  
 proxima huic ecclesie Syon, quantum iactus habet sagitte.<sup>h</sup> Hoc  
 etiam in loco ad suscitandam iram Christianorum in derisum etiam<sup>i</sup>  
 et obprobrium cruces fixerunt, super quas<sup>j</sup> aut spuebant,<sup>j</sup> aut in oculis  
 omnium mingere non abhorrebant.<sup>16</sup>

9. Dehinc, ieiunio cum processione sancta et letania<sup>a</sup> et oratione  
 finito,<sup>a</sup> iam celum tenebris operientibus noctis in silentio deportata est  
 machina per partes et uniuersa strues manganarum ad ipsum locum  
 ciuitatis, ubi oratorium situm est protomartyris<sup>b</sup> Stephani, uersus  
 uallem Iosaphat,<sup>c</sup> 17 in die sabbati collocatis tabernaculis in circuitu  
 machine ab hac statione sublatis. Vbi machina et omnia instrumenta  
 manganarum et arietis ad unguem fabricata sunt. Verum ex consilio  
 maiorum instrumenta trium manganarum ordinata eriguntur,  
 quarum priori assultu et impetu Christiani ciues Sarracenos a  
 muris<sup>d</sup> et menibus arcentes absterrent, et muralia repentino iactu  
 et<sup>e</sup> silicis<sup>f</sup> tactu perfringere ualerent. Tandem Sarraceni hoc impetu et  
 iactu perspicientes muros grauiter concuti et minui, saccos stipula<sup>g</sup> et  
 palea<sup>g</sup> refertos, ac nauium funes magne grossitatis<sup>h</sup> strictim densatos,

<sup>c</sup> All MSS Arnolf- here but later Arnulf- ACHN, Arnulph- EN <sup>d</sup> ammonicie A  
<sup>e</sup> predicti H <sup>f</sup> Oliuarum A <sup>g</sup> ferebant plures N <sup>h</sup> lapidis A <sup>i</sup> om. A  
<sup>j</sup> aspuebant N

9 <sup>a</sup> finito et oratione A; orationeque finito CHN <sup>b</sup> prothomartyris ACHN  
<sup>c</sup> Iosaphat E here, Iosaphath later <sup>d</sup> muro A <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN <sup>f</sup> ACHN add  
 quoque after silicis <sup>g</sup> paleaque ACHN <sup>h</sup> grossitudinis H

<sup>14</sup> A village near Théroutan (dépt. Pas-de-Calais, France). For Arnulf's career, see below n. 64.

<sup>15</sup> To the south of the city. The church was in ruins in 1099; later rebuilt by the crusaders, it no longer stands.

Chocques,<sup>14</sup> a castle in Flanders, a cleric of great knowledge and eloquence, preached a sermon to the people and laid to rest the very great discord which had grown up among the pilgrims from different causes. Indeed, since both princes felt remorseful after the spiritual admonition, Count Raymond and Tancred soothed with harmonious love the dissension which had long prevailed between them on account of the sum of money which had been agreed but which the count had unjustly refused to pay Tancred. When these two were reconciled, moreover, and brought back to friendship with the many other Christian brothers, that entire procession of Christians came down from the aforesaid place, the Mount of Olives, and assembled on the next mountain, Sion, in the church of the holy mother of God.<sup>15</sup> There the clerics, wearing albs and reverently bearing relics of the saints, and many worthy laymen were hit by arrows from the Saracens who were watching their movements on the city ramparts. For the town is very close to this church of Sion, just the distance of an arrow flight. In this place, as well, to arouse the Christians' anger, they fixed crosses in mockery and abuse, upon which they either spat, or they did not shrink from urinating in full view of everyone.<sup>16</sup>

9. Then, when the fast, with the holy procession and litany, was finished, once darkness was covering the sky, at dead of night the siege engine was carried off, and all the heaps of stones for the mangonels, through the districts to that same part of the town where the chapel of the protomartyr Stephen is situated, towards the valley of Jehosaphat,<sup>17</sup> since on the day of the sabbath tents had been moved away from this position and had been placed around the engine. There the construction of the siege engine and of all the apparatus of mangonels and of the ram was brought to completion. In fact, by majority decision the apparatus for three mangonels was arranged and put up, so that the Christians could use their first assault and attack to frighten off the Saracen citizens who were preventing them from approaching the walls and ramparts, and they could breach the wall works with a sudden bombardment and stone attack. At length, when the Saracens realized the walls were being seriously struck and destroyed by this assault and bombardment, they brought out sacks

<sup>16</sup> Raymond of Aguilers also describes the Turks insulting crosses by putting them on gallows and mocking them with blows and insults. Tudebode has the Turks beating and shattering a cross against the walls (RA, p. 145; PT, p. 137).

<sup>17</sup> St Stephen's church stood north of the city, outside St Stephen's Gate, now the Damascus Gate. The valley of Jehosaphat runs north-south outside the eastern wall.

muris et menibus affigentes opposuerunt, quatenus impetum et ictum mangenarum molliter exciperent, et nequaquam muris <sup>i</sup>et menibus<sup>i</sup> nocerent. Dux ergo uidens hoc impedimentum suis ingeniis oppositum funibus et saccis sagittas ardentes ilico ab igne eductas baleari arcu intorsit, et sic igne <sup>j</sup>infixo et inmisso aride materiei, <sup>j</sup>a leni<sup>k</sup> aura tenuis flamma suscitabatur, quousque uires adquirens saccos <sup>i</sup>et funes<sup>i</sup> consumpsit et rursum impetus muros et menia minuebat.

- 472 10. Inter hec ad augendam ruinam et stragem murorum allatus est prefatus aries, horrendi ponderis et operis, uestitus uimineis cratibus. Qui uirtute et inestimabili inundatione uirorum impulsus, barbicanas, exteriores scilicet muros muris oppositos, equato uallo urbis a uiris arietem impellentibus, graui impetu in momento comminuit ac<sup>a</sup> deiecit; et uiam machine ad interiores muros et <sup>b</sup>antiquos<sup>b</sup> aptauit, foramenque pergrande et horrendum iam ad urbem pertransiens <sup>c</sup>muros ciuitatis<sup>c</sup> infregit. Hoc itaque foramen trans muros urbis defensores intuentes, <sup>d</sup>non<sup>c</sup> ultra id periculum sufferre ualentes, igne sulphureo, piceo <sup>f</sup>et cereo<sup>f</sup> suscitato, arietem nimium uicinum muris succenderunt, ne deinceps muros ferrata fronte<sup>18</sup> impelleret, et<sup>e</sup> foramen ampliaret. Tunc subito clamore populus Dei commotus, undique tentoriis et tuguriis aquam <sup>h</sup>conuocant, aquam conferunt, <sup>hi</sup>qua tandem aries ab igne restinctus est.

11. Interea dum aries extinguitur, mangenarum iactus et impetus assidue muros minuebat, custodes ac defensores a menibus arcebat. Nec mora inter hec machina cum omni structura sua erecta est, parietes, cenacula, cratesque illius operte coriis taurinis, equinis et camelinis, in quibus constituti sunt milites qui urbem impugnarent, et resistentes facilius certamine fatigarent. A die autem sabbati huius machine operi et compaginibus insudantes usque ad quintam feriam<sup>19</sup> protractum opus in uespere consummauerunt, ducemque<sup>a</sup>

<sup>i i</sup> menibusque ACHN      <sup>j j</sup> aride materiei infixo A; inmisso et aride materiei infixo C; infixo et aride materiei inherente H; infixo et aride materiei infixo N      <sup>k</sup> leui N  
<sup>i i</sup> funesque ACHN

10      <sup>a</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>b b</sup> antiqua menia A      <sup>c c</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>d</sup> uidentes A  
<sup>e</sup> nec ACHN      <sup>f f</sup> cereoque ACHN      <sup>g</sup> aut ACHN      <sup>h h</sup> conuehunt H  
<sup>i</sup> congerunt A

11      <sup>a</sup> et ducem ACHN

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Claudian, *In Rufinum*, ii. 361, where, however, the 'frons' belongs to a horse.

<sup>19</sup> 2-7 July 1099.

of straw and chaff, and ships' ropes of great size and closely packed, and fixed them against the walls and ramparts, so that they would cushion the attack and blows of the mangonels, and not harm the walls and ramparts at all. The duke, therefore, seeing this hindrance made of ropes and sacks put in the way of his siege engines, took burning arrows out of the fire and twisted them into his crossbow on the spot, and thus the arrow with fire affixed was shot out onto the dry stuff, and a slender flame was kindled by a gentle breeze, and it gathered strength until it consumed the sacks and ropes and once more the attack was dashing to pieces the walls and ramparts.

10. While all this was going on, the aforementioned battering ram was brought up to increase the ruin and destruction of the walls; it was of horrendous weight and craftsmanship, clad in wickerwork panels. It was driven on by the strength and sheer numbers of men, and with a heavy charge it weakened and overthrew in a moment the barbicans, that is to say the outer walls standing against the walls, the city rampart having been levelled by the men driving the ram, and it prepared a way to the inner and ancient walls for the engine and, as it now passed through an enormous and horrendous breach into the city, it damaged the town walls. When the city's defenders saw the breach through the walls they could no longer endure that risk and they set fire to the ram, which was too close to the walls, with fire kindled from sulphur, pitch, and wax, so that afterwards it would not drive at the walls with its iron-clad forehead<sup>18</sup> and enlarge the breach. Then God's people were stirred up by a sudden shouting; on all sides from tents and huts they were calling for water, bringing water, with which at length the fire on the battering ram was quenched.

11. Meanwhile, while the ram was being extinguished, the bombardment and attack of the mangonels was constantly breaking down the walls; the guards and defenders were keeping them from the ramparts. At once, while this was going on, the siege tower was erected with all its fittings; its walls, upper storeys, and panels were covered with the skins of cattle, horses, and camels, and in it were positioned the soldiers who would attack the city and more easily harass and fight those who withstood them. Moreover, they had sweated over the work and construction of this tower from the day of the sabbath to the Thursday<sup>19</sup> and finished the long-drawn-out task in the evening, and they appointed Duke Godfrey and his brother

Godefridum, eiusque fratrem Eustachium, similiter fratres duos Litholdum<sup>b</sup> et Engelbertum<sup>c</sup> <sup>20</sup> ortos<sup>d</sup> de ciuitate Tornacio, ad tuendam machinam et urbem bello concitandam ordinauerunt. Ducem Godefridum<sup>e</sup> suosque in superiori cenaculo Litholdum cum fratre suo et ceteris eorum sequacibus medio cenaculo inmorari decreuerunt,<sup>f</sup> in inferiori uero qui machinam trahentes urbi applicarent. In arce uero<sup>g</sup> machine eiusque cenaculis hiis constitutis, arietem post deletas barbicanas et equatum uallum, quia tam difficile onus tedium erat amouere, ultro<sup>h</sup> Christiani suo igni<sup>i</sup> combusserunt, ne tanti roboris magnitudo conductili machine esset impedimento.

- 473 12. Dehinc autem in sexta feria mane facto, Sarraceni milites et qui urbis erant ciues, machinam erectam intuentes, et in ea habitatores loricatos, stupefacti ac<sup>a</sup> tremefacti mirantur tam matutinos et bello paratos milites in machina apparere, omnesque per urbem gradientes sagittis et arcu infigere, et<sup>b</sup> pugna incessabili quosque per urbem uisos a machina desuper muros prominente iaculis et saxis urgere. Vnde unanimiter intra urbem<sup>c</sup> gentiles conglobati, uolatili telo sagittarum duci nocere et resistere non abstinuit. Et per menia dispersi peregrinos ledebant, peregrini<sup>d</sup> fortiter ex aduerso resistebant. Ad hanc denique mutuam contentionem ab intus et extra a machina que altitudine haste fraxinee et<sup>e</sup> urbem et menia superabat uiri et milites immanissimos silices contorquebant ad ledendos muros et absterrendos ciues a menium defensione, uniuersos per urbem circumuagos in sagittis et lapide<sup>f</sup> percutientes. Alio uero in latere urbis, supra montem Syon una a<sup>g</sup> machina comitis Reimundi milites contorquebant lapides et iacula, muros ledentes et per menia assistentes, et huic machine comitis frustra nocere querentes, que eadem nocte et hora qua et ducis erecta et muris applicata<sup>h</sup> est.<sup>21</sup>

13. Dum<sup>a</sup> hec obsidio sancte ciuitatis<sup>b</sup> tedio fieret, <sup>c</sup>et studiose<sup>c</sup> in eius captione omnibus modis et operibus feruerent et<sup>d</sup> plurima de minis et

<sup>b</sup> Litholfum ACHN. <sup>e</sup> has Luithold- later <sup>c</sup> Engelbertum ACHN <sup>d</sup> ortus A  
<sup>e</sup> ergo ACHN <sup>f</sup> fecerunt A <sup>g</sup> igitur ACHN <sup>h</sup> ultra N <sup>i</sup> igne H

12 <sup>a</sup> et ACHN <sup>b</sup> ac ACHN <sup>c</sup> ciuitatem ACHN <sup>d</sup> ACHN add uero after  
peregrini <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN <sup>f</sup> lapides N <sup>g</sup> om. H <sup>h</sup> applicita H

13 <sup>a</sup> Cum C <sup>b</sup> ACHN add iam after ciuitatis <sup>c</sup> studioseque ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> atque ACHN

<sup>20</sup> In spite of the fame which attached to the brothers on account of their being first into Jerusalem and ensured their mention in all the accounts, little more is known of them than their birthplace Tournai (prov. Hainaut, Belgium).

Eustace along with two brothers Lithold and Engilbert,<sup>20</sup> who were born in the town of Tournai, to protect the engine and to incite the city to battle. They decided Duke Godfrey and his men should stay in the upper storey; Lithold with his brother and the rest of their followers in the middle storey; in the lower, of course, were those who were pushing the engine and would bring it up to the city. So when these men were positioned in the fortress of the engine and its storeys, the Christians set fire with their own flame to the ram behind the destroyed barbicans and levelled rampart, because it was such a difficult and wearisome burden to move it out of the way, and so that its great size and strength would not be in the way of the machine being brought up.

12. Then, when morning arrived on the Saturday, the Saracen soldiers and those who were citizens of the town saw the tower erected and the armoured men occupying it, and they were stunned and trembling with fear, amazed that the soldiers appeared so early in the morning and ready for battle in the siege engine, and all of them went through the city to shoot with bow and arrows, and to press hard with javelins and rocks in constant battle anyone whom they saw from anywhere in the city on the engine which was towering above the walls. And so the gentiles who were assembled within the city were of one mind in trying to harm and resist the duke with flying arrows. And those spread out along the ramparts were injuring the pilgrims; the pilgrims were bravely fighting back. Then, from the engine which rose above both the city and the ramparts by the height of an ashen spear shaft, into this struggle to and fro, inside and out, the men and soldiers were hurling really enormous rocks to damage the walls and frighten off the citizens from the defence of the ramparts, striking with arrows and stones all who were ranging through the city. On another side of the city upon Mount Sion Count Raymond's soldiers were hurling stones and missiles from one engine, damaging the walls and those who were along the ramparts and seeking in vain to harm this engine of the count's, which had been erected and put against the walls on the same night and at the same time as the duke's.<sup>21</sup>

13. When this siege of the holy city was becoming wearisome, and they were striving eagerly by all ways and means for its capture, and

<sup>21</sup> Raymond of Aguilers describes in much more detail the construction of mantlets and towers under the direction of Gaston of Béarn for Godfrey and the two Roberts; William Embriacus was overseer for Raymond of Saint-Gilles (RA, pp. 145-6).

uirtute regis Babylonie innotescerent, peruenit ad aures principum exercitus per delatores eosdem, qui fratri Tancrado pecuniam et ornatum templi Domini ante captionem urbis propalauerunt, quatenus<sup>e</sup> ab urbe Ierusalem per eam portam Montis Oliueti et Vallis Iosaphat que inobsessa erat, assidua legatio regi Babylonie mitteretur de omnibus que fiebant, <sup>f</sup>et rursum<sup>f</sup> regis nuncia et consilia per eandem portam sepe et occulte reportarentur urbis defensoribus, et hoc Christianis leuiter magnum posse fieri impedimentum.<sup>22</sup> Qua de re habito caute super hiis<sup>g</sup> consilio, Christianorum principes collocauerunt latenter insidias in ualle et exitu eiusdem montis<sup>h</sup> noctis in silentio, ante et retro munitis uiarum semitis uigili custodia, ne si forte aliquis ab Ascalona uel Babylonia,<sup>i</sup> aut ab aliqua parte huius regni descenderet, uel a porta inobsessa solito more in legatio|nem procederet, in insidias incidens subito caperetur, <sup>j</sup>et nullo<sup>j</sup> diffugio<sup>k</sup> a manibus uigilantium elaberetur.

14. Sic tandem ordinatis uiarum custodibus, et in loco predicto montis Oliueti constitutis, duo Sarraceni ab Ascalona properantes, et regis Babylonie nuncia defensoribus urbis deferentes<sup>a</sup> iam noctis silentio incumbenti<sup>b</sup> in medio custodum uenientes astiterunt, urbem sine aliquo obstaculo ingredi sperantes. Sed subito a militibus et custodibus porte inobsesse capti et retenti sunt. Quorum alter a iuvene inmoderato hasta transfixus, mox exalauit spiritum. Alter uero uiuus et sanus<sup>c</sup> in presentiam Christianorum principum adductus est, ut ab eo extorquerent minis, aut promissione uite, cuius rei <sup>d</sup>nuncii aduenissent,<sup>d</sup> quatenus sic minus preuisa iacula nocere possent. Is uero<sup>e</sup> multum uite sue sollicitus et anxius, plurimum de regis Babylonie consilio et legatione aperuit, et quomodo nunc per eos ammonuisset fideles sibi milites una cum ciuibus ne aliquo terrore uel<sup>f</sup> oppressione fatigati deficerent, sed se inuicem consolando stabiles in defensione persisterent, scientes quia post quindecim dies ad

<sup>e</sup> quod ACHN <sup>ff</sup> rursumque ACHN <sup>g</sup> hoc A <sup>h</sup> A adds eiusdem after montis <sup>i</sup> A adds a before Babylonia <sup>jj</sup> nulloque ACHN <sup>k</sup> ACHN add aut latebra occultatus after diffugio

14 <sup>a</sup> perferentes A <sup>b</sup> incumbente ACHN <sup>c</sup> incolumis A <sup>d d</sup> nuntium apportassent A <sup>e</sup> denique ACHN <sup>f</sup> aut A

<sup>22</sup> The Saracens had expelled the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem as the crusaders approached, and these were probably the 'spies' who provided intelligence about the

they were finding out much more about the threats and strength of the king of Egypt, it came to the ears of the princes of the army, by way of those same spies who told brother Tancred about the money and ornament of the Lord's Temple before the capture of the city, that from the city of Jerusalem through that gate on the Mount of Olives and valley of Jehosaphat which was not blockaded a constant communication was sent to the king of Egypt about everything which happened, and the king's messages and advice were sent back again by the city's defenders frequently and secretly through that same gate, and this could easily become a great hindrance to the Christians.<sup>22</sup> On this account the Christian princes held a careful council about these things, and they secretly placed ambushes at dead of night in the valley and way out of that same mountain, protecting the footpaths before and behind with a watchful guard, so if anyone should come down from Ascalon or Egypt, or from any other part of this kingdom, or come out of the unblockaded gate to carry messages as was their custom, he would fall into an ambush and be captured unexpectedly, and would not slip away from the hands of those keeping watch and make an escape.

14. At length, after men had been organized in this way to guard the roads and positioned in the aforesaid place on the Mount of Olives, two Saracens who were making haste from Ascalon and bringing down messages from the king of Egypt to the city's defenders arrived in the midst of the guards just as night was falling silent, hoping to enter the city without any hindrance. But they were unexpectedly caught and held by the soldiers and guards of the unblockaded gate. One of them was speared by an over-eager young soldier and soon breathed his last. The other, though, was brought alive and unharmed into the presence of the Christian princes so that they might extract from him by threats or by promise of his life what was the substance of the messages they had brought, so that in this way the Christians would be less liable to be harmed because the missiles were foreseen. This man, indeed, was greatly concerned and worried for his life, so he revealed a great deal of the king of Egypt's advice and message, and how already through the messengers he had warned the soldiers who were faithful to him, along with the citizens, not to be worn down by any fear or oppression and fall short, but to comfort one another and stand firm in defence, knowing that in fifteen days' time

insecurity of the Gate of Jehosaphat. For the eviction of Christians see above, v. 44; William of Tyre claims only men were expelled (WT, p. 375).

auxilium eis<sup>g</sup> in uirtute magna Ierusalem uenire decreuisset ad exterminandos Gallos et suos liberandos. Post hanc <sup>h</sup>et ceteras<sup>h</sup> relationes militibus restitutus, tormento cuiusdam mangene ligatis manibus et pedibus est inmissus ut sic post primam et secundam inundationem trans muros iactaretur. Sed nimio corporis<sup>i</sup> eius pondere pellis mangene grauata, non longe miserum proiecit. Qui mox iuxta muros corruens super asperos silices, fractis ceruicibus, neruis et ossibus, in momento extinctus fuisse refertur.<sup>j23</sup>

15. Ciues autem et milites regis Babylonie uidentes sic regis legationem dissipatam, et audacius Christianos urbem expugnare,<sup>a</sup> et quia hinc et hinc machine nimium urbi infeste aduersarentur, apposuerunt et ipsi instrumenta quatuordecim manganarum erigere, quarum uirtute et impetu assidue in machinas lapides iactarentur, quorum crebris ictibus attonite quassarentur ac perirent, et in eis positi una in<sup>b</sup> earum ruina periclitarentur.<sup>24</sup> Ex hiis uero quatuordecim mangelis nouem machine comitis Reimundi opponuntur cum innumerabili manu et uirtute |  
475 ciuium. Quarum crebro et intolerabili impetu grauiter machina concussa et adtrita est, eiusque compagines dissolute. Quin uniuersi in ea uiri belligeri nimium artati et <sup>c</sup>stupefacti,<sup>c</sup> uix a mortis periculo elapsi sunt. Vnde quia tot creberrimos lapidum ictus sustinere non poterant et machine protectio defecerat procul a menibus reducta est machina nec ultra inuentus<sup>d</sup> qui hanc iterato ascenderet, et<sup>e</sup> ciues impugnando laceraret. Quinque uero residue contra machinam ducis eriguntur, ut eam pari impetu et iactu percuterent<sup>f</sup> et attererent.<sup>f</sup> Sed Deo auxiliante<sup>g</sup> licet crebro ictu tacta et quassata ruinam minaretur, integra et inuicta permansit, <sup>h</sup>et uimineis<sup>h</sup> cratibus protecta, miros<sup>i</sup> impetus lapidum molliter exceptos tolerabat.<sup>j</sup>

16. Erat crux in summitate eiusdem machine figuram continens Domini Iesu auro fulgidissima. Quam idem Sarraceni iactu manganarum assidue moliebantur percellere, sed nulla eis ferendi aut amouendi facultas concessa est. Illis uero sepius iacturam

<sup>g</sup> om. H      <sup>h</sup> h ceterasque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>j</sup> perhibetur A

15      <sup>a</sup> impugnare AN      <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> c stupefacti inopinato excidio ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> A adds est after inuentus      <sup>e</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>f</sup> f om. N      <sup>g</sup> protegente ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> h uimineisque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> muros N      <sup>j</sup> ACHN add fortiter before tolerabat

<sup>23</sup> Tudebode also has the story of the captured spy, though in his account only the one was sent. His fate, however, was the same (PT, p. 139).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Raymond of Aguilers, who says that for each of the crusaders' machines the Saracens had nine or ten (RA, p. 149).

he had decided to come to Jerusalem in great strength to assist them to exterminate the Gauls and liberate their own people. After this and other reports the messenger was handed back to the soldiers, and he was put into the throwing arm of one of the mangonels with hands and feet bound, so that he would be thrown over the walls after the first and second charge. But the skin of the mangonel was too heavily weighed down by the weight of his body and did not throw the wretch far. He soon fell onto sharp stones near the walls, broke his neck, his nerves and bones, and is reported to have died instantly.<sup>23</sup>

15. However, when the citizens and the king of Egypt's soldiers saw the king's legation destroyed in this way, and that the Christians were attacking the city more boldly, and that on this side and that the engines were turned against the city in a very dangerous manner, they decided they themselves would also erect the apparatus of fourteen mangonels, so that by their strength and force stones would constantly be thrown onto the towers, and by their frequent blows the engines would be thunderously shattered and destroyed, and those who were stationed inside them would at the same time be endangered by their ruin.<sup>24</sup> Nine of these fourteen mangonels were placed opposite Count Raymond's engine with a countless number and strength of citizens. The tower was severely shaken and weakened by their frequent and unbearable attack and its joints were loosened. Indeed, all the warlike men in the engine were very much crushed and stunned and they only just escaped with their lives. And so, because they could not withstand so many very rapid blows from the stones, and there was no protection for the tower, it was taken back far from the ramparts and no one would volunteer to climb it again and harm the citizens by attacking them. The five remaining mangonels were erected against the duke's tower in order to strike and weaken it with a comparable attack and bombardment. But with God's help, although it was hit by the frequent blows and shaken and threatened to collapse, it remained whole and unconquered, and because it was protected by the wicker panels it sustained and was cushioned against the amazing attack of stones.

16. There was a cross shining brightly with gold on top of that same engine, containing a statue of Lord Jesus. The Saracens were striving keenly to destroy this by the bombardment of mangonels, but they were given no opportunity of hitting or displacing it. While, indeed, they were hurling frequent attacks of stones against this cross, a stone

lapidum<sup>a</sup> aduersus crucem hanc molientibus, lapis fortuitu aduolans militem quendam assistentem lateri ducis in caput fortiter perculit.<sup>b</sup> Qui fracto cerebro et effusis ceruicibus momentaneo fine extinctus est. Dux uero uix ab ictu tam repentino obseruatus,<sup>c</sup> multum baleari arcu ciuibus<sup>d</sup> et mangelas<sup>d</sup> torquentibus resistebat, et crates a machina in impetu auulsas, interdum reparabat, et funibus religabat.

17. Sarraceni milites uidentes quia impetus mangelarum crates uiminas penetrare non poterat,<sup>a</sup> interdum ollas flammias<sup>b</sup> iactabant in crates machinam protegentes, ut prune aut scintille aride materiei adherentes<sup>c</sup> leui aura suscitata ampliarentur, et machinam consumerent. Sed industria Gallorum artem arte preuenit. Nam coriis lubricis machina<sup>d</sup> et crates operte flammam aut prunas iniectas minime retinebant, sed subito a coriis ignis labens humique cadens deficiebat. Tandem harum quinque mangelarum assiduis ictibus dux  
476 suique | grauati et artati, applicuerunt machinam in uirtute Christianorum comminus menia et muros, ut sic tutior aduersus mangelas<sup>e</sup> obsisteret, ac<sup>f</sup> mangene propter edificia domorum, turrium<sup>g</sup> abduci in loco spacioso non ualentes, minus iacerent et machinam ferire possent.<sup>h</sup> Iam uero iuxta muros adducta<sup>i</sup> machina, et quinque mangenis ab illa spaciosum recessum non inuenientibus lapis intortus et in impetu emissus, nimiam<sup>j</sup> uicinam transuolabat machinam, aut interdum uolatu suo deficiens, iuxta muros cadens, Sarracenos opprimebat. Sarraceni tandem intelligentes quia uiri in machina stant inperterriti, et mangelarum arte ledi non possunt, turrim quandam que uicinior erat machine saccis, stipula, focno, uel palca impletis, ac uimineis cratibus densitate quoque naualium funium aduersus<sup>k</sup> Christianorum mangelas undique in circuitu tectam munierunt, uiros pugnatores in ea constituentes, qui assidue moles lapidum fundibulis aut paruis mangelis in machinam iacerent, et eius habitatores diuersis armorum terroribus artarent. Sed nec sic machina ducis Godefridi cedente, nec eius custodibus ab assultu repressis, sed amplius et seuius inualescentibus,<sup>l</sup> Sarracenorum artifices aliud aptant ingenium, quo machina<sup>m</sup> et eius<sup>m</sup> possessores sine recuperatione consumerentur.

16 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> pertulit H <sup>c</sup> liberatus A <sup>d d</sup> mangelasque ACHN

17 <sup>a</sup> poterant ACHN <sup>b</sup> flammias N <sup>c</sup> inherentes A <sup>d</sup> machine H  
<sup>e</sup> machinas ACHN <sup>f</sup> et H <sup>g</sup> C adds et before turrium; turriumque A <sup>h</sup> A adds  
 non before possent <sup>i</sup> abducta H <sup>j</sup> nimium ACHN <sup>k</sup> aduersum A <sup>l</sup> E  
 adds et before inualescentibus <sup>m m</sup> eiusque ACHN

flying randomly hit a certain soldier who was standing at the duke's side hard on the head. His skull was broken and his neck shattered and he was killed instantly. The duke, who narrowly missed so sudden a blow, fought back fiercely with his crossbow against the citizens and those manning the mangonels, and whenever the panels were torn away from the engine in the attack he repaired them and fastened them with ropes.

17. The Saracen soldiers saw that the mangonels' attack could not penetrate the wicker panels, so from time to time they hurled pots vomiting flames onto the panels protecting the engine, so that the live coals or sparks would stick to the dry stuff and, being kindled by a light breeze, would grow in strength and burn up the engine. But the Gauls' diligence met artifice with artifice. For the engine and panels were covered with slippery skins and did not hold the flames or live coals thrown onto them, but at once the fire slipped from the skins, fell to the ground and went out. At length the duke and his men were oppressed and in difficulties from the constant blows of these five mangonels, and they used the strength of Christians to place the engine close in to the ramparts and walls, so in this way it might withstand the mangonels more safely and, as the mangonels could not be brought into a large space because of the buildings of houses and towers, they were less able to throw and to batter the engine. Once the tower had been brought up next to the walls, and the five mangonels could not find a sufficient distance to withdraw from it, a stone loaded and ejected by force from them flew over the too-close engine or sometimes, being too short in flight, fell next to the walls and crushed Saracens. At length the Saracens realized that the men in the engine were undaunted, and that they could not be harmed by use of the mangonels, so they protected one of the towers which was quite close to the engine against the Christians' mangonels by cladding it with sacks filled with straw, hay, or chaff, and also wicker panels, also the thickness of ships' rope on all sides around it, stationing warriors in it who would constantly hurl piles of stones onto the engine with slings or small mangonels, and terrorize its occupants with different kinds of weapons. But when Duke Godfrey's engine did not withdraw, and its guards were not forced back from the assault, but prevailed more strongly and fiercely, the master craftsmen of the Saracens prepared another device, by which the engine and its occupants would be destroyed beyond recovery.

18. Contulerunt enim immanissimum <sup>a</sup>et magni<sup>a</sup> ponderis robur<sup>b</sup> arboreum, quod totum clavis ferreis et uncis confixerunt, clauosque stuppis, pice, cera oleoque infusis et inpinguatis impleuerunt, et omni genere fomentum ignis.<sup>25</sup> Catenam quoque ferream et onerosam in medio robore affixerunt, ne curuis et ferreis hamis peregrinorum leuiter posset auferri et amoueri, dum ad comburendam machinam trans muros et menia prefatum lignum iactaretur. Aptato <sup>c</sup>et perfectio<sup>c</sup> huius roboris artificio,<sup>d</sup> quadam die uniuersi ciues ac milites regis Babylonie infra urbem adunati, circa id opus conferuntur. Qui scalis hastisque<sup>e</sup> et apparatusibus suis grande lignum incensum igne omni aqua inextinguibili trans muros in uirtute magna et in momento deposuerunt, inter muros<sup>f</sup> et machinam iacentes,<sup>g</sup> ut ab illius ualidissimo ardore postes correpti quibus tota machina innitebatur cremarentur, ruinamque in ea habitantes sic<sup>h</sup> paterentur, nec ulla aqua tam uehemens ignis restingeretur, quousque tota machina cum prefato robore in cineres redacta corruisset. Verum Christianis ab indigenis conchristianis res innotuit qualiter hic ignis aqua inextinguibilis solo aceti liquore restingui ualeat.<sup>26</sup> Vnde in utribus intra machinam acetum ex prouidentia repositum super robur<sup>i</sup> iniectum et effusum est<sup>j</sup> et<sup>k</sup> sic grande incendium restinctum ultra machine

477 nocere non potuit. | Ad huius denique roboris extinctionem concursus magnus peregrinorum factus est. Qui catenam arripientes, totis uiribus luctamen inierunt, hii<sup>l</sup> exterius trahendo, hii interius retinendo. Sed Christianorum uirtus Deo fauente preualuit, et sic Sarracenis catena erepta a fidelibus retenta est.

19. In eiusdem uero catene contentione ab intus et deforis, ac quinque manganarum defectione <sup>a</sup>ab intus frustra<sup>a</sup> iactantium, dux qui in eminentioris arce cenaculi mansionem obtinuerat, omne genus iaculorum saxorumque in medium uulgus conglobatorum cum suis contorquebat et stantes in muro sine intermissione a menibus arcebat. Tres simul Christianorum mangene sine requie incessabili iactu menia transuolabant, et custodes hinc et hinc a menibus longo recessu

18 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> magnique ACHN <sup>b</sup> robor A <sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup> perfectioque ACHN <sup>d</sup> edificio H  
<sup>e</sup> hastis ACHN <sup>f</sup> murum ACHN <sup>g</sup> ACHN add hoc before iacentes (iacentes A)  
<sup>h</sup> om. ACHN <sup>i</sup> om. ACHN <sup>j</sup> om. N <sup>k</sup> om. ACHN <sup>l</sup> hic N

19 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> frustra iam deintus ACHN

<sup>25</sup> This device seems to be the one described in the short anonymous source; see France, 'The text', p. 646.

18. They brought up a tree trunk which was really enormous and very heavy, and fixed iron nails and hooks all over it, and covered the nails with tow soaked and impregnated with pitch, wax, and oil and all kinds of things for kindling fire.<sup>25</sup> They also fixed a heavy iron chain in the middle of the trunk so that it could not easily be taken off and removed by the pilgrims' curved iron hooks while this timber was being hurled over the walls and ramparts to burn up the engine. When this tree-trunk device was prepared and perfected, one day all the citizens and the king of Egypt's soldiers gathered inside the city and assembled around this creation. Using their ladders and spears and equipment they set alight the great timber with a fire which could not be put out with water, and instantly sent it over the walls with great strength, throwing it between the walls and the engine so that the posts on which the entire engine rested would catch light from the very intense heat and be burnt up, and thus its occupants would be destroyed, and so fierce a fire would not be put out by any water, until the entire engine was reduced to ashes along with the said tree trunk and it fell down. But in the event native fellow Christians had explained to the Christians how this fire, which could not be put out using water, could only be extinguished with vinegar.<sup>26</sup> So vinegar which had fortunately been placed in wineskins inside the engine was thrown onto the trunk and poured out and in this way the great fire was put out and could not harm the engine any longer. Then there was a great rush of pilgrims to this quenching of the tree trunk. They seized the chain and embarked on a tug-of-war with all their might, those outside the walls pulling, those inside holding it back. But the strength of the Christians prevailed, by God's grace, and so the chain was snatched from the Saracens and kept by the faithful.

19. While this struggle for the chain was going on inside and outside, and during the failure of the five mangonels which were throwing in vain from within, the duke, who had taken possession of the room at the top of the towering upper storey, was hurling all kinds of missiles and rocks into the midst of the dense crowd with his men, and was keeping those standing on the wall away from the ramparts without letting up. Three mangonels of the Christians were letting fly at once over the ramparts without a pause in an unceasing bombardment, and were keeping the guards on this side and that a long way back from

<sup>26</sup> The idea that Greek fire could be extinguished using vinegar is found as early as Aeneas (c.360 BCE), *Polyorkeitikon*, xxxiii-xxxv (quoted in Partington, *Greek Fire*, p. 1).

absterrebant. Ad hec fratres prenominati Litholdus et Engelbertus, uidentes Sarracenos ocio torpere<sup>b</sup> et manus a defensione continere, et<sup>c</sup> ex utroque latere menium procul absistere, propter manganarum exteriorum impetum, sine mora, quoniam muro erant propiores, a secundo cenaculo in quo erant,<sup>d</sup> porrectis arboribus et inmissis<sup>e</sup> in menia, primum in urbem in<sup>f</sup> uirtute armorum descenderunt, uniuersis murorum custodibus in fugam conuersis. Dux uero fraterque eius Eustachius hos urbem iam ingressos intelligentes, extemplo a superiori arce descendentes, mox et ipsi in menibus consistentes, ad opem illis affuerunt. Omnis populus hec intuens, et principes iam ciuitatem obtinere, inestimabili clamore intonantes, scalis undique muro applicatis, conscendere<sup>g</sup> et intrare festinant.

20. Ciues autem<sup>a</sup> ac defensores<sup>a</sup> urbis contemplantes capta menia et muros, et<sup>b</sup> media urbe uiros Christianos assistere,<sup>c</sup> totamque ciuitatem armis Gallorum inundare, formidine sunt correpti et mentis hebitudine, ac repente diffugium facientes, plurima multitudo spe protectionis ad palatium regis Salomonis quod erat spaciosum et<sup>d</sup> firmissimum fugam arripiunt.<sup>27</sup> Quos Galli fortiter insecuti lanceis et gladiis cum ipsis fugitiuis<sup>e</sup> portas palatii ingrediuntur, et in | nimia gentiliu occisione perseuerant. Equites uero circiter quadringentos<sup>f</sup> qui a rege Babylonie<sup>g</sup> missi urbem assidue perlustrabant, in ammonitione defensionis<sup>h</sup> et consolatione ciuium, uisa angustia et fuga suorum, ad presidium turris Dauid celeri cursu equorum diuerterunt. Sed Gallis eos graui insecutione prementibus, uix porte turris inmissi, equos ante ianuam unanimiter descendentes<sup>i</sup> reliquerunt, quos Christiani arripientes, cum frenis et sellis abduxerunt.<sup>j</sup>

21. Interea quidam peregrinorum ad portas urbis contententes, seras et uectes ferreos auellunt, totumque uulgus ad auxilium intromittunt, sed tanta pressura et anxietas ingredientium in porta hac fuisse perhibetur, quod<sup>a</sup> etiam ipsi equi grauati nimia oppressione plurimos dentibus, aperto ore ad mordendum nolente sessore inuadebant,<sup>b</sup> sudore inaudito defluentes. Quin uiri circiter sedecim pedibus

<sup>b</sup> torpore AC    <sup>c</sup> atque ACHN    <sup>d</sup> manebant ACHN    <sup>e</sup> missis ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> cum ACHN    <sup>g</sup> ascendere H

20    <sup>a</sup> ad defensionem N    <sup>b</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>c</sup> consistere A    <sup>d</sup> atque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> ACHN add pariter after fugitiuis    <sup>f</sup> quadringenti CHN    <sup>g</sup> Babylonii A    <sup>h</sup> H  
adds de before defensionis    <sup>i</sup> ascendentes ACHN    <sup>j</sup> ACHN add habentes ea after abduxerunt

21    <sup>a</sup> ut ACHN    <sup>b</sup> inuaderent ACHN

the ramparts. At this point the brothers named above, Lithold and Engilbert, seeing that the Saracens were flagging and withholding their hands from the defence, and that on both sides of the ramparts they were withdrawing a long way because of the attack of the mangonels outside, at once, since they were quite close to the wall, stretched out beams and pushed them over the ramparts from the second storey where they were, and climbed down, the first into the city in strength of arms, putting all the guards of the walls to flight. When the duke and his brother Eustace realized that these men had already entered the city they came down at once from the upper storey and soon they were also standing on the ramparts and assisting them. When all the army saw these things and that the princes were already in possession of the town, they shouted with an incredible din, put ladders against the wall on all sides and hastened to climb in and enter.

20. When the citizens and the city's defenders observed that the ramparts and walls were captured, and Christian men were present in the middle of the city, and the entire town was awash with the Gauls' weapons, they were seized by terror and dullness of mind, and, quickly making their escape, a very great multitude fled to the palace of King Solomon in the hope of protection, since it was large and very solid.<sup>27</sup> The Gauls pursued them bravely with lances and swords and went into the gates of the palace with the fugitives themselves, and they kept up a very great slaughter of the gentiles. Some cavalry, indeed, about four hundred, had been sent by the king of Egypt and were constantly riding all over the city to alert the citizens to defence and to reinforce them, and when they saw the difficulties and flight of their men they galloped from different directions to the fortress of the Tower of David. But the Gauls were close behind them in pursuit and they only just got inside the gate of the tower, and of one accord they dismounted in front of the gate and left their horses, which the Christians seized and took away with their bridles and saddles.

21. Meanwhile certain of the pilgrims were making for the city gates where they drew back bolts and iron bars and admitted the entire common crowd to reinforce them, but it is reported that the pressure and anxiety of those entering this gate was so great that even the horses themselves, vexed by the excessive pressure, attacked very many with their teeth, opening their mouths to bite even though their

<sup>27</sup> The Temple Mount, which occupies the south-eastern corner of the city.

equorum, mulorum hominumque conculcati, ac<sup>c</sup> discerpti et<sup>d</sup> suffocati, spiritum uite exalauerunt. Per foramen etiam murorum quod aries ferrata fronte infregerat, plurima milia uirorum ac mulierum intromissa sunt. Hii omnes conglobati in uociferatione et strepitu magno ad palatium predictum concursum facientes, fratribus premissis auxilium contulerunt, Sarracenos per domum, que spaciosa erat, crudeli funere sternentes. Quorum adeo sanguinis facta est effusio, ut etiam riui per ipsa pauimenta regie aule defluerent, et usque ad talos fusus cruor accresceret.<sup>28</sup> Sarraceni interdum recuperato spiritu et uiribus in defensionem frustra eriguntur, sed tamen plures fidelium incautos mutua cede perfoderunt.

22. In cisternam autem regiam, que ante fores eiusdem palatii in modum laci amplitudinem et magnitudinem cauatione continet, testudinem fornicati<sup>a</sup> operis desuper habens, marmoreis undique subnixa columnis, plures Sarracenorum per gradus qui ad hauriendam aquam introeuntes perducunt confugerunt. Quorum alii undis suffocati sunt, alii ab insequentibus Christianis in ipsis gradibus et descensu perempti sunt. Per ea uero foramina que trans testudinem ora in modum putei habebant, tam Christiani quam Sarraceni precipiti fuga<sup>b</sup> et ceco<sup>b</sup> cursu cadentes non solum submersione periclitabantur, sed et fractis collis et | cruribus aut ruptis uisceribus extinguebantur. Huius uero<sup>c</sup> cisterne regie aqua in omni obsidione urbis ad mensuram ciuibz indigentibus ac<sup>d</sup> militibus dari solebat, <sup>e</sup>ad aquandos<sup>e</sup> equos, greges et uniuersa armenta,<sup>f</sup> et ad<sup>g</sup> omnes usus necessarios. Ex omni stillicidio pluuiarum ab ipsius tectis palatii et canalibus <sup>h</sup>et templi<sup>h</sup> Domini testudine<sup>29</sup> confluenti, et a tectis multorum edificiorum hec cisterna adimpletur, per circulum anni frigidam et salubrem aquam omnibus habunde illic urbem inhabitantibus amministrans.<sup>30</sup>

23. Regressi<sup>a</sup> autem Christiani uictores a palatio post nimiam et cruentam cedom Sarracenorum quorum decem milia in ipso loco ceciderunt, plures copias gentilium per uicos ciuitatis pre timore

<sup>c</sup> et H      <sup>d</sup> ac A

22    <sup>a</sup> fornacei A; fornicei CH; forinseci N    <sup>b b</sup> cecoque ACHN    <sup>c</sup> quippe ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> et H    <sup>e e</sup> ad adaquandos A    <sup>f</sup> iumenta H    <sup>g</sup> om. A    <sup>h h</sup> templique ACHN

23    <sup>a</sup> Egressi C

<sup>28</sup> Similar images are found in all the accounts, though worded differently. They are probably drawn from the Book of Revelation, which speaks of blood 'up to the horses'

riders did not want them to, and they were sweating incredibly. Moreover, about sixteen men were trampled under the feet of horses, mules, and men; they were mangled and suffocated and gave up the ghost. Very many thousands of men and women were also admitted by way of the breach in the walls which the battering ram had made with its iron-clad forehead. All of these gathered and rushed to the aforesaid palace with shouting and loud clamour, taking assistance to their brothers who had been sent ahead, striking down the Saracens with cruel death throughout the building, which was large. There was such great bloodshed that streams even flowed out across the very floors of the royal court, and the stream of spilt blood was ankle-deep.<sup>28</sup> The Saracens now and then recovered spirit and strength and rallied to the defence in vain, but nevertheless they pierced many unwary among the faithful in repayment for the slaughter.

22. Moreover, many Saracens fled together into the royal cistern—which was in front of the entrance of that same palace and held water in its cavern the extent and great capacity of a lake, having over it a roof of arched construction, supported on all sides by marble pillars—by way of the steps which led down to allow those who entered to draw water. Some of them were drowned in the water; others were killed by the pursuing Christians on those same steps which were the way down. And through those openings which there were in the roof in the manner of wells, as many Christians as Saracens fell headlong in the flight and blind rush, and were not only in danger of drowning, but also died of broken necks and limbs or ruptured entrails. Throughout all the siege of the city the water of this royal cistern used to be measured out to needy citizens and soldiers to water horses, flocks, and all their herds, and for every necessary use. Every time rain fell this cistern was filled with water flowing from the roofs of the palace and from gutters and from the arched roof of the Lord's Temple<sup>29</sup> and from the roofs of many buildings, serving all the inhabitants plentifully through all the seasons of the year with cold and wholesome water.<sup>30</sup>

23. Moreover, as the Christian victors came back out of the palace after the very great and cruel slaughter of Saracens, of whom ten thousand fell in that same place, they put to the sword great numbers

bridles' (Rev. 14: 20. Cf. *GF*, p. 91; *RA*, p. 150; *FC*, p. 301; Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 171, and Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 154).

<sup>29</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* i. 505.

<sup>30</sup> On Jerusalem's cisterns, cf. *FC*, pp. 282-3.

mortis diffugio errantes in ore gladii percusserunt. Mulieres que in turritis palatiis et soliis confugerant mucrone<sup>b</sup> confodientes,<sup>c</sup> infantes adhuc sugentes per plantam pedis e sinu matris aut cunabulis arreptos muris aut<sup>d</sup> liminibus ostiorum fractis ceruicibus allidentes,<sup>e</sup> alios armis trucidantes,<sup>f</sup> aut<sup>g</sup> lapidibus obruentes,<sup>h</sup> nulli prorsus etati aut generi gentilium parcentes. Quicumque uero domum aut palatium prior inuadebat, cum omni suppellectili, frumento, ordeo, uino et oleo, pecunia aut ueste, aut<sup>i</sup> qualibet re pacifice obtinebat, et sic possessores totius ciuitatis facti sunt.<sup>31</sup> Intromissis igitur Christianis in ciuitatem et longa strage in palatio et urbe seuiantibus<sup>j</sup> et spoliis ac<sup>k</sup> diuitiis Sarracenorum inhiantibus, Tancradus qui festinus in primo urbis ingressu ad templum Domini precucurrit, et auulsis seris intrauit, pecuniam auri et argenti incomparabilem cum robore et ope sui satellicii a muris deauratis in circuitu columnis et pilariis auulsit, biduo in raptione huius thesauri desudans, a Turcis<sup>k</sup> ad decorandum oratorium<sup>k</sup> collati. Quem<sup>l</sup> Sarraceni duo<sup>m</sup> in obsidione<sup>m</sup> ab urbe egressi eidem Tancrado ut gratiam et salutem uite sue in oculis ipsius inuenirent, propalasse referuntur. Post predictum uero tempus dierum portas templi aperiens, et secum pecuniam asportans, duci Godefrido cuius erat miles fideliter diuisit, quam uix, ut aiunt quibus tota massa innotuit, sex cameli aut muli portare potuerunt.

- 480 24. Hoc etenim templum quod dicitur Domini non illud antiquum ac mirabile opus regis<sup>a</sup> Salomonis intelligendum est, cum tota urbs Ierusalem a rege Nabuchodonosor,<sup>32</sup> deinde a rege Antiocho<sup>33</sup> ante multos annos dominice incarnationis destructa fuerit, <sup>b</sup>et templum<sup>b</sup> Salomonis a fundamento dirutum, ornamentis et uasis sacris spoliatum sit. Rursum post incarnationem ex prenuntiatione Domini<sup>c</sup> Iesu<sup>d</sup> a principibus Romanorum Tito et Vespasiano funditus cum habitatoribus suis sic deleta est ut ad<sup>e</sup> uocem Domini lapis super lapidem non remaneret.<sup>f34</sup> Verum templum hoc postea a modernis et

<sup>b</sup> mucronibus A      <sup>c</sup> confoderunt ACN; confodierunt H      <sup>d</sup> uel ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> allidente C      <sup>f</sup> trucidabant ACHN      <sup>g</sup> alios ACHN      <sup>h</sup> obruebant ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> uel ACHN      <sup>j</sup> spoliis atque ACHN      <sup>k</sup> oratorio decorando ACHN  
<sup>l</sup> ACHN add thesaurum after quem      <sup>m</sup> om. N

24      <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> templumque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> A adds nostri after Domini      <sup>d</sup> A adds Christi after Iesu  
<sup>e</sup> secundum ACHN      <sup>f</sup> relinqueretur ACHN

<sup>31</sup> Prawer traced the origin of burgage tenure in Jerusalem to this occupation, which is also described by Fulcher: see Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 253-4; FC, p. 304; WT, pp. 412-13.

<sup>32</sup> 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 24 and 25.

<sup>33</sup> 1 Macc. 1: 20-40.

of gentiles who were running about through the quarters of the city, fleeing in all directions on account of their fear of death: they were piercing through with the sword's point women who had fled into the turreted palaces and dwellings; seizing by the soles of their feet from their mothers' laps or their cradles infants who were still suckling and dashing them against the walls or lintels of the doors and breaking their necks; they were slaughtering some with weapons, or striking them down with stones; they were sparing absolutely no gentile of any age or kind. Whoever was first to invade a house or palace occupied it peacefully with all its furniture, corn, barley, wine and oil, money or clothing, or whatever there was, and in this way they became the possessors of the entire city.<sup>31</sup> After the Christians were admitted to the town and while they were raging through palace and city in the long massacre, and gazing in amazement at the spoils and riches of the Saracens, Tancred, who ran quickly ahead to the Temple of the Lord in the first invasion of the city, pulled back the bolts and entered it, and tore off an incomparable quantity of gold and silver from the walls, which were gilded about with columns and pillars, with the strength and assistance of his escort, exerting himself for two days in the seizure of this treasure, which had been brought together by the Turks to decorate the chapel. It is reported that two Saracens who had left the city during the siege had revealed this to this same Tancred in order to find favour in his eyes and save their own lives. After the aforesaid passage of time he opened the doors of the Temple and took out with him the riches, and he faithfully shared them with Duke Godfrey, whose knight he was, and, so they say who know the entire amount, six camels or mules could scarcely carry them.

24. Truly this temple which is called the Lord's is not to be understood as that ancient and wonderful masterwork of King Solomon, since the entire city of Jerusalem was destroyed many years before the Lord's incarnation by King Nebuchadnezzar,<sup>32</sup> then by King Antiochus,<sup>33</sup> and the temple of Solomon was razed to the ground and its ornaments and sacred vessels were pillaged. Once again, after the incarnation, in accordance with the prediction of Lord Jesus, it was utterly destroyed with its occupants by the Roman princes Titus and Vespasian in such a way that, in accordance with the Lord's pronouncement, there would not be left one stone upon another.<sup>34</sup> In fact many confirm that this temple was afterwards

<sup>34</sup> Matt. 24: 2; Mark 13: 2; Luke 19: 44, 21: 6.

Christianis cultoribus reedificatum plures attestantur,<sup>35</sup> eo uidelicet<sup>g</sup> in loco quo Salomon pacificus de lignis cedrinis et Pario marmore<sup>h</sup> <sup>36</sup> pristinum tabernaculum Dei collocavit, et in eo sancta sanctorum. In medio autem hoc moderno tabernaculo mons lapideus natura fundatus prominet fere in latitudine continens terciam partem iugeri, in altitudine habens duos cubitos,<sup>i</sup> cuius uno in latere gradus collocati ad caua loca descendentes perducunt, alio uero in latere ut in ueritate referunt qui rem considerauerunt hostiolum<sup>j</sup> habetur lapideum, sed semper signatum. Et<sup>k</sup> illic ex quorundam opinione quedam sancta sanctorum adhuc reseruari perhibentur. In media siquidem testudine eiusdem templi moderni que nunc<sup>l</sup> mirifico opere lignorum desuper murorum parietes in circuitu continet rotunditatem, catenam infixam esse asseuerant, in qua uas aurei fulgoris et operis, ponderis uero circiter ducentarum marcarum, pendere semper solet. Quod urnam auream alii affirmant,<sup>37</sup> alii sanguinem Domini, alii manna in eo absconditum, et sic diuersa opinione in uarias sententias eriguntur.<sup>38</sup>

25. Hoc itaque uas et promunctoriolum quod in medio templi prominere prediximus intactum a Tancrado permansit, quin Turci omni deuotione<sup>a</sup> id uenerantes, utrumque<sup>a</sup> inuiolatum reseruabant, unde et tabernaculum omni honore et | decore thesaurizabant, soli  
481 omnibus ceteris gentilibus exclusis in illo suarum cerimoniarum obseruatione uacantes. Sic uero ipsum prefatum templum ad exequendos ritus sui erroris summa reuerentia et custodia uenerates, soli etiam templo Dominici sepulchri<sup>b</sup> et eius<sup>b</sup> Christianis cultoribus parcebant, propter tributa que ex oblatione fidelium assidue eis soluebantur, una cum ecclesiola sancte Marie ad Latinos,<sup>39</sup> que etiam tributaria erat. In reliqua uero oratoria urbis sancte tam Turci quam Sarraceni suam tyrannidem nimium<sup>c</sup> strage exercuerunt, prorsus ab hiis catholicos cultores exterminantes. Ad hoc denique templum Domini, ut predictum est, iter suum Tancrado conuertente,

<sup>a</sup> om. H      <sup>b</sup> mormore E      <sup>i</sup> cubitus A      <sup>j</sup> ostiolum C      <sup>k</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>l</sup> om. A

25    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> utrumque uenerantes H      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> eiusque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> nimia ACHN

<sup>35</sup> Albert is mistaken in his belief that Christians rebuilt the Temple, but it is an error shared by Acard of Arrouaise, the prior of the Temple 1112-36, and expressed in his poem dedicated to King Baldwin. Acard was not sure whether the rebuilding was the work of Justinian, of Helena mother of Constantine, or of Heraclius: J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185* (London, 1988), p. 12; P. Lehmann, 'Die mittellateinischen Dichtungen der Prioren des Tempels von Jerusalem Acardus und Gaufridus', *Corona*

rebuilt by modern people and Christian worshippers,<sup>35</sup> that is to say in that place where Solomon the peaceful placed the former tabernacle of God made of cedar wood and Parian marble,<sup>36</sup> and in it the Holy of Holies. Moreover, in the middle of this modern tabernacle a stone mountain of natural rock sticks up, comprising almost the third part of an acre in area, two cubits in height, on one side of which there are positioned steps leading down to cavernous places; on another side, indeed, there is something which in truth those who observed it call a little door of stone, but always sealed. And in that place certain holies of holies are said still to be kept in the opinion of some people. In the middle of the arched roof of this same modern temple, which now with wonderful carpentry of timbers encloses overhead a round shape all around the verticals of the walls, they declare a chain is fixed on which a vessel of shining gold and craftsmanship, weighing about two hundred marks, is always accustomed to hang. Some declare it is the golden pot,<sup>37</sup> some say the blood of the Lord is concealed in it, others manna, and in this way they are encouraged by different ideas to varying opinions.<sup>38</sup>

25. Therefore this vessel and the little promontory which, as we have said, stuck out in the middle of the Temple remained untouched by Tancred; moreover the Turks venerated them with complete piety and kept them both inviolate, and they also treasured the tabernacle with much ornament and decoration, only leaving it empty of all the rest of the gentiles who were shut out during the observation of their ceremonies. In this way, venerating this very Temple with greatest reverence and care for performing the rites of their mistaken religion, they also spared only the temple of the Lord's Sepulchre and its Christian worshippers, on account of the tribute which they used to pay them regularly from the offerings of the faithful, along with the little church of St Mary of the Latins,<sup>39</sup> which was also tributary to them. In the rest of the chapels of the holy city Turks and Saracens alike exercised their very great tyranny by slaughter, especially driving out the Catholic worshippers from them. Then, as Tancred turned aside to this Temple of the Lord, as has been said, for the sake

*Quernea: Festgabe Karl Strecker, Schriften des MGH, vi (Stuttgart, 1941), pp. 296-330, at 302-3 and lines 779-90, p. 329).*

<sup>36</sup> 1 Chr. 29: 2.

<sup>37</sup> Heb. 9: 4.

<sup>38</sup> Albert is describing the Dome of the Rock, sacred to Jews, Christians, and Muslims as the place of Abraham's sacrifice (Gen. 22: 2).

<sup>39</sup> Also known as St Mary Minor, established by Amalfitan merchants in 1047 in the Muristan (later to be the Hospitallers' quarter), close to the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

pre auaricia sibi propalate pecunie, aliis uero ad presidium turris Dauid fugituios uelociter insequentibus, cunctisque principibus rebus et turritis edificiis inhiantibus, <sup>d</sup>et uniuerso<sup>d</sup> uulgo ad palatium Salomonis tendente, et cedem nimia<sup>e</sup> crudelitate<sup>f</sup> in Sarracenos operante, dux Godefridus ab omni<sup>g</sup> mox strage se abstinens,<sup>g</sup> tribus tantum suorum secum retentis, Baldrico, Adelolfo<sup>40</sup> et Stabelone,<sup>h</sup> exutus lorica et linea ueste, nudatis<sup>i</sup> pedibus muros egressus in circuitu urbis in<sup>j</sup> humilitate processit, ac per eam portam que respicit ad montem Oliuarum introiens, <sup>k</sup>ad sepulchrum<sup>k</sup> Domini Iesu Christi filii Dei uiui presentatus est, in lacrimis, orationibus et diuinis laudibus persistens, et Deo gratias agens quia uidere meruit quod illi semper fuit in summo desiderio.

26. Tam<sup>a</sup> pio ducis desiderio<sup>b</sup> adimpleto, somni huius uisio completa ueraciter comprobatur. Ante huius uie initium cum sepe idem dux suspiria traheret, <sup>c</sup>et sui<sup>c</sup> animi optio ante omnia esset uisitare ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem, et uidere sepulchrum Domini Iesu, et<sup>d</sup> sepe priuatis famulis animi<sup>e</sup> sui intentionem aperiret, cuidam de familiaribus suis Stabeloni uidelicet<sup>f</sup> in <sup>g</sup>hoc modo<sup>g</sup> ostensa est uisio. Videbat idem scalam auream a celesti axe<sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup>procera longitudine<sup>i</sup> usque ad terram porrectam, quam ipse dux nimio desiderio feruens conscendere cum quodam poculi sui prouisore, Rothardo<sup>j</sup> nomine,<sup>41</sup> lucernam in manu ferente conatus est. Sed prouisore iam media scala consistente, lucerna quam gerebat in manu illius extinguitur, medius gradus scale per quem<sup>k</sup> ad supernum celi solium scandeat, grauiter Iesus et adtritatus est. Et<sup>l</sup> sic prouisor poculi ad inferiora reuersus, pre formidine ultra ad celestem portam<sup>m</sup> cum duce peruenire et<sup>n</sup> pulsare non potuit. | Ad hec Stabelo cuius est hec<sup>o</sup> uisio, lucernam extinctam reaccendens, scalam qua pincerna indignus attolli non meruit fiducialiter conscendit, et lucernam ultra indeficientem ferens cum ipso duce celi penetrauit aulam.<sup>p</sup> Vbi mensa illis parata et omni deliciarum dulcedine cumulata reperta est.<sup>42</sup> Ad hanc denique

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<sup>d d</sup> uniuerso<sup>d</sup>que ACHN    <sup>e</sup> nimiam ACH    <sup>f</sup> crudeliter H    <sup>g g</sup> strage sese continens, mox A; strage sese abstinens, mox CHN    <sup>h</sup> Stabillone ACHN    <sup>i</sup> ACHN  
add indutus after ueste    <sup>j</sup> cum ACHN    <sup>k k</sup> sepulchro ACHN

26    <sup>a</sup> Nam C    <sup>b</sup> proposito ACHN    <sup>c c</sup> suique ACHN    <sup>d</sup> ac ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> cordis ACHN    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g g</sup> hunc modum ACHN    <sup>h</sup> arce A    <sup>i i</sup> procere  
longitudinis H    <sup>j</sup> Rùthardo ACH; Ruthardo N    <sup>k</sup> quam ACHN    <sup>l</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>m</sup> patriam A    <sup>n</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>o</sup> ista ACHN    <sup>p</sup> ACHN add ad before aulam

<sup>40</sup> Not otherwise known.

of greed for the wealth revealed to him, while others were swiftly pursuing fugitives to the fortress of the Tower of David, and while all the princes were gazing open-mouthed at the possessions and the turreted buildings, and all the common crowd was making for Solomon's palace and inflicting a massacre with excessive cruelty on the Saracens, Duke Godfrey soon abstained from all slaughter, and, keeping only three of his men with him, Baldric, Adelolf,<sup>40</sup> and Stabelo, he took off his hauberk and linen clothes, went out of the walls with bare feet and made a humble procession around the outside of the city; then, entering through that gate which looks out on the Mount of Olives, he presented himself at the Sepulchre of Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, keeping up steadfastly tears, prayers, and divine praises, and giving thanks to God because he had earned the sight of that which had always been his greatest desire.

26. When this pious desire of the duke had been satisfied, the vision in this dream was proved to be perfectly true. Before the beginning of this journey when this same duke would often sigh deeply, and when before all things his heart's desire was to visit the holy town of Jerusalem and to see Lord Jesus' Sepulchre, and often he would secretly reveal the purpose of his mind to his attendants, a vision was shown to one of his servants, namely Stabelo, in this way. He saw a golden ladder, extremely long, stretching all the way from heaven to earth, which the duke himself, burning with very intense desire, tried to climb with a certain steward of his, Rothard by name,<sup>41</sup> who carried a lamp in his hand. But when the steward was standing just halfway up the ladder, the lamp which he bore in his hand was put out, and the middle rung of the ladder by which he was climbing to the throne of heaven on high was seriously damaged and worn away. And so the steward went back down below and because of his fear he could no longer arrive and knock with the duke on the heavenly door. At this point Stabelo, whose dream this is, rekindled the quenched lamp and confidently mounted the ladder by which the steward was unworthy to be raised up, and, bearing the lamp which still did not fail, he penetrated the court of heaven with the duke himself. There a table was made ready for them and was covered with all kinds of heaped up sweetness of delicious things.<sup>42</sup> Then the duke reclined at this table

<sup>41</sup> Rothard is otherwise unknown. It appears from the interpretation of the dream, below, that he had deserted the crusading army at Antioch. For Rothard and other officers of Godfrey's household, see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 80 n. 77.

<sup>42</sup> Ps. 22 (23): 5.

dux cum electis et ea dignis recumbens, de omni que aderat dulcedine<sup>a</sup> partitus est.

27. Quid per hanc scalam ad celi palacium ducentem, nisi uia quam dux tota mentis intentione apprehendit ad urbem Ierusalem que porta celestis est patrie significatur? Ex auro enim purissimo erat scala, quia ad hanc uiam et portam celi puro corde et perfecta uoluntate<sup>a</sup> ueniendum est. Media autem scala prouisoris poculi lucerna extinguitur, gradus lesus deficit, ascensus negatur, nam<sup>b</sup> opus et onus uie sancte, quod bona et pura uoluntate cum duce una deuouit, medio labore deseruit cum plurimis, sicut audistis. Propter diffidentiam et imminentes angustias a duce <sup>c</sup>et ab Antiochia<sup>c</sup> subtractus est, et sic apostata factus ad aratrum miseriarum<sup>43</sup> reuersus est, nec ultra per scalam cum duce celi introiens ianuam, <sup>d</sup>mensam sanctorum gustare dignus fuit.<sup>d</sup> Stabelo uero, camerarius ducis, lucernam ab illius<sup>e</sup> manu suscipiens reaccendit, quia uoluntatem bonam uie huius quam primum assumpsit retinuit,<sup>f</sup> et inter diuersas mentis uacillationes lucerna<sup>g</sup> beniuolentie reaccensa, et<sup>h</sup> reflagranti uoto firmiter hesit.<sup>i</sup> Et sic<sup>j</sup> insolubili gradu scalam cum duce superauit, et<sup>k</sup> illius in omni tribulatione socius stabilis et famulus fidelis existens cum eo usque in Ierusalem peruenit, et ad sepulchrum Domini, quod mensa est et desiderium totius dulcedinis sanctorum, intrare meruit et orare.

28. Post hec uero<sup>a</sup> duce a sanctuario dominici sepulchri regresso in leticia cordis et exultatione, post peractam inibi orationem, et hospitio quiescendi causa declinato, iam toto sedato exercitu a gentilium occisione, et nocte eadem iam<sup>b</sup> oculos uniuersorum<sup>c</sup> pre labore  
483 aggrauante, qua<sup>d</sup> Ierusalem ciuitas Dei uiuentis et | mater nostra filiis restituta est in uictoria magna sexta feria, in die sollempni diuisionis apostolorum,<sup>e</sup> comes Reimundus, auaricia corruptus, Sarracenos milites quos in turrim Dauid fuga elapsos obsederat, accepta ingenti pecunia, illesos abire permisit.<sup>45</sup> Omnia autem arma,

<sup>a</sup> dulcedinis suauitate CHN

27 <sup>a</sup> humilitate ACHN <sup>b</sup> quia ACHN <sup>c</sup> Antiochie ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> sanctorum mensa dignus fuit participari ACHN <sup>e</sup> ipsius ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> ACHN add fortiter before retinuit <sup>g</sup> lampade ACHN <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> adhesit A <sup>j</sup> Sicque ACHN <sup>k</sup> insuper ACHN

28 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN <sup>c</sup> A adds somno after uniuersorum <sup>d</sup> quia ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> ACHN add que est Idus Iulii after apostolorum

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Isa. 17: 9.

<sup>44</sup> 15 July 1099.

with the chosen ones and those worthy of it, and he shared in all the sweetness which was there.

27. What is signified by this ladder leading to the palace of heaven, unless the journey which the duke undertook with the entire purpose of his mind to the city of Jerusalem, which is the gate of the heavenly homeland? For the ladder was of purest gold, because one must come to this journey and the gate of heaven with pure heart and perfect free will. Moreover, halfway up the ladder the steward's lamp was put out and the damaged rung failed and denied his ascent, for he deserted the work and weariness of the holy journey, which of good and pure free will he had vowed along with the duke, in the middle of the undertaking with very many others, as you have heard. Because of his lack of faith and the pressing hardships he withdrew from the duke and from Antioch and thus became an apostate and returned to the plough of afflictions,<sup>43</sup> and he was no longer worthy to enter the gate of heaven with the duke by way of the ladder and to eat at the table of the saints. Stabelo, though, the duke's chamberlain, took the lamp from his hand and rekindled it, because he retained the good free will of this journey which he had when he undertook it, and when the lamp of good will was relit amidst the different waverings of mind, and his vow was rekindled, he stuck to it steadfastly. And so he climbed to the top of the ladder on an indestructible rung with the duke and, remaining his steadfast ally and faithful servant through all the difficulties, he arrived with him in Jerusalem, and he was worthy to enter and pray at the Lord's Sepulchre, which is the table and the desire of all sweetness of the saints.

28. After these things the duke returned from the sanctuary of the Lord's Sepulchre in heartfelt happiness and exultation after finishing praying there, and he refused entertainment in favour of resting, for now the whole army was settling down from the killing of gentiles, and because of the hard work night was weighing down everyone's eyes on that same night of the Saturday on which Jerusalem, city of the living God, and our mother, was restored to her sons in great victory, on the solemn day of the division of the apostles.<sup>44</sup> Count Raymond, corrupted by greed, allowed the Saracen soldiers whom he had besieged when they fled into the Tower of David to go away unharmed after he had received a huge amount of money.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, he kept

<sup>45</sup> According to *GF* Count Raymond ordered the amir who had surrendered the Tower of David to him, and those with him, to be taken to Ascalon, safe and sound (*GF*, p. 92).

escas et exuuias illorum cum eodem presidio retinuit. Proxima abhinc die sabbati clarescente, quidam Sarracenorum spe uite in summitatem tecti precelse domus Salomonis ab armis elapsi circiter trecenti confugerant. Qui multa prece pro uita flagitantes, in mortis articulo positi, nullius fiducia aut promissione descendere audebant, quousque uexillum Tancradi in signum protectionis et uiuendi susceperunt. Sed minime misellis profuit. Nam plurimis super hoc indignantibus et Christianis furore commotis, non unus quidem illorum uiuus euasit.<sup>46</sup>

29. Tancradus uero miles gloriosus super hac sibi illata iniuria ira uehementi accensus<sup>a</sup> est,<sup>47</sup> nec sine discordia et grandi ultione furor illius quieuisset, nisi consilium et sententia maiorum ac prudentium illius animum in<sup>b</sup> hiis uerbis temperasset:<sup>c</sup> 'Ierusalem ciuitas Dei excelsi, ut uniuersi nostis, magna difficultate et non sine dampno nostrorum recuperata, propriis filiis hodie restituta est, et liberata de manu regis Babylonie<sup>d</sup> et iugo<sup>d</sup> Turcorum. Sed nunc<sup>e</sup> cauendum est ne auaricia aut pigricia uel misericordia habita erga inimicos hanc amittamus, captiuis et adhuc residuis in urbe gentilibus parcentes. Nam si forte a rege Babylonie<sup>f</sup> in fortitudine graui occupati fuerimus, subito ab intus et extra expugnabimur, <sup>g</sup>et sic<sup>g</sup> in perpetuum exilium transportabimur. Vnde primum et fidele consilium nobis uidetur quatenus uniuersi Sarraceni et gentiles qui captiui tenentur pecunia redimendi aut redempti sine dilatione in gladio corruant, ne fraude aut ingeniis<sup>h</sup> illorum nobis aliqua aduersa occurrant.'<sup>i</sup>

30. Hoc accepto consilio, tertia luce<sup>a</sup> post uictoriam<sup>48</sup> egressa est sententia a maioribus, et ecce uniuersi arma rapiunt, et miserabili  
 484 cede in omne uulgus gentilium | quod adhuc residuum erat exurgunt, alios producentes a<sup>b</sup> uinculis et decollantes, alios per uicos et plateas ciuitatis inuentos trucidantes, quibus antea causa pecunie aut humana pietate pepercerunt,<sup>c</sup> puellas uero, mulieres,

29 <sup>a</sup> succensus ACHN <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN <sup>c</sup> temperasset A <sup>d d</sup> iugoque ACHN <sup>e</sup> modo ACHN <sup>f</sup> Babilonis AGN <sup>g g</sup> sicque ACHN <sup>h</sup> ingenio H  
<sup>i</sup> recurrant N

30 <sup>a</sup> die ACHN <sup>b</sup> e H <sup>c</sup> pepercerant AGN

<sup>46</sup> This event is recorded by Fulcher of Chartres, who says that many were shot with arrows and, in all, nearly 10,000 were beheaded in the Temple. Matthew of Edessa reports 65,000 killed, not counting the rest of the city. Arab historians have as many as 70,000 killed in the same place, the Masjid al-Aqsa (FC, p. 301; ME, p. 173; Ibn al-Athir in *RHC Or* i. 199). Albert's figures appear to be more realistic.

back all the weapons, food, and things looted from them along with that same fortress. As the next day, which was the Sabbath, grew brighter, certain of the Saracens who had escaped the weapons, about three hundred, fled together onto the top of the roof of the very high Temple of Solomon in the hope of saving their lives. They were pleading with much prayer for their lives, being in danger of death, and they dared not descend on anyone's word or promise until they received Tancred's banner as a token of protection and survival. But it did the poor wretches no good at all. For many people were angry about this, and the Christians were incensed with rage, so not a single one of them escaped with his life.<sup>46</sup>

29. Tancred, glorious knight, was fired with violent anger about this insult to him,<sup>47</sup> and his anger would not have quietened down without discord and great vengeance, except for the advice and opinion of greater and wiser men, who soothed his pride with these words: 'Jerusalem, city of God on high, has been recovered, as you all know, with great difficulty and not without harm to our men, and today she has been restored to her own sons and delivered from the hands of the king of Egypt and the yoke of the Turks. But now we must be careful lest we lose it through avarice or sloth or the pity we have for our enemies, sparing prisoners and gentiles still left in the city. For if we were to be attacked in great strength by the king of Egypt we should be suddenly overcome from inside and outside the city, and in this way carried away into eternal exile. And so the most important and trustworthy advice seems to us that all the Saracens and gentiles who are held prisoner for ransoming with money, or already redeemed, should be put to the sword without delay, so that we shall not meet with any problem from their trickery or machinations.'

30. After they heard this advice, on the third day after the victory<sup>48</sup> judgement was pronounced by the leaders and everyone seized weapons and surged forth for a wretched massacre of all the crowd of gentiles which was still left, bringing some out from fetters and beheading them, slaughtering others who were found throughout the city streets and districts, whom they had previously spared for the sake of money or human pity; they were beheading or striking down

<sup>47</sup> Tancred's angry reaction is also mentioned in the *GF* (p. 92). The episode is not dealt with in the *Gesta Tancredi* of Radulf of Caen, perhaps because it would have thrown a bad light on the hero. Tudebode goes so far as to say the massacre was on Tancred's orders (PT, pp. 141–2). See Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 94 n. 3.

<sup>48</sup> This renewed massacre on the third day is not mentioned in other sources.

matronas nobiles, et foetas, cum pueris tenellis detruncantes<sup>d</sup> aut lapidibus obruentes,<sup>e</sup> in nullis aliquam etatem considerantes. Econtra puellae, mulieres, matrone, metu momentanee mortis angustiate,<sup>f</sup> et horrore grauissime necis concusse, Christianos in iugulum utriusque sexus bachantes<sup>g</sup> ac seuientes, medios pro liberanda uita amplexabantur. Quedam pedibus eorum aduoluebantur, de uita et salute sua illos nimium miserando fletu et eiulatu sollicitantes. Pueri uero <sup>h</sup>quinquennii aut triennii<sup>h</sup> matrum patrumque crudelem casum intuentes, una fletum et miserum clamorem multiplicabant. Sed frustra hec pietatis et misericordie signa fiebant. Nam Christiani neci sic totum animum laxauerant, ut non sugens masculus aut femina nedum infans unius anni uiuens manum percussoris euaderet.<sup>i</sup> Vnde platea totius urbis Ierusalem corporibus extinctis uiuorum ac mulierum <sup>j</sup>ac laceris<sup>j</sup> menbris infantium adeo strate et operte fuisse referuntur, ut non solum in uicis, soliis et palaciis, sed etiam in locis deserte solitudinis copia occisorum reperiretur.<sup>k</sup>

31. A<sup>a</sup> die autem qua urbs sancta obsessa et a Sarracenis munita ac defensa fuit, usque ad diem hanc, qua <sup>b</sup>urbs uicta et suis<sup>b</sup> restituta est, nullus Turcorum in ea repertus est, qui paulo ante hanc inuadentes,<sup>c</sup> multo tempore obtinuerunt,<sup>d</sup> et grauiam tributa tam a Sarracenis quam a<sup>e</sup> peregrinis Christi et indigenis fidelibus exigebant. Trecenti Turci erant qui ciuitatem sanctam captiuauerant, longo tempore in ea dominati, plurimis in circuitu urbibus Syrie et Palestine regionis illis tributariis factis, quas rex Babylonie cum Ierusalem quondam subditas et regno suo appendentes potenter obtinere solebat. Nunc, ut audistis, Christianorum exercitu in obsidione Antiochie post captam Niceam ordinato, idem rex Babylonie, audita gloria, uirtute ac uictoria Christianorum principum et Turcorum humiliatione in urbe Ierusalem quam amiserat trecentos Turcos in apparatu et exercitu copioso obsedit, quos plurimo assultu ac manganarum impetu expugnatos fatigauit, multum obsistentes ac repugnantes, sed non sine magno suorum detrimento.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>d</sup> detruncabant ACHN      <sup>e</sup> obruebant ACHN      <sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> debachantes ACHN      <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> quinquennes aut triennes H      <sup>i</sup> euaserit A      <sup>j</sup> <sup>j</sup> lacerisque ACHN  
<sup>k</sup> ACHN add innumerabilis *afier* reperiretur (repperiretur H)

31      <sup>a</sup> D N      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> capta, uicta, suisque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> ACHN add *ui before* inuadentes  
<sup>d</sup> obtinuerant ACHN      <sup>e</sup> om. H

<sup>49</sup> Albert shows an impressive understanding of Muslim politics: see Szklenar, *Studien zum Bild*, pp. 193–5, and Schwinges, *Kreuzzugsideologie*, pp. 158–65. The Turks had

with stones girls, women, noble ladies, even pregnant women, and very young children, paying attention to no one's age. By contrast, girls, women, ladies, tormented by fear of imminent death, and horror-struck by the violent slaughter, were embracing the Christians in their midst even as they were raving and venting their rage on the throats of both sexes, in the hope of saving their lives. Some were wound about the Christians' feet, begging them with piteous weeping and wailing for their lives and safety. When children of five or three years old saw the cruel fate of their mothers and fathers, of one accord they intensified the weeping and wretched clamour. But they were making these signals for pity and mercy in vain. For the Christians gave over their whole hearts to the slaughter, so that not a suckling little male child or female, not even an infant of one year would escape alive the hand of the murderer. And so the streets of the whole city of Jerusalem are reported to have been so strewn and covered with the dead bodies of men and women and the mangled limbs of infants, that not only in the streets, houses, and palaces, but even in places of desert solitude numbers of slain were to be found.

31. Moreover, from the day on which the holy city was besieged and was protected and defended by the Saracens up to this day, when the city was conquered and restored to its own, none of the Turks was found in it who had invaded the city some little time before and taken possession for a long time, and who used to exact heavy tributes from Saracens as well as pilgrims of Christ and the poor faithful. There were three hundred Turks who had captured the holy city; they ruled there for a long time, making very many cities around in the region of Syria and Palestine tributary to them, which the king of Egypt was formerly accustomed powerfully to possess along with Jerusalem, as subject to him and dependencies of his kingdom. Now, as you have heard, when the Christians' army was organized for the siege of Antioch after Nicaea had been captured, that same king of Egypt, having heard of the glory, strength, and victory of the Christian princes and the humiliation of the Turks, besieged with equipment and a numerous army the three hundred Turks in the city of Jerusalem which he had lost, and he overcame them and wore them down by a very great assault and attack with mangonels, while the Turks withstood him and fought back fiercely, but not without great loss to their side.<sup>49</sup>

captured Jerusalem from the Fatimids of Egypt in 1071, but al-Afdal ibn Amir al-Juyush, vizier of Egypt (1094-1121), recaptured the city in Aug. 1098.

485 32. Erat autem Socomannus<sup>50</sup> princeps et caput horum Turcorum, miles ferocissimus, semper regi Babylonie et eius regno aduersatus. Tandem Turci cum principe suo, uidentes manum suorum exiguum pondus belli et tot milium assultus tolerare non posse, data mutuo fide et dextris de uita et salute sua, impetrauerunt, quatenus urbem reddentes pacifice exirent, et conductum ipsius regis usque in Damascum haberent, in quo<sup>a</sup> princeps magnificus frater Socomanni dominari perhibetur, qui nunc cum prefatis Turcis ab urbe Ierusalem eiectus est.<sup>51</sup> Hiis eiectis et conductum regis usque in Damascum habentibus, rex<sup>b</sup> Ierusalem ingressus templum Domini iuxta ritum gentilium summa<sup>c</sup> reuerentia et humilitate subiit, dein<sup>d</sup> templum dominici sepulchri cum omni habitu religionis gentilis introiuit, omnia pacifice perlustrans, et nullum Christianorum a fide et ordine sui ritus auertens.<sup>52</sup> Dehinc reuersus, ciuitatem fidei custodie<sup>e</sup> disposuit, turrim uero Dauid suo satellicio muniuit, palatium Salomonis et cetera regalia edificia ac defensoria suo iuri mancipauit. Hac itaque ciuitate sub eius ditione relocata post Turcorum eiectionem nimium gaudis est. Sed adhuc Turcos sibi a Damasco aduersari metuens, direxit legatos ad Christianorum principes circa urbem Antiochie residentes, referens quomodo ab urbe Ierusalem et regno suo Turcos eiecerit, et quia in omnibus eorum uoluntati de urbe sancta satisfacere uoluerit, et de fide Christi<sup>f</sup> et Christianitatis<sup>g</sup> professione eorum<sup>h</sup> consiliis acquiescere. Sed omnia mentitus et in dolo locutus est, nam urbis introitum<sup>b</sup> peregrinis negauit omni armorum defensione et militum uirtute qua potuit, donec celestis regis auxilio Sarracenis, ut audistis, crudeliter<sup>i</sup> peremptis nunc intromissi sunt.

33. Hac uero miseranda strage<sup>a</sup> Sarracenorum completa, in proximo die dominico<sup>53</sup> fideles et primores Christianorum, inito consilio, dominium urbis et custodiam dominici sepulchri comiti Reimundo

32 <sup>a</sup> qua H <sup>b</sup> C adds Babilonie over line <sup>c</sup> A adds cum before summa  
<sup>d</sup> deinde N <sup>e</sup> custodia ACHN <sup>f</sup> Christianitatisque ACHN <sup>g</sup> ipsorum  
 ACHN <sup>h</sup> introitus H <sup>i</sup> crudeli nece ACHN

33 <sup>a</sup> cede A

<sup>50</sup> Suqmān ibn Artuq, d. 1104.

<sup>51</sup> At the time of the capture of Jerusalem the ruler of Damascus was the Saljūq, Duqāq (1095–1104), who was not Suqmān's brother.

32. Moreover, Sokman<sup>50</sup> was prince and chief of these Turks, a very bold warrior and always opposed to the king of Egypt and his kingdom. At length the Turks and their prince, seeing that their small band could not sustain the weight of war and an attack by so many thousands, gave right hands and exchanged pledges concerning their lives and safety and they obtained leave to return to the city and to leave it peacefully, and received the king's safe conduct to Damascus, where a magnificent prince, brother of Sokman, is reported to rule, who was now thrown out of the city of Jerusalem with these Turks.<sup>51</sup> When they were thrown out and had the king's safe conduct to Damascus, the king entered Jerusalem and approached the Temple of the Lord with utmost reverence and humility in accordance with the ritual of the gentiles, then he entered the temple of the Lord's Sepulchre with all the observance of the gentile religion, going through all things peacefully and not turning any of the Christians away from the faith and regular observance of his own ritual.<sup>52</sup> Then when he returned he entrusted the town to loyal guardianship, garrisoned the Tower of David with his own followers, and took into his own jurisdiction the palace of Solomon and the other royal buildings and defensive works. He rejoiced exceedingly to have this town back under his rule after throwing out the Turks. But he was still afraid that the Turks would oppose him from Damascus, and he sent legates to the Christian princes who were positioned around the city of Antioch, reporting how he had thrown the Turks out of the city of Jerusalem and his kingdom, and that he wanted to satisfy their will concerning the holy city in all things, and to yield to their advice concerning Christ's faith and the religion of Christianity. But he lied in all things and spoke deceitfully, for with every sort of defence of weapons and strength of soldiers he could he denied entry to the city to pilgrims, until they were now admitted, once the Saracens had been cruelly killed with the help of the Heavenly King, as you have heard.

33. When this pitiable slaughter of Saracens was finished, on the next day, Sunday,<sup>53</sup> the faithful and the leaders of the Christians took counsel and decided to give Count Raymond lordship of the city and

<sup>52</sup> Albert acknowledges that the Egyptian ruler of Jerusalem treated Christians justly and fairly: see R. M. Hill, 'The Christian view of the Muslims', pp. 1-8.

<sup>53</sup> Sunday 17 July was probably the day the process of electing a ruler began, with the rulership offered to Raymond. Godfrey accepted on Friday, 22 July, according to *GF*: 'a week after the city was taken' (*GF*, pp. 92-3). See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 66-8.

dare decreuerunt. Quo renitente, et ceteris uniuersis capitaneis ad id  
 486 officium electis, Godefridus dux tandem licet inuitus | ad tenendum  
 urbis principatum promouetur.<sup>54</sup> Promotus igitur consilio et beniuo-  
 lentia omnium Christianorum turrin regis Dauid, quam ipse Reim-  
 undus laxatis fuge Sarracenis inuaserat, requisiiuit. Sed Reimundus  
 prorsus reddere negauit, donec minis ipsius ducis et Christianorum  
 restituere<sup>b</sup> coactus est. Huius uero ducis electio et promotio nequa-  
 quam humana uoluntate<sup>c</sup> fuisse credatur, sed totum Dei ordinatione  
 et gratia factum, cum proculdubio ex uisione cuiusdam boni et  
 ueridici militis didicerimus ante decem annos huius uie hunc a Deo  
 electum et constitutum ductorem et<sup>d</sup> principem et<sup>e</sup> preceptorem  
 Christiani exercitus, et pre omnibus primatibus, actu, uictoria,  
 consiliis beatiorem, fide et ueritate integriorem.

34. Quadam igitur nocte prefatus miles Hecelo<sup>a</sup> nomine de Kenzuil-  
 lare,<sup>b</sup> uilla que est in Ribuario,<sup>c</sup> ortus, cum eodem duce in silua  
 quadam que uocatur Ketena,<sup>55</sup> uenatoria arte fatigatus, facili sopore  
 occupatus est, <sup>d</sup>ac statim<sup>d</sup> in spiritu ad montem Syna translatus,<sup>e</sup> ubi  
 Moyses famulus Domini iciunio quadraginta dierum expleto clarita-  
 tem glorie Dei meruit uidere, et legem de manu altissimi accipere.<sup>f56</sup>  
 Super huius denique montis cacumen uidebat predictum ducem cum  
 timore et mansuetudine facili ascensu attolli, et duos ei in uestibus  
 albis et pontificali ornatu obuam festinare. Qui ilico ut ad eum  
 peruentum est in hiis uerbis hanc sibi porrexere benedictionem. 'Qui  
<sup>g</sup>seruo et fideli suo<sup>g</sup> Moysi contulit benedictionem<sup>h</sup> et gratiam<sup>i</sup>  
 benedictionibus Dei uiuentis replearis, et gratiam in oculis eius  
 inuenias. Dux ac preceptor populi sui<sup>j</sup> Christiani in omni fide et  
 ueritate constitueris.' Hoc dicto miles fit<sup>k</sup> expergefactus,<sup>l</sup> et subtracta  
 est uisio.

<sup>b</sup> A adds eam after restituere  
<sup>c</sup> atque ACHN

<sup>c</sup> H adds facta after uoluntate

<sup>d</sup> ac ACHN

34 <sup>a</sup> Hezelo HN <sup>b</sup> Kenzwilare ACHN <sup>c</sup> Ribuario A <sup>d</sup> statimque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> H adds est after translatus <sup>f</sup> percipere A <sup>g</sup> suo et fideli H <sup>h</sup> A adds ipse  
 tibi (marginal insertion) after benedictionem <sup>i</sup> A adds et benedictionem conferat ut  
 (marginal insertion) after gratiam <sup>j</sup> om. A <sup>k</sup> om. ACHN <sup>l</sup> ACHN add a  
 somno surrexit after expergefactus

<sup>54</sup> In spite of Albert's partisan attitude to Godfrey, he appears to be reporting the sequence of events accurately. Cf. *GF*, pp. 92-3, where the offering of the post elsewhere is not recorded; *RA*, p. 152; *FC*, pp. 307-9. The title adopted by Godfrey was probably 'princeps': see J. Riley-Smith, 'The title of Godfrey of Bouillon', *Bulletin of the Institute of*

guardianship of the Lord's Sepulchre. As he refused, and so did all the rest of the chiefs who were chosen for this office, Duke Godfrey, although reluctant, was at last put forward to hold the principate of the city.<sup>54</sup> Once promoted, on the advice of all the Christians and with their goodwill, he asked for the tower of King David, which Raymond himself had seized after letting the Saracens escape. But Raymond absolutely refused to give it up, until he was forced to relinquish it by threats from the duke himself and the Christians. The election and promotion of this duke is believed not to have been the result of human will at all, but done entirely by God's arrangement and favour, since we have learnt beyond doubt from the vision of a certain good and truthful knight ten years before this journey that Godfrey was chosen by God and appointed leader and prince and commander of the Christian army, and before all the officers he was more blessed in deed, victory, and counsel, more perfect in faith and truth.

34. One night the aforesaid knight, called Hecelo, from Kenzwillare, an estate which is in the Ripuarian district, was with that same duke in a certain wood called Ketena.<sup>55</sup> He was tired from hunting and was easily overcome by sleep, and at once he was transported in spirit to Mount Sinai, where Moses the Lord's servant, after he had fasted for forty days, was worthy to see the splendour of God's glory and receive the law from the hand of the Most High.<sup>56</sup> Then upon the peak of this mountain he could see the aforesaid duke being raised up with awe and gentleness in an easy ascent, and two men hurrying to meet him in white clothes and the insignia of bishops. As they came up to him there they offered him their blessing in these words: 'May you be filled with the blessings of the living God who conferred blessing and favour on His servant and faithful follower Moses and may you find favour in His eyes. May you be appointed duke and commander of His Christian people in all faith and truth.' After this was said the knight woke up and the vision disappeared.

*Historical Research*, lii (1979), 83-6. Murray argues for 'princeps et defensor': *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 68-77.

<sup>55</sup> Kenzwillare was probably Kinzweiler (Kr. Aachen, Nordrhein-Westfalen), a hamlet some seven miles north-east of Aachen. Ketena may be Ketelwald, 'silva Ketela', the old name of the royal forest, near Kleve, Nordrhein-Westfalen, about seventy miles north of Aachen: M. Gysseling, *Toponymisch woordenboek van België, Nederland, Luxemburg, Noord-Frankrijk en West-Duitsland, vóór 1226*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1960), i. 561, s.v. *Ketelwald*.

<sup>56</sup> Exod. 24: 18; Deut. 9: 9.

487 35. Quid in hac uisione aliud considerandum nisi quia in spiritu et lenitate Moysi surgeret dux spiritualis Israhel, a Deo preordinatus et princeps populi<sup>a</sup> constitutus? Vnde uere hanc uisionem et benedictionem manifeste in eo adimpletam cognoscimus, quia reuera cum plurimi principes et<sup>b</sup> potentes, episcopi et<sup>c</sup> comites, filiique regum uiam<sup>d</sup> hanc ante illum et post illum insisterent,<sup>e</sup> et Christiani<sup>f</sup> exercitus ductores fierent,<sup>g</sup> nequaquam prosperum iter fecit illis Deus, aut sui desiderii compotes facti<sup>h</sup> sunt, sed<sup>i</sup> a regibus et barbaris nationibus multa illis aduersa et uniuerso eorum exercitui illata sunt, quoniam non erant illi per quos salus uenit in Israhel.<sup>57</sup> Verum<sup>j</sup> duce Godefrido post uniuersos premissos uiam insistente<sup>k</sup> et<sup>l</sup> desperati<sup>k</sup> exercitus duce ac principe existente,<sup>j</sup> omnia aduersa in prospera sunt mutata. Nec fuit quod impediret uiam, aut que noceret aduersitas, nisi ubi in sceleratis et transgressoribus inuenta fuit<sup>m</sup> iniquitas. Inuenta uero iniquitate, ex iusticia uera Dei subsecuta est ultio, qua et sanctificata est legio, et sic filii castigati nunc fame, nunc gladio, tandem felices et mundi ab inquinamentis, cum duce et principe suo beatum desiderium explentes, urbem<sup>n</sup> Ierusalem intrare meruerunt, ad<sup>o</sup> sepulchrum Domini adorauerunt, et<sup>p</sup> menia<sup>q</sup> possidentes ex Dei prouidentia et uoluntate, hunc urbis rectorem ac populi preceptorem prefece-<sup>r</sup>unt.

36. Preterea reuelatum est cuidam catholico fratri et canonico Sancte Marie Aquis, Giselberto nomine,<sup>58</sup> in septimo mense discessionis ac peregrinationis eiusdem ducis, quoniam caput omnium et princeps futurus esset in Ierusalem, a Deo prescitus et constitutus. Videbatur siquidem eidem fratri adhuc somno dedito quoniam prefatus dux in sole potenter accepisset sedem, et ex omni genere auium que sub celo sunt in circuitu illius infinite copie confluis-  
 488 sol a radiis sue claritatis maxima | ex parte obscuratus est, sedesque ducis breui interuallo prorsus deleta, et tota fere auium multitudo que remanserat auolauit.

35 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> ac H <sup>c</sup> ac ACN <sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> eum institerint ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> Christianique ACHN <sup>g</sup> fuerint AH <sup>h</sup> effecti A <sup>i</sup> uerum ACHN <sup>j</sup> At  
 ACHN <sup>k</sup> desperatique ACH <sup>l</sup> om. N <sup>m</sup> est A <sup>n</sup> ACHN add sanctam  
 after urbem <sup>o</sup> ac ACHN <sup>p</sup> om. ACHN <sup>q</sup> A adds enim; CHN add etiam after  
 menia <sup>r</sup> ACHN add gloriosissime before prefece-<sup>r</sup>unt

<sup>57</sup> 1 Macc. 5: 62.

35. What else is to be perceived in this vision, except that in the spirit and gentleness of Moses there may arise a spiritual leader of Israel, preordained by God and appointed prince of the people? And so, truly, we know this vision and blessing to have been clearly fulfilled in him, since in reality when very many princes and potentates, bishops and counts and sons of kings made this journey before him and after him, and became leaders of the Christian army, God did not make the journey go at all well for them, nor did they obtain their desire, but many difficulties were inflicted on them and all their army by kings and barbarous nations because they were not those people through whom deliverance came in Israel.<sup>57</sup> Truly, when Duke Godfrey made the journey after all those who had been sent ahead, and he was leader and prince of the despairing army, all the adverse conditions were turned into favourable ones. And there was nothing to stand in their way, no difficulty to harm them, except where wickedness was found in criminals and lawbreakers. And when wickedness was found, vengeance was pursued in accordance with the true justice of God, by which the great army was also sanctified, and after the sons were punished in this way, now by hunger, now by the sword, at last they were happy and cleansed of filth, and, fulfilling their blessed desire with their leader and prince, they were worthy to enter the city of Jerusalem, they worshipped at the Lord's Sepulchre and, taking possession of the ramparts by God's favour and will, they made Godfrey ruler of the city and commander of the people.

36. Besides this, it was revealed to a certain Catholic brother and canon of St Mary's in Aachen, called Giselbert,<sup>58</sup> in the seventh month of this same duke's departure and pilgrimage, that he would be chief of all and prince in Jerusalem, preordained and appointed by God. Indeed, it appeared to that same brother while he was still dreaming that the aforesaid duke powerfully took a seat in the sun, and a countless number of birds of all the kinds under heaven flocked around him. A part of them began little by little to diminish by flying away, but the greater part remained fixed and motionless to right and left. After this the sun was for the most part obscured by the rays of its brightness, and the duke's seat was utterly blotted out for a short period, and almost all the multitude of birds which had remained flew away.

<sup>58</sup> Albert is believed also to have been a canon of St Mary's in Aachen, but neither he nor Giselbert is to be found in the surviving records: Meuthen, *Aachener Urkunden*, and see *Introduction* above.

37. In sole sedem dux accepit, cum in solio regni Ierusalem promouetur, que omnes mundi superat ciuitates nomine et sanctitate, sicut sol sua claritate uniuersas celi stellas. Quam Christus Iesus filius Dei uiui qui uerus est sol iusticie<sup>59</sup> sua illustratam exaltauit deitate, quando in ea crucifixus <sup>a</sup>et passus,<sup>a</sup> mortuus et sepultus tercia die resurrexit, <sup>b</sup>et suis<sup>b</sup> dilectoribus uiuus apparuit.<sup>60</sup> Congregate sunt aues celi circa sedentem, cum de uniuersis regnis Christianorum magni et parui, nobiles et ignobiles, illi associati et subditi facti sunt. Auolauerunt aues, cum plurima peregrinorum multitudo ad terram cognationis sue reuersa est ex illius consensu et licentia. Sed plurime aues fixe et immobiles permanserunt, cum multi pio amore illius innodati, et familiari eius allocutione<sup>c</sup> delectati, <sup>d</sup>cum illo<sup>d</sup> ultra remanere<sup>c</sup> deuouerunt.<sup>f</sup> Post hec breui interuallo sol obscuratur, sedes ducis deletur,<sup>g</sup> cum Ierusalem post paululum temporis uiduata, tam magnifico principe mortuo, multum obscurata est a fama et gloria sua, <sup>h</sup>et multis<sup>h</sup> militibus et uiris belligeris in illius casu adtenuata.

38. Horum uero<sup>a</sup> somniorum presignatione ex Dei ordinatione <sup>b</sup>et populi<sup>b</sup> Christiani beniuolentia, Godefrido ad principem et rectorem suorum confratrum in solio regni Ierusalem exaltato, quidam fidelissimus Christianus urbis indigena, lege Christi pleniter instructus, crucem quandam semiulne auro uestitam, cui dominici ligni particula in medio inserta erat, sed <sup>e</sup>fabrili opere<sup>c</sup> expers et nuda, indicauit se abscondisse in loco humili et puluerulento deserte domus, propter metum Sarracenorum ne in hoc turbine obsidionis inuenta eadem crux auro spoliaretur, et lignum dominicum ab hiis indigne tractaretur. Hac sancta reuelatione dominici ligni uniuersi letati fideles qui aderant, in omni abstinentia pura et disciplina, sexta feria que est dies<sup>d</sup> dominice passionis in<sup>e</sup> processione sancta<sup>f</sup> clerus et populus conuenerunt ad locum ubi absconditum fuit uenerabile  
489 lignum.<sup>61</sup> | Quod cum timore et reuerentia suscipientes,<sup>g</sup> ad

37 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> suisque ACHN <sup>c</sup> colloctione A <sup>d</sup> secum A; cum eo CHN  
<sup>e</sup> permanere A <sup>f</sup> decreuerunt ACHN <sup>g</sup> aufertur ACHN <sup>h</sup> multisque ACHN

38 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN <sup>b</sup> populi<sup>b</sup> ACHN <sup>c</sup> fabrilis operis H <sup>d</sup> om. A  
<sup>e</sup> om. ACHN <sup>f</sup> honorifica ACHN <sup>g</sup> suscipiens N

<sup>59</sup> Mal. 4: 2. See also Fulbertus Carnotensis, 'In Natiuitate Beatae Virginis', in *Enchiridion Euchologicum Fontium Liturgicorum* (Rome, 1979), p. 884, no. 1964.

37. The duke took a seat in the sun, as he was promoted to the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which exceeds all the towns in the world in name and holiness, just as the sun exceeds all the stars in the sky with its brilliance. Christ Jesus, son of the living God who is the true sun of justice,<sup>59</sup> illuminated Jerusalem and raised it up with his deity when he was crucified there and suffered, died and was buried, and on the third day he rose again<sup>60</sup> and appeared alive to his friends. The birds of heaven were gathered round the seated duke, like those from all Christian lands, great and small, noble and lesser people, who were joined with him and subject to him. The birds flew away, just as a very great number of pilgrims returned to the land of their birth with the duke's consent and permission. But very many birds remained fixed and motionless, as many were attached to him by dutiful love, and having delighted in his intimate and comforting speech they vowed to stay longer with him. A short while after this the sun was obscured while the duke's seat was blotted out, just as Jerusalem was bereft after a very short time, with so magnificent a prince dead, and it was greatly darkened from his fame and glory and diminished by many soldiers and warriors at his death.

38. In accordance with God's command, presignified by these dreams, and in accordance with the goodwill of the Christian people, Godfrey was raised up to be prince and ruler of his brothers on the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Then a certain faithful Christian native of the city, fully instructed in Christ's law, revealed that he had hidden a certain cross—half a cubit high and clad in gold, with a little bit of the Lord's rood inserted in the middle, but devoid of skilled workmanship and bare—in a humble and dusty place in an abandoned house, because of his fear of the Saracens and that in the turmoil of the siege the cross would be found and stripped of its gold, and the Lord's rood treated shamefully by them. All the faithful who were there rejoiced at this holy revelation of the Lord's Cross, and after complete, pure abstinence and instruction, on the Friday, which is the day of the Lord's suffering, clergy and people came together in a holy procession to the place where the venerated Cross had been hidden.<sup>61</sup> They took it up with care and reverence and decided to

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Nicene creed: G. L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli* (Rome, 1967), p. 186.

<sup>61</sup> 'venerabile lignum': cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* xii. 767, but also Christian poets (*HL*, v. 524).

templum dominici sepulchri cum omni deuotione <sup>b</sup>et ymnorum<sup>b</sup> ferre et collocare<sup>i</sup> decreuerunt.<sup>62</sup>

39. Post hec placuit uniuerso cetui fidelium, et uisum est utile <sup>a</sup>et acceptum<sup>a</sup> coram Deo, quoniam uniuersa gentilitas ab urbe sancta exterminata est et sacrilegi ritus <sup>b</sup>et Godefridus<sup>b</sup> princeps Christianorum in throno Ierusalem exaltatus ad protegendam urbem <sup>c</sup>et eius<sup>c</sup> habitatores ut etiam pastor et patriarcha restitueretur, qui gregi fidelium <sup>d</sup>et sancte<sup>d</sup> preesset ecclesie. Nam uiduata erat pastore suo patriarcha uiro sanctissimo, in insula Cypri tempore obsidionis Ierusalem ex hac luce subtracto.<sup>63</sup> Migravit autem<sup>e</sup> idem patriarcha ab Ierusalem et sepulchro Domini, audito aduentu et sede Christianorum circa menia Antiochie, profectus ad insulam Cypri propter minas Turcorum et inopportunitatem<sup>f</sup> Sarracenorum. Fuit quippe<sup>g</sup> uir grandeuus, fidelis<sup>h</sup> Christi seruus, qui a predicta insula plurima karitatis dona eidem<sup>i</sup> duci Godefrido<sup>j</sup> et ceteris<sup>k</sup> primoribus<sup>k</sup> in initio obsidionis Ierusalem misit, interdum fructum arboris qui dicitur malum granatum,<sup>l</sup> interdum preciosa poma cedrorum Lybani, aliquando<sup>m</sup> bacones saginatos, aut laudabile uinum, et quecumque iuxta possibilitatem suam <sup>n</sup>meliora et cariora<sup>n</sup> consequi poterat, sperans sub eisdem principibus adhuc sancta ecclesia restaurata pacifice et secure ad sepulchrum Domini nostri<sup>o</sup> Iesu Christi filii Dei uiui seruire et<sup>p</sup> preesse. Sed recuperata a fidelibus urbe Ierusalem, et sancta<sup>q</sup> illius ecclesia renouata, Christianissimus patriarcha uita decessit, <sup>r</sup>et sic sancta<sup>r</sup> ecclesia suo pastore uiduata remansit. Quapropter consilio inter Christianorum principes habito et sepius discusso, ut predictum est, quis tanto uiro succederet, non aliquis est repertus tanti honoris et diuini regiminis dignus. <sup>s</sup>Et ideo<sup>s</sup> dilatum est donec talis reperiretur<sup>t</sup> qui <sup>u</sup>hoc pontificali officio esset dignus.<sup>u</sup> Sed tantum<sup>v</sup> Arnolfum de Zokes clericum mire prudentie et facundie cancellarium sancte ecclesie Ierusalem<sup>w</sup> procuratorem

<sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> ymnorumque modulatione ACHN

<sup>i</sup> ACH add ibidem; N ibi before collocare

39 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> acceptumque ACHN <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> Godefridus quoque ACHN <sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup> eiusque ACHN <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> sancteque ACHN <sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> enim ACHN <sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> importunitates A <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> enim N <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> ACHN add et before fidelis <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup> om. ACHN <sup>j</sup> <sup>j</sup> ceterisque ACHN <sup>k</sup> <sup>k</sup> principibus H <sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup> malogranatum A <sup>m</sup> <sup>m</sup> interdum H <sup>n</sup> <sup>n</sup> om. H <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> om. CHN <sup>p</sup> <sup>p</sup> atque ACHN <sup>q</sup> <sup>q</sup> sacra ACHN <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> sicque ACHN <sup>s</sup> <sup>s</sup> Ideoque ACHN <sup>t</sup> <sup>t</sup> inueniretur ACHN <sup>u</sup> <sup>u</sup> ad hoc pontificale officium foret idoneus ACHN <sup>v</sup> <sup>v</sup> tandem A <sup>w</sup> <sup>w</sup> Ierosolimitane H

<sup>62</sup> The finding of the relic of the True Cross is not reported in GF, but it is recounted by Fulcher, who says a Syrian had concealed it; he describes it as partly covered with gold and

carry it to and place it in the temple of the Lord's Sepulchre with all prayer and singing of hymns.<sup>62</sup>

39. After this it was pleasing to the whole company of the faithful, and seemed advantageous and acceptable in the eyes of God, once all the gentile race was expelled from the holy city and their sacrilegious ritual, and after Godfrey had been raised up on the throne of Jerusalem as prince of Christians to protect the city and its inhabitants, that its shepherd and patriarch should also be restored, who would be in charge of the flock of the faithful and of the holy church. For it had been bereft of its shepherd the patriarch, a very holy man, who left this life on the island of Cyprus at the time of the siege of Jerusalem.<sup>63</sup> That same patriarch had journeyed from Jerusalem and the Lord's Sepulchre when he heard of the Christians' arrival and siege around the ramparts of Antioch, setting out for the island of Cyprus on account of the Turks' threats and the Saracens' insolence. He was, in fact, an elderly man, a faithful servant of Christ, who sent from the island very many gifts of love to that same Duke Godfrey and the other leaders at the start of the siege of Jerusalem, sometimes the tree fruit which is called pomegranate, sometimes precious fruits of the cedars of Lebanon, on occasion fat bacons, or praiseworthy wine, or whatever good and costly things he could manage according to his means, hoping yet to serve and be in charge at the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, under those same princes when the holy church was peacefully and securely restored. But when the city of Jerusalem had been recovered by the faithful, and its holy church renewed, the most Christian patriarch left this life, and so the holy church remained bereft of its shepherd. Because of this a council was held among the princes of the Christians and it was frequently debated, as was said before, who should succeed so great a man, and no one was found worthy of so great an honour and divine governance. And therefore it was delayed until such a man might be found who would be worthy of this pontifical office. But they only appointed Arnulf of Chocques, a cleric of wonderful wisdom and eloquence, as chancellor of the holy church



silver (FC, pp. 309–10). Raymond of Aguilers says the relic was found on Arnulf's initiative (RA, p. 154). See also A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), pp. 286–7.

<sup>63</sup> According to B. Hamilton it is not certain that the crusaders were aware of Patriarch Symeon's death at this point. In his view there was no doubt in their minds that the patriarch of Jerusalem should be a Latin: he points out that they did not consult the Orthodox canons of the Holy Sepulchre then in Cyprus: Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 12.

sanctarum reliquiarum et custodem elemosinarum fidelium preferunt.<sup>64</sup>

490 40. Promoto nunc Arnolfo ad hanc dignitatem sancte et noue ecclesie donec eligeretur patriarcha Deo et populo acceptabilis, placuit summo principi Ierusalem duci Godefrido, necnon et ceteris omnibus, ut in templo dominici sepulchri uiginti fratres in Christo diuini officii cultores constituerentur, qui assiduis horis Domino Deo uiuenti in laudibus et ymnis psallerent, hostiam corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi deuote<sup>a</sup> immolarent, dehinc cottidianam sustentationem de oblatione fidelium constitutam susciperent. Sic decenter diuino obsequio restaurato a catholico duce<sup>b</sup> et Christianis<sup>b</sup> principibus, campanas ex<sup>c</sup> ere et ceteris<sup>c</sup> metallis fieri iusserunt, quarum signum<sup>d</sup> et sonum mox fratres cum caperent<sup>d</sup> ad ecclesiam laudes psalmodum<sup>e</sup> et missarum<sup>e</sup> uota celebraturi festinarent,<sup>f</sup> et populus fidelium hec auditurus una properarent. Non enim huiusmodi<sup>g</sup> soni aut signa uisa uel audita sunt ante hos dies in Ierusalem.

41. Dehinc curriculo quinque ebdomadarum transacto, Godefridus dux, audita fama exercitus<sup>a</sup> gentilium, munita urbe et turri Dauid fidei custodia, secum assumptis quibusdam sociis, Roberto pariter<sup>b</sup> Flandriensi,<sup>c</sup> et Tancrado, profectus est in campestria Ascalonis, audire et intelligere de rebus et consiliis gentilium. Vbi fortuitu nuncius sibi occurrit, referens quod Meraius,<sup>65</sup> secundus a rege Babylonic,<sup>d</sup> et uniuersa multitudo gentilium, ut harena maris innumerabilis,<sup>66</sup> ex mandato regis<sup>e</sup> iam ad<sup>f</sup> Ascalona<sup>g</sup> nauigio descenderint, arma, escas et armenta infinita adduxerint,<sup>h</sup> et omnem<sup>i</sup> belli apparatus copiosum, et quia urbem Ierusalem et exules Christianos

40 <sup>a</sup> om. N <sup>b b</sup> Christianisque ACHN <sup>c c</sup> om. A; ceteris om. N <sup>d d</sup> fratres dum caperent mox ACHN <sup>e e</sup> missarumque ACHN <sup>f</sup> conuenirent A <sup>g</sup> huiusmodi A

41 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN <sup>b</sup> C adds comite before Roberto <sup>c</sup> Flandriense H <sup>d</sup> Babilonis N <sup>e</sup> C adds Babiloniorum after regis <sup>f</sup> ab A <sup>g</sup> Ascalonam N <sup>h</sup> abduxerint H <sup>i i</sup> omnemque ACHN

<sup>64</sup> Arnulf was a very controversial figure. Raymond of Aguilers was opposed to him and referred to his being the son of a priest and having a bad reputation (RA, p. 154). Radulf of Caen, formerly his pupil, attests his learning (RC, p. 604). There is general agreement that he was a charismatic preacher. In addition, Arnulf's crusading career made him the obvious candidate for patriarch in 1099: there is evidence that he was appointed ancillary legate by

of Jerusalem, procurator of the holy relics, and keeper of the alms of the faithful.<sup>64</sup>

40. When Arnulf had been promoted to this office in the holy and new church until a patriarch acceptable to God and the people was elected, it seemed a good idea to Duke Godfrey, the highest prince of Jerusalem, and likewise to all the rest, that twenty brothers in Christ should be appointed to observe the divine office in the Temple of the Lord's Sepulchre, who at every hour would sing praises and hymns to the living Lord God, would piously offer up the sacrifice of Jesus Christ's body and blood, then would undertake the daily upkeep arranged from the offering of the faithful. When divine observance had thus been honourably restored by the Catholic duke and Christian princes, they ordered bells to be made from bronze and other metals, and soon when the brothers heard the signal and sound of these they would hurry to the church to celebrate the praises of the psalms and the prayers of masses, and the faithful people would as one make haste to hear these things. For there were no sounds or signals of this sort seen or heard in Jerusalem before these days.

41. Then, after five weeks had passed, Duke Godfrey, hearing the rumour of an army of gentiles, garrisoned the city and the Tower of David with a loyal guard and, taking with him certain comrades, likewise Robert of Flanders and Tancred, set out for the plains of Ascalon to hear and find out about the affairs and plans of the gentiles. There by chance a messenger met him, reporting that Meraius,<sup>65</sup> second to the king of Egypt, and the entire multitude of gentiles, innumerable as the sands as the sea,<sup>66</sup> were already sailing to Ascalon on the king's orders, bringing weapons, food, and countless herds, and plenty of all the apparatus of war, and that they had decided to besiege the city of Jerusalem and the Christian exiles. The

Urban II himself in 1096, and after Adhémar's death at Antioch he was the only legate left. Radulf of Caen goes so far as to say that Adhémar commended the crusaders to Arnulf's care as he lay dying (RC, p. 673). Nevertheless it should be noted that Albert is explicit that Arnulf was not made patriarch at this point. This may reflect Albert's knowledge of later disputes, or an ambiguity at the time: Hamilton suggests he was patriarch-elect awaiting papal ratification. The *Chronicle of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif* says that in 1102 Arnulf was 'scriniarius' in charge of Baldwin I's treasury. See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 12-14; J. Richard, 'Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'église latine de Jérusalem', *Recueil Clovis Brunel*, ii (1955), 420-30, at pp. 420-3.

<sup>65</sup> Presumably al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt 1094-1121.

<sup>66</sup> An Old Testament simile, e.g. 2 Kgs. (2 Sam.) 17: 11.

obsidere decreuerint. Gens Publicanorum,<sup>67</sup> et gens nigerrime cutis de terra Ethiopie dicta uulgariter Azoparth,<sup>j 68</sup> et omnes barbare nationes que erant de regno Babylonie, illuc ad urbem Ascalona<sup>k</sup> conuentum habere decreuerunt.<sup>l</sup> Godefridus autem dux et qui cum eo  
 491 erant, Robertus Flandriensis, | Tancradus et Eustachius frater ducis, audita<sup>m</sup> fama aduentantium copiarum <sup>n</sup>et armorum<sup>n</sup> gentilium, iuxta montana que procedunt ab Ierusalem hospitati sunt, ac<sup>o</sup> missa legatione Ierosolimam comiti Reimundo et Roberto Nortmannorum principi, omnia aperiri iubent quanta collectio gentilium Ascalona occupauerit, et uiam usque in Ierusalem habere statuerint.<sup>p</sup> Vnde eosdem principes cum omni manu equitum et peditum ad resistendum infidelibus accersiunt. Petrum uero heremitam et Arnolfum quem cancellarium ac custodem dominici sepulchri statuerant, cum ligno Domini adesse monuerunt ad Ascalona in occursum infidelium turmis sine aliqua dilatione.<sup>69</sup> Paucos, sed tamen fideles in tuitione et defensione urbis remanere decreuerunt.<sup>q</sup>

42. Hiis itaque dispositis, et exercitu per urbem diffuso ammonito ex legatione ducis et comprimorum, equos et arma breui<sup>r</sup> interuallo reposita reparant ac resumunt, et iter in tubis et cornibus, musis et cytharis <sup>b</sup>et omni uoce<sup>b</sup> exultationis et<sup>c</sup> leticie per montana insistentes, duci Godefrido in terminis Ascalonis residenti coniuncti sunt, per prata et loca campestria hospitati. Solus comes Reimundus adhuc stimulo inuidie seuiens aduersus ducem Godefridum eo quod turrim Dauid amiserit, inuitatus uenire noluit cum omni manu suorum sequacium, donec denuo a duce <sup>d</sup>et cunctis<sup>d</sup> principibus minis pulsatus et ammonitus, tandem ex consilio suorum et blandiciis fidelium uirorum exurgens, ac<sup>e</sup> per montana regia uia cum ingenti manu gradiens, duci et predictis principibus in campestribus Ascalonis associatus est. Armenta, cameli, boues,<sup>f</sup>

<sup>j</sup> Azopart *AH*, and *E* once later      <sup>k</sup> Ascalone *A*      <sup>l</sup> statuerunt *ACHN*  
<sup>m</sup> comperta *ACHN*      <sup>n</sup> armorumque *ACHN*      <sup>o</sup> dein *ACHN*      <sup>p</sup> constituerint *ACHN*  
<sup>q</sup> censuerunt *ACHN*

42      <sup>a</sup> *H* adds in before breui      <sup>b b</sup> omnique *A* (om. uoce); omnique uoce *CHN*      <sup>c</sup> ac *ACN*  
<sup>d d</sup> cunctisque *ACHN*      <sup>e</sup> atque *ACHN*      <sup>f</sup> om. *A*

<sup>67</sup> The Publicans, or Paulicians, were, strictly speaking, Manichaean heretics, but the word seems to have been used by Albert to denote a people from Africa or Arabia. Other writers, following *GF*, use the term much earlier in the campaign and probably more accurately: *GF*, p. 20 and note: 'Unexplained, but possibly the Caucasian Albanians (Aghovanians), for whom see Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee*, pp. 59-60.' See also Du Cange, s.v. *Populicani*; *GF*, pp. 26, 49, 83; *PT*, pp. 54, 61, 84, 89, 128; *RM*, pp. 763, 770, 808; *GN*, p. 208.

race of Publicans,<sup>67</sup> and the race with very black skin from the land of Ethiopia, commonly called Azoparth,<sup>68</sup> and all the barbarous nations which belonged to the kingdom of Egypt had decided to hold an assembly there at the city of Ascalon. Moreover, when Duke Godfrey and those with him—Robert of Flanders, Tancred, and Eustace the duke's brother—heard the news of the advancing hordes and the weapons of the gentiles, they took up quarters next to the mountain regions which lead to Jerusalem and they sent a legation to Jerusalem to Raymond and Robert, prince of Normans, ordering that all things were to be disclosed to them: the size of the assembly of gentiles which occupied Ascalon, and that they had taken up position to hold the road leading to Jerusalem. And as a result they summoned those same princes to resist the infidels with the whole army of cavalry and infantry. They commanded Peter the Hermit and Arnulf, whom they had appointed chancellor and keeper of the Lord's Sepulchre, to attend with the Lord's cross to meet the infidel troops at Ascalon without any delay.<sup>69</sup> They decreed that few, but nevertheless loyal people should stay for the protection and defence of the city.

42. When these things had been arranged, and after the army which was scattered all over the city had been warned by the legation of the duke and his co-leaders, they retrieved the horses and the weapons they had briefly lain aside and took them up again, and made the journey through the mountain regions with trumpets and bugles, bagpipes and stringed instruments, and all singing in exultation and happiness, and they joined up with Duke Godfrey, who was settled in the territory of Ascalon, where they were quartered throughout the meadows and plains. Only Count Raymond, who was still feeling the goad of envy against Duke Godfrey because he had lost the Tower of David, was summoned and refused to come with all the army of his followers, while once again he was pushed and incited to action by threats from the duke and all the princes, until at length, on the advice of his own people and in response to persuasion from loyal men, he got up and marched on the royal way through the mountains with a huge army and was united with the duke and the aforesaid princes on the plains of Ascalon. Herds, camels, oxen, wild cattle, and

<sup>68</sup> The Ethiopian troops are also referred to by Fulcher of Chartres, by Tudebode, and by Baudri of Dol (FC, pp. 311–12; PT, p. 147; BD, p. 108).

<sup>69</sup> While GF assigns Peter a role in Jerusalem during the battle, Albert and the *Chanson de Jérusalem* stress his importance as a warrior: GF, p. 94; *Chanson de Jérusalem*, lines 8947, 9389 (ed. Thorp, pp. 234, 246) and *passim*.

buffi, et omne genus domestici pecoris a Sarracenis in eisdem campestribus in multitudine grandi<sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup>in dolo premissa ac dispersa erant,<sup>h</sup> ut populus Christianus hec concupiscens raperet ac cogeret, predeque animaduerneretur ut sic rapinis impeditus, facilius ab hoste superaretur. Sed quidam nobilissimus ex Sarracenis quondam urbis Ramnetis prefectus, qui pacem et foedus superata Ierusalem cum duce iniit, nunc in auxilium ipsius ducis licet gentilis fideli intentione adueniens, dolositates Babyloniorum enucleat, dicens armenta non aliam ob causam Sarracenos, Arabitas<sup>i</sup> cunctosque gentiles premisisse, nisi ut peregrinos impedirent, quo<sup>j</sup> magis prede quam defensionis studerent. Hac premoni|tione gentilis principis dux et uniuersi rectores Christiani exercitus rem precauentes, edictum in omni catholica legione statuunt, ut quicumque de peregrinis predam ante prelium contigerit,<sup>k</sup> auribus et naribus truncatis<sup>l</sup> puniatur.<sup>70</sup> Iuxta uerbum et edictum istud omnes manus a uetito continuerunt, solum quod uictui hac nocte sufficeret alias contraxerunt.

43. Altera autem die prima aurora radiante, uniuersus populus Dei uiui<sup>71</sup> bello armatur, in uoce exultationis et omni dulci modulatione<sup>a</sup> iocundati, cytharis et musis, tamquam ad conuiuium pergentes letati, sancte crucis signaculo ab Arnolfo, Petro<sup>b</sup> et ceteris<sup>b</sup> sacerdotibus muniti et signati, confessionis puritate confortati sunt. Sub quorum anathemate rursus preda et aliqua rapina ante agonem interdicta est. Prefectus autem ciuitatis Ramnetis uidens populum in tibiis, cytharis, musarumque sonis et<sup>c</sup> uoce exultationis<sup>72</sup> iocundari et psallere, tamquam ad epulas omnium deliciarum inuitati essent, admiratus est uehementer, et ducem super hiis sciscitatur<sup>d</sup> dicens: 'Miror, et sufficienter mirari nequeo, unde populus hic in tanta leticia et uoce exultationis gloriatur quasi ad conuiuium iturus, cum hodie mors illis presto sit, et presens martyrium uniuersos prestoletur, et uarius fuerit<sup>e</sup> euentus belli, et<sup>f</sup> multa nunc et intolerabilis uirtus aduersariorum

<sup>g</sup> graui H      <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> dolose premissa erant et dispersa ACHN      <sup>i</sup> Arabitasque A  
<sup>j</sup> peregrini E      <sup>k</sup> contingeret A      <sup>l</sup> truncatus A

43      <sup>a</sup> modulamine H      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> ceterisque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>d</sup> sciscitabatur A  
<sup>e</sup> sit ACHN      <sup>f</sup> atque ACHN

<sup>70</sup> Raymond of Aguilers and, more briefly, the *Gesta Francorum* also describe the herds on the plains of Ascalon, and the leaders' warnings against looting. However, the penalty for disobedience in these accounts is to be excommunication. Furthermore, they do not present it as a Saracen trick (RA, pp. 156-7; GF, pp. 94-5).

every kind of domestic beast had been sent out and scattered on those plains in a great multitude as a trick, so that the Christian army would covet them and seize and drive them, and would be distracted by booty so that, encumbered by plunder in this way, they would more easily be overcome by the enemy. But a certain most noble man from among the Saracens, once prefect of the city of Ramla, who had entered a peace and treaty with the duke when Jerusalem was conquered, now came to the assistance of that duke, being faithful in purpose although he was a gentile, and explained the Egyptians' tricks, saying that the Saracens, Arabs, and other gentiles had sent out the herds for this reason only: to hinder the pilgrims, who were much keener on plunder than defence. The duke and all the rulers of the Christian army were put on their guard by this warning from the gentile prince and they pronounced an edict in all the Catholic army, that any of the pilgrims who touched booty before battle would be punished by having ears and nose cut off.<sup>70</sup> In accordance with that pronouncement and edict the whole army held back from the forbidden deed and otherwise they only seized sufficient provisions for the night.

43. On the second day as dawn broke the whole people of the living God<sup>71</sup> was armed for war, rejoicing in songs of exultation and all sweet music, with stringed instruments and bagpipes, as happy as if they were going to a feast; they were protected and signed with the sign of the holy cross by Arnulf, Peter, and the other priests and strengthened with the purity of confession. Once again plunder and any looting before the combat were forbidden under threat of excommunication from the priests. Moreover, the prefect of Ramla, when he saw the people rejoicing and singing psalms with flutes, stringed instruments, the sounds of bagpipes, and the voice of exultation,<sup>72</sup> just as if they had been invited to a banquet of all kinds of delights, was greatly amazed, and questioned the duke about these things, saying: 'I wonder, and I cannot wonder enough, why this people glories in such great happiness and with a voice of exultation as if going to a party, when today death is close at hand for them and instant martyrdom waits for them all and the outcome of war may go either way and a great and insufferable force of opponents

<sup>71</sup> Frequent in the Bible, though in OT 'Dei uiuentis', e.g. in a martial context 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 17: 26, 36; in NT 'Dei uiui', e.g. Matt. 16: 16.

<sup>72</sup> Ps. 41 (42): 5.

congregata non procul hinc castra sua locauerit.<sup>7</sup> Ad hec dux, fide Christi<sup>e</sup> plenus, et spirituali responsione instructus, sciscitanti uiro super hiis sapienter exposuit cur in spe hodiernae mortis<sup>h</sup> et presentis<sup>h</sup> prelii ingenti gaudio et dulci melodia Christianus populus delectaretur. Dicebat enim: 'Populus hic quem uides et audis in uoce exultationis aduersum<sup>i</sup> inimicos properare, et prelium in nomine Domini Iesu Christi Dei sui committere, scito quia certus est hodie de corona regni celorum, et quia ad meliorem transibit uitam, in qua primum felicius uiuere incipiet, si pro eius nomine et gratia in hoc prelio mori meruerit. Ideo in gaudium et iubilationem cor nostrum erigitur, quia si forte corruerimus in manu inimicorum, potestatem habet Dominus Iesus Deus noster animas nostras in paradysum<sup>j</sup> glorie sue collocare, et<sup>k</sup> idcirco non timemus mortem aut impetum inimicorum, cum certi simus<sup>l</sup> post temporalem mortem de eterna illius remuneratione.<sup>m</sup> Hoc uero signum sancte crucis quo munimur et sanctificamur proculdubio spirituale<sup>n</sup> scutum est contra omnia iacula inimicorum, et in eodem signo sperantes tutius<sup>o</sup> contra omnia<sup>p</sup> pericula stare audemus. In hoc utique ligno sancte crucis redempti sumus de manu mortis et inferi,<sup>73</sup> et<sup>q</sup> potestate angeli nequam, et in sanguine Domini nostri Iesu<sup>q</sup> filii Dei uiui ab omni inquinamento ueteris erroris emundati,<sup>r</sup><sup>74</sup> fiduciam habemus eterne uite.<sup>7</sup>

44. Audita ducis responsione, et perhennis uite instructione, precatur supradictus gentilis, ut et ipse causa Christianissimi ducis et catholici populi contra gentem et confratres suos pugnaturus, eodem sancte crucis signaculo muniatur et sanctificetur, quatenus fide et spe eiusdem sancte crucis et crucifixi incolumis ab armis et insidiis inimicorum conseruaretur. Vtrum autem statim aut post bellum baptismum suscepit, incertum habemus, preter quod quidam profitentur quod uisa uirtute et uictoria Christianorum baptismi gratiam perceperit.<sup>a</sup> Huius<sup>b</sup> uero sancte crucis signaculo de manu Arnolfi uniuerso cetui Christianorum una cum<sup>c</sup> gentili principe sanctificato, ad arma sumenda, loricas induendas, acies ordinandas, et uexilla in hastis extollenda, omnium fit labor et intentio. Nulla armentorum aut uetiti gregis fit concupiscentia<sup>d</sup> aut raptio,<sup>d</sup> sed

<sup>e</sup> om. A    <sup>h h</sup> presentisque ACHN    <sup>i</sup> aduersus ACHN    <sup>j</sup> paradiso ACHN  
<sup>k</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>l l</sup> quia certi sumus ACHN    <sup>m</sup> retributione H    <sup>n</sup> ACHN add  
nobis after spirituale    <sup>o o</sup> aduersus cuncta ACHN    <sup>p</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>q</sup> ACHN add  
Christi after Iesu    <sup>r</sup> mundati C

44    <sup>a</sup> percepit N    <sup>b</sup> Vnius N    <sup>c</sup> om. N    <sup>d d</sup> om. ACHN

is now assembled and has pitched camp not far from here.' The duke, full of Christ's faith and instructed in spiritual response, responded to the man's enquiry by discoursing wisely about these things: why the Christian people delighted with great joy and sweet music in expectation of death this very day and of the imminent battle. For he said: 'Know that these people, whom you see and hear singing in exultation as they hurry towards their enemies and join battle in the name of Lord Jesus Christ their God, are certain today of the crown of the kingdom of heaven, and know that they will pass on to a better life, in which they shall begin to live more happily for the first time, if they are found worthy to die in this battle for his name and favour. For this reason our hearts are lifted to joy and jubilation, that if we should chance to fall into the hands of the enemy, Lord Jesus our God has the power to place our souls in the paradise of His glory, and because of this we do not fear death or the charge of the enemy, since we are sure of His eternal reward after death in this world. Indeed, this sign of the holy cross by which we are protected and sanctified is beyond doubt a spiritual shield against all the enemies' missiles, and putting our hope in that same sign we venture to stand more firmly against all dangers. And assuredly we have been redeemed by this wood of the Holy Cross from the hand of death and hell,<sup>73</sup> and by angelic power from harm, and we have been cleansed in the blood of Lord Jesus, son of the living God, from all the filth of former error,<sup>74</sup> and we have confidence in eternal life.'

44. When he heard the duke's reply and his instruction concerning eternal life, the above-mentioned gentile entreated that as he too was going to fight on the side of the most Christian duke and the catholic people against his own race and brothers, he might be protected and sanctified by that same sign of the holy cross, so that he might be kept unharmed from the weapons and stratagems of the enemy by the faith and hope of that same holy cross and crucifix. However, we are not sure whether he received baptism at once or after the battle, only that some claim that after he had seen the strength and triumph of the Christians he received the favour of baptism. Once the whole company of Christians, along with the gentile prince, had been sanctified with the sign of this holy cross by Arnulf's hand, it was everyone's work and purpose to take up weapons, put on hauberks, organize the battle lines and raise up banners on their spears. There was no coveting or seizing of herds or of forbidden flocks, but the flocks and herds which had been

<sup>73</sup> Ps. 48 (49): 16; 88 (89): 49; Rev. 20: 13, 14.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. 2 Cor. 7: 1.

premissi greges et armenta ad decipiendos fideles Christi, splendore armorum, galearum, clipeorum<sup>e</sup> stupescunt,<sup>f</sup> ac<sup>g</sup> uehementi strepitu ac clamore exercitus greges<sup>h</sup> attoniti admirantur. Vnde arrectis auribus<sup>75</sup> stupefacti, et immobiles diu persistentes tandem sociantur equitibus et peditibus, et sic armatis<sup>i</sup> cuneis permixti, cum euntibus ibant, et cum stantibus stabant, ac<sup>j</sup> nubem pulueris multiplicantes, Sarracenis rem ignorantibus sua multitudine copiosa a longe metum inferebant.<sup>76</sup>

494 45. Deinde Christianis a montanis egressis, et in ualle ac<sup>a</sup> loco campestri consistentibus, quo Sarracenorum, Arabum, Maurorum, Publicanorum<sup>b</sup> tentoria fixa erant et acies ordinate, greges et uniuersa armenta que nemo dinumerare poterat sponte segregata et directa sunt sine ductoribus et<sup>c</sup> magistris ad locum satis<sup>d</sup> uicine pascue, ac si diuino nutu premonita et iussa cuneis catholicis ultro | cederent, ne forte eis impedimento fierent, sed ut ibidem in loco pascue persistentia, a Christianis post uictoriam reperiri possent. Nec mora, segregatis armentis<sup>e</sup> et uisis infidelium<sup>f</sup> turmis, acies Gallorum sicut erant constitute, he in fronte, he a dextris et a<sup>g</sup> sinistris, alie ad extremum pugnature, bello aptantur. <sup>h</sup>Vniuersi uero equites et pedites circa sua signa et uexilla cateruatim conferuntur.<sup>h</sup> Godefridus dux et summus post Deum dominator Ierusalem cum duobus milibus equitum et tribus peditum, in omni armatura loricarum, galearum et clipeorum, lancearum et sagittarum, portam<sup>i</sup> Ascalonis obsedit, ne ulla uis inhabitantium ab urbe hac<sup>j</sup> parte erumperet, <sup>k</sup>et Gallos<sup>k</sup> retro in<sup>l</sup> terga inprouisos inpuerneret. Comes uero Reimundus a dextris uersus pomeria spaciosa ac densissima que extra muros erant cum ingenti manu suorum aciem suam dirigebat, ut bello ingruente sociis uires et opem augeret, <sup>m</sup>et corda<sup>m</sup> metu fluxa ab instante<sup>n</sup> angustia subleuaret. Robertus Nortmannorum princeps<sup>o</sup> et Robertus Flandriensis, Oliuerus<sup>p</sup> de Iussi, Gerardus de Keresi, Reinardus de Tuol<sup>q</sup> densata fronte acies a sinistris contra Mauros et omne genus

<sup>e</sup> clipeorumque ACHN <sup>f</sup> obstupescunt A <sup>g</sup> et ACHN <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> armati N <sup>j</sup> atque ACHN

45 <sup>a</sup> a N <sup>b</sup> Publicanorumque ACHN <sup>c</sup> H adds sine after et <sup>d</sup> om. A  
<sup>e</sup> pecudibus ACHN <sup>f</sup> fidelium A <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN <sup>h</sup> om. N <sup>i</sup> portas  
ACHN <sup>j</sup> A adds in before hac <sup>k</sup> Gallosque ACHN <sup>l</sup> post ACHN  
<sup>m</sup> cordaque ACHN <sup>n</sup> instanti ACHN <sup>o</sup> om. A <sup>p</sup> Oliueris N <sup>q</sup> Tul AN;  
Tul CH <sup>r</sup> om. A

<sup>75</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* ii. 303, but also a hexameter topos (HL i. 134).

sent out to deceive Christ's faithful grew astonished at the glitter of weapons, helmets, and shields, and the flocks were thunderstruck and amazed by the loud din and shouting of the army. And so, stupefied, their ears pricked up,<sup>75</sup> they stood still for a long time, then at length they joined the cavalry and infantry, and, mingled in this way with the armed formations, they went forward when they went forward, they stood still when they stood still, and by increasing the cloud of dust they excited fear in the Saracens, who were unaware of what had happened, by their great numbers in the distance.<sup>76</sup>

45. Then, when the Christians had come out of the mountains and were positioned in the valley and on the plain where the tents of the Saracens, Arabs, Moors, and Publicans had been pitched and their battle lines drawn up, the flocks and all the herds which no one could count separated themselves of their own accord and made their way without guides and masters to a place of pasture fairly nearby as if, forewarned and commanded by divine instruction, they would, without being asked, give way to the Catholic formations in order not to be a hindrance to them, but so that, standing firm there in the place of pasture, they could be found by the Christians after the victory. Immediately, when the herds had moved aside and they had seen the infidel hordes, the Gauls' battle formations, as they had been drawn up—these to fight in front, these to right and left, others in the rear—joined battle. All the cavalry and infantry were gathered company by company around their banners and standards. Godfrey, the duke and after God the highest ruler in Jerusalem, besieged the gate of Ascalon with two thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry, fully equipped with hauberks, helmets, and shields, lances and arrows, so that no force of inhabitants would sally forth from the city on this side and attack the Gauls unexpectedly from the rear. Count Raymond, with an enormous number of his men, directed his division to the right, towards extensive and very thick orchards which were outside the walls, so that as the battle became fierce he could use his forces and resources to strengthen the allies and raise their spirits when they faltered from fear in the present torment. Robert prince of the Normans and Robert of Flanders, Oliver of Jussey, Gerard of Quierzy, and Rainald of Toul organized their troops on the plain with

<sup>76</sup> The 'miracle' of the marching herds is widely reported, though the other accounts say these were animals which had been seized and released, while Albert still insists that no plundering took place until after the battle (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 172–3; RA, p. 158; Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 156).

gentilium in campestribus moderabantur ad committendum prelium, et<sup>e</sup> uniuersi pedites et equites Christianorum conglobati, in signis et uexillis ad resistendum <sup>1</sup>pariter illic<sup>e</sup> constiterunt.

46. Sic utrimque facie ad faciem obsistentibus crudele inhorruit bellum. Nam Azoparth, qui flexis genibus suo more bellum solent committere, premissi in fronte belli grauiter sagittarum grandine Gallos inpugnauerunt, tubis et timpanistriis intonantes, ut tam horribili sonitu equos et uiros perterritos a bello et locis campestribus absterrent. Habebant etiam<sup>a</sup> idem Azoparth uiri horridi et teterrimi flagella ferrata ac seuissima, quibus loricas et<sup>b</sup> clipeos graui ictu penetrabant, equos in frontibus percutiebant, et sonitum terribilem per uniuersa agmina fidelium faciebant. Gens uero Arabum et Saracenorum ac<sup>c</sup> Publicanorum nunc lanceis, nunc sagittis, nunc fundibulis et<sup>d</sup> omni genere bellico<sup>e</sup> in milibus suis accedentes aduersum<sup>f</sup> Christianorum acies dimicabant, prelia multiplicantes, et plurimum diei consumentes. Econtra Christianorum manus exigua aduersus tot milia et<sup>g</sup> innumerabilia medio inuoluitur certamine, incessanter prelia conserens, hostiles<sup>h</sup> acies <sup>1</sup>attenuans et perimens.<sup>i</sup> Dum<sup>j</sup> tandem bello ingrauito, et gentilium cuneis Deo opitulante adtrit<sup>k</sup>, totus exercitus regis Babylonie fugam iniit, et per agrorum planiciem uersus maritima dispersus tetendit<sup>l</sup> a facie cedentis et persequentis.

495 47. Godefridus dux, Reimundus comes, Eustachius, Tancradus, Cono<sup>a</sup> de Monte Acuto et filius eius Lambertus, uidentes quia gentilium exercitus et eorum uirtus deficiens cedebat, in impetu equorum et uehementi concursu ac clamore pedestris uulgi mediis aduolant hostibus, et cede nimia inter eos seuientes, plurimum auxilii fratribus contulerunt.<sup>b</sup> Arabes uero <sup>1</sup>et ceter<sup>c</sup>e gentes uidentes<sup>d</sup> quia bellum deinceps sufferre nequuerant, dispersi ac contriti per campos et angustas semitas fugam arripiunt, sed undique ab insequentibus <sup>1</sup>et uictorios<sup>e</sup> militibus ut misere pecudes sparsim perimuntur. Horum <sup>1</sup>infinita pars cum uicta<sup>f</sup> cederet, insecutione Christianorum oppressa, spe salutis causa effugiendi ad naues et maritima tetendit, ubi comes

<sup>a</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>1</sup> illic pari animo ACHN

46    <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> om. H      <sup>c</sup> et A      <sup>d</sup> in A      <sup>e</sup> armorum H      <sup>f</sup> aduersus ACHN      <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>h</sup> H adds et before hostiles      <sup>i</sup> attrens et attenuans H  
<sup>j</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>k</sup> contritis ACHN      <sup>l</sup> tendebat H

47    <sup>a</sup> Cuno CHN      <sup>b</sup> contulere ACHN      <sup>c</sup> ceteraque CHN      <sup>d</sup> ut perspexerunt ACHN      <sup>e</sup> uictoriosisque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> cum infinita pars conuicta N

a closely packed front line on the left to join battle against the Moors and all kinds of gentiles, and all the infantry and cavalry of the Christians were likewise assembled and positioned there to resist under their banners and standards.

46. In this way cruel war shook those who were standing face to face on the two sides. For the Ethiopians, whose custom was to wage war in their own fashion on bended knee, were sent ahead in front of the battle and attacked the Gauls fiercely with a hail of arrows, making a thunderous noise with trumpets and drummers in order to frighten off the terrified horses and men with such a horrible din from the battle and the plains. Those same Ethiopians, dreadful and hideous men, also had iron-tipped and savage whips, which they used to penetrate hauberks and shields with a severe blow, strike horses on the face, and make a terrible noise throughout all the army of the faithful. The Arab and Saracen and Publican peoples, fighting in their thousands, now with lances, now with arrows, now slings and every sort of weapon, were engaged in combat against the Christian troops, intensifying the battles and taking up the greater part of the day. On the other hand, the Christian army, slight in contrast with so many and countless thousands, was enveloped in the midst of the strife, joining battle ceaselessly, diminishing and destroying the enemy troops. When at length the battle became fiercer, and with God's assistance the gentile forces were weakened, the entire army of the king of Egypt took flight and was scattered, fleeing before the striking and pursuing enemy across the fields of the plain towards the coast.

47. Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond, Eustace, Tancred, Cono of Montaigu, and his son Lambert, seeing that the strength of the army of the gentiles was failing, and it was withdrawing, charged on horseback into the midst of the enemy with a violent rush and clamour of the infantry and by inflicting a very great slaughter upon them they brought very great assistance to their brothers. The Arabs and the other peoples saw that they could no longer sustain the battle, and they were scattered and destroyed all over the fields and narrow paths and took flight, but on all sides they were killed here and there like wretched cattle by the pursuing and victorious soldiers. An infinite number of them, as they withdrew defeated, overwhelmed by the Christians' pursuit, made for ships and shore in the hope of safety and to escape, and there Count Raymond chanced

Reimundus casu illis occurrit, quos crudeliter cedens et insequens, in profundum maris fugientes submergi<sup>s</sup> ad tria mila crebra armorum percussione artauit. Sarracenorum autem choortibus sic<sup>h</sup> atroci cede<sup>h</sup> perterritis, et aliis solum ad mare fugam meditantibus, aliis ad pomeria, plurimis uero portam Ascalonis intrare querentibus, uni- uersi uictores Christianorum diffusi sunt per tentoria et castra gentilium, alii rapientes preciosam purpuram, alii uestes et uasa argentea, plurimam massam utriusque metalli preciosioris, alii mulos, camelos, equos, dromedarios, cum asinis robustissimis, et cuique prede, sicut ieiuni et longa abstinencia macerati, nunc totius belli inmemores manus suas<sup>i</sup> inferebant.

48. Ad hec gentiles, quorum intolerabilis copia adhuc in litore maris et campestribus locis redundabat,<sup>a</sup> uidentes quoniam populus Gallie prede et rapinis totus inhiabat, et ab insecutione cessauerat, usque- quaque relectis<sup>b</sup> sociis et signo tubarum ac<sup>c</sup> cornicinum readunatis uiribus suorum, uiros prede intentos, belli oblitos, uiriliter incurrunt, et<sup>d</sup> graui strage incautos perimentes, totam<sup>e</sup> Christianorum uictoriam cruentam reddidissent, nisi dux Godefridus summus princeps Ierusalem, qui uersus montana extremas acies dirigebat, periculum Christianorum<sup>f</sup> considerans, et quia auaricia sunt obcecati,<sup>g</sup> sine mora in faciem inimicorum aduolans, predam prohibuisset,<sup>h</sup> uni- uersos cum iurgio<sup>i</sup> ad defensionem<sup>j</sup> sic | hortatus<sup>j</sup> dicens: 'O uiri rebelles et incorrigibiles, quis uos fascinauit ut ad predam uetitam et illicitam manus<sup>k</sup> uestra conuerteretur,<sup>k</sup> donec inimici nostri<sup>i</sup> Deo auxiliante in gladio corruissent? Eia! relinquitte predam, hostibus resistite, et nolite cedere nunc insurgentibus et amaram de uobis uindictam querentibus.' <sup>m</sup>Hoc dicto, medias perrumpunt acies, et<sup>m</sup> strictis mucronibus in manu suorum sequacium graue hostium reddidit exterminium, ac tunc uniuersos a preda reuocatos secum acuit in opus repetiti belli, donec<sup>n</sup> rursus superati gentiles, terga uertunt ab armorum creberrimis ictibus, ad Ascalonis urbem fugam maturantes.

49. Dux uero et qui secum fugientes persequabantur, tam equites quam pedites, nullo intervallo a tergo aduersariorum abfuerunt, sed

<sup>s</sup> submersi A      <sup>h h</sup> atrociter A      <sup>i</sup> om. H

48    <sup>a</sup> abundabat H      <sup>b</sup> relectis N      <sup>c</sup> et AH      <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>e</sup> totamque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> illorum ACHN      <sup>g</sup> obcecati E      <sup>h</sup> prohibuit E (-sse- erased) <sup>i i</sup> om. A      <sup>j</sup> adhortatus ACHN      <sup>k k</sup> uestre conuerterentur ACHN      <sup>i</sup> uestri ACHN      <sup>m m</sup> Dixit, et medias perrumpens acies ACHN      <sup>n</sup> om. ACHN

to meet them; he struck at them cruelly and pursued them, and as they fled to the depths of the sea he forced some three thousand by constant weapon blows to be drowned. Moreover, while the cohorts of the Saracens were terrified in this way by the dreadful slaughter, and some were contemplating only flight to the sea, others to the orchards, and very many, indeed, were seeking to enter the gates of Ascalon, all the Christian victors spread out through the tents and camps of the gentiles, and, as if they were famished and weakened by long abstinence, they were now entirely forgetful of war and they took possession, some seizing precious purple, others clothes and silver vases and a very great heap of both precious metals, others mules, camels, horses, dromedaries, with very hardy donkeys and all sorts of booty.

48. At this point the gentiles, whose irresistible forces were still plentiful on the seashore and the plains, seeing that the entire people of Gaul was intent upon plunder and prey, and had ceased pursuit, drew allies together again from all over the place and reassembled their forces by a signal of trumpets and bugles, and they charged fiercely on the men who were concentrating on plunder, forgetful of war, and destroyed the unsuspecting Christians with a severe slaughter, and they would have paid back the whole cruel victory of the Christians, except that Duke Godfrey, highest prince of Jerusalem, who was commanding the furthest lines towards the mountains, realized the Christians' danger and that they were blinded by greed, and charged at once in the face of the enemy, forbade plunder and railed at them all, urging them to defence in this way, saying: 'O rebellious and incorrigible men, who has bewitched you, that your hand is turned to forbidden and illicit plunder, before our enemy, with God's help, has fallen to the sword? Alas! Leave off looting, resist the enemy, and do not give way now to those who are rising up and looking for bitter vengeance on you.' This said, they broke through the middle of the lines, and with drawn swords in the hands of his followers Godfrey visited severe destruction on the enemy and then spurred on all those with him who had been called back from looting to the task of renewed battle, until the gentiles were overcome a second time and turned tail from the constant blows of weapons, making good their escape to the city of Ascalon.

49. The duke and those who were pursuing the fleeing gentiles with him, as many infantry as cavalry, were not far from the rear of the

in cede grauissima persecuerantes, usque ad portam Ascalonis eos persecuti sunt. Fortunati qui in porta recepti sunt, aut intromitti potuerunt. Nam tanta pressura <sup>a</sup>et angustia<sup>a</sup> fugiendi et intrandi Sarracenis in ipsis foribus urbis fuisse refertur, ut duo milia et amplius occisorum et suffocatorum sub pedibus intrantium hominum, equorum et mulorum in foribus et ante fores extincta perierint. Postremi uero et fuga tardiores,<sup>b</sup> uidentes hinc et abhinc angustias anime sue, et difficilem portarum introitum, et in hoc horrore armorum ianuis clausis se ab urbe exclusos, arbores palmarum, alii ramos oliuarum aut ficorum conscendere properabant, ut saltem ramorum <sup>c</sup>et foliorum<sup>c</sup> densitate latere et<sup>d</sup> liberari possent. Sed pedites Christiani nimium propinqui miseros uisos in arboribus ac patefactos subito sagitta transfigebant, et quasi aues uolatili<sup>e</sup> telo percussas, ab ipsis arborum ramis moribundos humi procumbere, <sup>f</sup>et plurimum<sup>f</sup> terre operire cogeabant.<sup>77</sup>

50. Sexta feria, <sup>a</sup>mense Augusto,<sup>a</sup> in natali Eupli martyris,<sup>78</sup> commissum est hoc prelium a uiginti milibus Christianorum aduersus<sup>b</sup>  
 497 trecenta milia gentiliū, Sarracenorum, Arabum, Publicanorum, Maurorum de terra Ethiopie. Quorum triginta milia in aperta<sup>c</sup> camporum planicie cecidisse nobis retulerunt, qui in eodem certamine presentes affuerunt; preter duo milia suffocatorum et occisorum in porta urbis, et absque hiis qui armorum periculum uitare estimantes, undis abyssi maris submersi sine numero perierunt. Nulli uero Christianorum uiri nominati illic ceciderunt, preter paucos pedestris uulgi, ut proculdubio a ueridicis fratribus comperitum est. Hac in fuga et contritione gentiliū, et<sup>d</sup> uictoria Christianorum, longissima hasta argento operta per totum quod uocant standart,<sup>e</sup> <sup>79</sup>et quod signum regis Babylonie exercitui suo<sup>f</sup> preferabatur, et circa quod precipua uirtus densabatur, ad quam uicti ac<sup>g</sup> dispersi reuertebantur, capta est a Roberto Nortmannorum principe, et in templo<sup>h</sup> Dominici Sepulchri transmissa, et usque in hodiernum diem ob memoriam uictorie Christianorum attitulata est. Nunc autem

49 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN <sup>b</sup> posteriores A <sup>c</sup> foliorumque ACHN <sup>d</sup> uel ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> uolatiles N <sup>f</sup> plurimumque ACHN

50 <sup>a</sup> pridie Idus Augusti mensis ACHN <sup>b</sup> contra A <sup>c</sup> aperto E <sup>d</sup> ac  
 ACHN <sup>e</sup> standard A <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN <sup>g</sup> et ACHN <sup>h</sup> templum ACHN

<sup>77</sup> GF records this, as does Tudebode, who has the same image of the falling birds (GF, p. 96; PT, pp. 146-7).

enemy, but were keeping up the most severe slaughter as they pursued them right up to the gate of Ascalon. Those who were taken in at the gate or could be admitted were fortunate. For it is reported that the Saracens suffered so great a crush and lack of space for fleeing and entering through those same doors of the city that two thousand and more of them fell dead in the gateway and in front of the gates, killed and suffocated under the feet of men entering and of horses and mules. The very last and those slower to escape, seeing here and there the dangers to their lives and the difficult entry of the gates, and that they were shut out of the city by closed gates in this horror of weapons, hurried to climb palm trees, and some the branches of olives or figs, so that they could at least hide and be saved by the thickness of the branches and leaves. But the Christian foot soldiers were too close and saw the wretched men in the trees and, once discovered, they suddenly shot them with arrows, and like birds struck by a flying bolt they fell dying to earth from those same tree branches, and gathered closely to cover the ground.<sup>77</sup>

50. This battle was fought on a Friday in August, on the birthday of the martyr Euplius,<sup>78</sup> by twenty thousand Christians against three hundred thousand gentiles, Saracens, Arabs, Publicans, and Moors from the land of Ethiopia. It was reported to us by people who were present in that same conflict that thirty thousand of the gentiles fell on the open plains, besides two thousand who were suffocated and killed in the gateway of the city, and not counting those who reckoned to escape the danger of weapons and sank in the waves of the bottomless sea and died without number. No celebrated men on the Christian side fell in that place, only a few of the crowd of foot soldiers, as was revealed to us by truthful brothers as beyond doubt. In this flight and destruction of the gentiles and victory of the Christians a very long spear entirely covered with silver, which they call a *standard*,<sup>79</sup> and which was carried as the sign of the king of Egypt before his army, and around which a particular strength was amassed, and to which the conquered and scattered troops rallied, was captured by Robert prince of the Normans and sent to the temple of the Lord's Sepulchre; and right up to this present day it is dedicated in memory of the Christians' victory. Moreover, now this storm of

<sup>78</sup> The battle of Ascalon, 12 Aug. 1099.

<sup>79</sup> The standard is described in *GF* as having a golden apple on top of a silver-clad pole (*GF*, p. 95).



hac bellorum tempestate sedata, ac<sup>i</sup> Meraius<sup>j</sup> qui secundus a rege in omni decreto et consilio habetur, cum omni<sup>k</sup> gente sua triumphato, Christianis licentia predarum tam in tentoriis quam armentis, camelis, buflis et<sup>l</sup> asinis, ouibus, hircis, <sup>m</sup>et bouibus et omnibus<sup>m</sup> rebus et opibus attribuitur, quibus plurimi onusti et refocillati, tota nocte gradientes in gaudio cordis et uoce exultationis Ierusalem reuersi sunt, ante sepulchrum sanctissimum Deo laudes et gratias super omnibus referentes que eis prospere et gloriose acciderant.

51. Dux Godefridus, readunatis sociis peditum et equitum circiter duo milia, urbis Ascalone<sup>a</sup> portas in omni latere obsedit, ut ciues et<sup>b</sup> milites ex noua cede et recenti uictoria stupefacti ac trementes ciuitatem redderent, ultra desperati regis Babylonie auxilio, cum totius regni sui uirtus nunc congregata uehementer adtrita et dissipata fuerit. Verum ubi plerumque noctis processit, <sup>c</sup>et cum plurimum<sup>c</sup> consilii Ascalonite de urbis redditione de uite intercessionem inissent, comes Reimundus, inuidus omnis glorie ducis Godefridi propter turrim Dauid quam amiserat, Sarracenorum ciuibz occultam in hunc modum misit legationem: 'Estote uiri fortissimi, et minis ducis Godefridi ne terreamini, urbem in manu eius reddentes, quia uniuersi principes nostri reditum in terram cognationis sue post peractum bellum habere decreuerunt, et exiguum manum pugnatorum hac  
498 nocte circa urbem <sup>d</sup>cum illo<sup>d</sup> remanere credatis.'<sup>80</sup> | Hac comitis legatione et solamine ciues et<sup>e</sup> milites animati, et a redditione urbis et dandis dextris auersi, orto sole in menibus ad defensionem constiterunt, sagittis, fundibulis, <sup>f</sup>et omni<sup>f</sup> genere armorum ducem <sup>g</sup>suosque<sup>g</sup> ab obsidione arcentes. Dux autem, uisa illorum audacia et repugnatione, et quia de omnibus suis non amplius quam septingenti equites secum remanserant, et quoniam<sup>h</sup> instinctu et suasu eiusdem comitis uniuersi principes abierant, in litore maris uiam continuantes, mouit et ipse castra ab obsidione, regia uia secus<sup>i</sup> maritima usque ad

<sup>i</sup> atque ACHN    <sup>j</sup> Meraio A    <sup>k</sup> tota ACHN    <sup>l</sup> om. AC    <sup>m m</sup> bobus (bouibus AN) cunctisque ACHN

51    <sup>a</sup> Ascalonis A; Ascalonic H    <sup>b</sup> ac A    <sup>c c</sup> plurimumque ACHN  
<sup>d d</sup> secum A    <sup>e</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>f f</sup> omnique ACHN    <sup>g g</sup> cum suis ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> quia C; qui N    <sup>i</sup> secutus A

<sup>80</sup> Raymond of Saint-Gilles's biographers defend him against Albert's accusations and suggest that Albert was trying to cover up Godfrey's failures. However, there is no eyewitness account of events, which they reconstruct from a variant in Baudri of Dol, from

battles had settled, and Meraius, who was second to the king in all decision-making and counsel, had been conquered with all his people, permission was granted to the Christians to plunder—as many tents as herds, camels, wild cattle, and donkeys, sheep, goats, and oxen, and all possessions and resources—and very many of them returned to Jerusalem laden and refreshed with these things, travelling all night in heartfelt joy and singing in exultation, bringing back before the Holy Sepulchre praises and thanks to God for all things which had turned out happily and triumphantly for them.

51. When Duke Godfrey had brought together again about two thousand comrades, infantry and cavalry, he besieged the gates of the city of Ascalon on all sides, so that the citizens and soldiers, stunned and quaking from the fresh slaughter and recent victory, would surrender, despairing of any further assistance from the king of Egypt since the strength of his whole kingdom now assembled had been severely weakened and scattered. Truly, when the greater part of the night had passed, and they had consulted about the surrender of the city of Ascalon and about surety for life, Count Raymond, envious of all Duke Godfrey's glory on account of the Tower of David which he had lost, sent a secret legation to the Saracen citizens in this way: 'Be men of great courage, and do not be frightened by Duke Godfrey's threats into surrendering the city into his hands, since all our princes have decided to return to the land of their birth after the war is over, and you may be confident that a very small band of warriors remains with him around the city tonight.'<sup>80</sup> The citizens and soldiers were encouraged by this legation and comfort from the count and they rejected the idea of surrendering the city and pledging friendship, so when the sun rose they were stationed on the ramparts for defence, holding off the duke and his men from the siege with arrows, slings, and all sorts of weapons. When the duke saw their boldness and resistance, and that of all his men no more than seven hundred cavalry had stayed with him, and that all the princes had left at the prompting and persuasion of Count Raymond and were continuing their journey on the seashore, he moved his camp away from the siege, even he himself, and followed his peers who had gone before on the royal road along the coast all the way to the town of

Albert, and from Radulf of Caen: BD, pp. 110–1; RC, p. 703; Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV* (1962), pp. 123, 137–8. The strategic importance of Ascalon cannot be disputed: it was a forward base for forces sent by land and sea from Egypt, and it posed a threat to the kingdom of Jerusalem until its capture in 1153.



ciuitatem Assur<sup>j</sup> uel Arsit<sup>j</sup><sup>81</sup> precedentes comprimores assecutus.<sup>k</sup> Illic Reimundus<sup>l</sup> per diei unius et noctis spacium obsidionem circa ciuitatem Assur<sup>m</sup> egerat, arbitrans ex noua<sup>n</sup> et recent<sup>n</sup> uictoria ciues concussos, <sup>o</sup>ciuitatem reddere in manu eius.<sup>o</sup> Plurimas<sup>p</sup> minas et terrores ciuib<sup>us</sup> inferens, interdum uitam et salutem et omnem gratiam ab eo consequi si urbem redderent promittebat. Sed ducis Godefridi aduentu audito,<sup>q</sup> conscius doli quem aduersus eum per inuidiam fecerat, cum omni comitatu suo ab obsidione Assyriorum recessit, hortatus ciues ne Godefridum expauescerent, nec aliqua minarum illatione aut bellico impetu urbem illi aperirent, plurimum contestans quia nullus principum qui precesserant illi ad auxilium rediret.<sup>r</sup>

52. Taliter ciues adhortatus ad impedimentum ducis, iter maturauit et in regione que est inter Cesaream<sup>a</sup> et urbem Cayphas, iuxta flumen<sup>b</sup> quoddam dulcis aque,<sup>82</sup> Roberto Flandriensi et equiuoco suo Roberto Nortmannorum comiti<sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup>et ceteris<sup>d</sup> comprimoribus<sup>e</sup> associatus est. Godefridus ad Assur<sup>f</sup> perueniens, ciuitatem per diem obsedit, si forte aliquo euentu aut timore Assyriis incusso, in manu eius traderetur.<sup>g</sup> Sed Reimundi suasionem et attestationem hos sicut Ascalonitas rebelles ac resistentes inueniens, tristi animo ab urbe diuertit. <sup>h</sup>Sociosque ammonuit quatenus<sup>h</sup> Reimundum in castris subito impeterent, et omne nefas quod aduersum se egerat in caput illius redderent. Qui statim, <sup>i</sup>sociis ammonitis,<sup>i</sup> lorica indutus, uexillis erectis, dum in castra comitis animo irato tendere disposuisset, Reimundus pariter ex prouidentia armatus ad resistendum illi occurrere decreuisset. Robertus<sup>j</sup> Flandriensis et ceteri uiri magnifici interuenerunt, uiros grauiter arguerunt, quos tandem utrimque multo conatu placatos in concordiam reduxerunt.

499 53. Iam Deo et Domino nostro Iesu Christo fauente, hiis in concordiam reductis, Robertus Flandriensis, Robertus princeps Nortmannorum, Reimundus pariter de Prouincia, et uniuersi principes reditus sui intentionem duci aperuerunt, ac beniuolum in

<sup>j j</sup> *om. ACHN*   <sup>k</sup> *consecutus H*   <sup>l</sup> *ACHN add comes before Reimundus*   <sup>m</sup> *E has Arsit above the line*   <sup>n n</sup> *recentique ACHN*   <sup>o o</sup> *urbem in manu eius reddituros ACHN*   <sup>p p</sup> *ACHN add etiam after plurimas*   <sup>q q</sup> *comperito ACHN*   <sup>r r</sup> *redirent N*

52   <sup>a a</sup> *Cesariam A*   <sup>b b</sup> *fluum E*   <sup>c c</sup> *principi ACHN*   <sup>d d</sup> *ceterisque ACHN*  
<sup>e e</sup> *A adds suis after comprimoribus*   <sup>f f</sup> *E inserts uel Arsit after Assur*   <sup>g g</sup> *tradentur N*  
<sup>h h</sup> *Ammonitque socios ut ACHN*   <sup>i i</sup> *om. ACHN*   <sup>j j</sup> *N adds sed before Robertus*

<sup>81</sup> Arsuf (Arabic); Tel Arshaf (Hebrew), the classical Apollonia.

Assur or Arsuf.<sup>81</sup> There Raymond had carried out a siege around the town of Arsuf for the period of one day and night, thinking that the townspeople would be alarmed by the fresh and recent victory and would surrender the town into his hands. He was bringing very many threats and fears to bear on the townspeople, and at the same time he was promising life and safety and that all favour would be granted by him if they surrendered the city. But when he heard of Duke Godfrey's approach, conscious of the trick he had played on him through envy, he withdrew with all his company from the siege of the Arsufians, having urged the townspeople not to fear Godfrey greatly, and not to open up the city to him whatever threats were made or warlike attack, arguing strongly that none of the princes who had gone before would come back to assist the duke.

52. Having urged on the townspeople in such a way to hinder the duke, Raymond hastened his journey and joined up with Robert of Flanders and his namesake Robert count of the Normans and the other co-leaders in the region which is between Caesarea and the city of Haifa, next to a certain river of fresh water.<sup>82</sup> Godfrey arrived at Arsuf and besieged the town for a day to see if by any chance, or fear on the part of the Arsufians, it might be delivered into his hands. But finding that these people, just like the Ascalonites, were ready for war and ready to resist him because of Raymond's persuasion and testimony, he turned aside from the city with sorrowful heart. And he told his comrades to seek out Raymond immediately in the camp and return on his head all the injustice he had enacted against him. At once, after telling his comrades, he put on his hauberk and raised the banners; while he arranged to go into the count's camp in an angry mood, Raymond had likewise had the foresight to arm for defence and decided to attack him. Robert of Flanders and the other splendid men came between them, reproved the men severely, and at length with much endeavour they soothed both sides and brought them back into agreement.

53. Once these two were brought back into agreement, with the approval of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, Robert of Flanders, Robert prince of the Normans, Raymond likewise of Provence and all the princes revealed to the duke their intention of returning home

<sup>82</sup> There are many small rivers on the coastal strip between Caesarea and Haifa, and this one cannot be identified.

omnibus que habebant in animo, humili et mansueto colloquio habito, inuenerunt. Dux uero in omnibus<sup>a</sup> uoluntati confratrum satisfaciens, Ierusalem remanere decreuit, eo quod potestas urbis in tuitione et defensione ipsius collata<sup>b</sup> sit, ac diu colla sociorum amplexans, et eos benigne deosculans, obnixè cum lacrimis precatur, eos in bono commendans ut sui memores existant, confratres Christianos commoneant,<sup>c</sup> quatenus ad sepulchrum Domini uenire non dubitent, sed<sup>d</sup> sibi ceterisque consociis in exilio remanentibus auxilio de die in diem aduersus tot barbaras nationes concurrant.<sup>83</sup> Viri uero et ciues Assur, audito quia dux remanebat, et cum Reimundo<sup>e</sup> et ceteris<sup>f</sup> in concordiam redierat, de salute et pace urbis cum duce foedus pepigerunt, obsidem<sup>f</sup> tributorum et ciuitatis illi transmittentes,<sup>g</sup> et ab eodem duce pariter<sup>g</sup> pro stabilitate fidei et pacis, Gerardum, deuotum sibi militem, ortum de castello Auennis,<sup>84</sup> obsidem susceperunt.

54. Et ecce prospere tot preliis, tot laboribus omnibus seculis inauditis in uictoria et bono fine completis, duce uero<sup>a</sup> et uniuersis sociis mutuo commendatis, magni et pusilli, primores et subditi in terram natiuitatis sue reditum a diuturno<sup>b</sup> exilio parant, palmas uictorie in manu sua referunt, pre nimia pietate lacrimis effluentes super fratribus in exilio relictis. Quibus osculo dilectionis dato ualedicentes, uiam remensi sunt per easdem ciuitates et montium difficultates iuxta mare Palestinum qua et uenerant in Ierusalem, ubi illis ab omnibus predictis ciuitatibus Ptolomaida,<sup>c</sup> Tyro et Sydona, Tripla<sup>d</sup> et Baurim, et<sup>e</sup> reliquis<sup>f</sup> ciuitatibus licentia concessa est uendendi et emendi uite necessaria. Ab omni denique impetu et insidiis a facie eorum quieuerunt gentes,<sup>g</sup> et urbes<sup>g</sup> earum<sup>h</sup> pauide et tremefacte sunt super contritione regis Babylonie, et uictoria que ipsis fidelibus a  
500 Deo uiuente donata<sup>i</sup> est. Sic igitur | pacifice et secure loca hec et hec transeuntes, pauca quidem arma habentes, sed palmas in signum uictorie manibus<sup>j</sup> portantes, in regionem ciuitatis Gybel, frugibus et uinetis opulentam,<sup>k</sup> declinauerunt. Vbi procul a menibus urbis

53 <sup>a</sup> cunctis ACHN <sup>b</sup> collocata A <sup>c</sup> amoneant ACHN <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> ceterisque ACHN <sup>f</sup> obsides ACHN <sup>g</sup> ipsique pariter ab eodem duce ACHN

54 <sup>a</sup> quoque ACHN <sup>b</sup> diutino H <sup>c</sup> Ptolemaida A; Ptholomaida H <sup>d</sup> om. H  
<sup>e</sup> om. ACHN <sup>f</sup> ACHN add etiam after reliquis <sup>g</sup> urbesque ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> eorum A <sup>i</sup> collata H <sup>j</sup> A adds in before manibus <sup>k</sup> opulentissimam ACHN

<sup>83</sup> The same concern to attract reinforcements is expressed in the crusaders' letter of Apr. 1100 (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 176-7). In a well-known passage Fulcher says that in 1101 there were no more than 300 knights and a similar number of infantry to defend the kingdom (FC, pp. 388-9).

and, after humble and gentle consultation, they found him agreeable to all the things which they had in mind. The duke, fulfilling in all things the will of his brothers, decided to remain in Jerusalem, because the power of the city was granted to his protection and defence, and, embracing his comrades' necks for a long time and graciously kissing them, he beseeched them tearfully with all his strength, while wishing them well, that they should be mindful, and should impress on their Christian brothers that they should not hesitate to come to the Lord's Sepulchre, but should flock daily to assist him and the other comrades who were staying in exile to oppose so many barbarous peoples.<sup>83</sup> When the men and townspeople of Arsuf heard that the duke was staying and had returned to agreement with Raymond and the rest, they struck a treaty with the duke concerning the safety and peace of the city, sending him a hostage for the tributes and the town, and at the same time they received from that same duke, as hostage for the security of the treaty and peace, Gerard, a faithful knight of Godfrey, who came from the castle at Avesnes.<sup>84</sup>

54. And so, with so many battles won, so many endeavours never before imaginable brought to victory and a good conclusion, commended by the duke and all their allies alike, great and small, leaders and followers prepared their return from long exile to the land of their birth. They carried palms of victory in their hands, and because of their great devotion they poured out tears for their brothers left in exile. They bade them farewell with a loving kiss, and retraced their way through those same towns and difficulties of the mountain terrain next to the sea of Palestine by which they had also come to Jerusalem, and there they were granted licence to sell and buy necessary provisions from all the aforementioned towns: Acre, Tyre, and Sidon, Tripoli and Beirut, and other towns. Then the people desisted before them from any attack or ambush, and their cities were terrified and trembling because of the destruction of the king of Egypt and the victory which was granted to his faithful people by the living God. Thus they traversed this and that place in peace and security, having few weapons but carrying palms in their hands as a token of victory, and they came down into the region of the town of Jubayl, which was rich in fruits and vines. There they spread out their tents far from the

<sup>84</sup> Avesnes-sur-Helpe (Pas-de-Calais, France). Gerard had originally been a vassal of Baldwin of Hainaut, who disappeared (see above, v. 3), and had then transferred his allegiance to Godfrey. See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 199.

propter loca riuus et pascuis commoda in aperta camporum planicie tabernacula extendentes, duobus diebus bonis uberrimis terre illius delectati sunt.

55. Hiis itaque in locis dum moram facerent, nunciatum est illis quoniam Boemundus, auaricia aggregandi et adquirendi insaturatus, Laodiciam urbem et habitationem catholicorum Grecorum longa obsidione occupasset, turresque duas ciuitatis in litore maris sitas, magistras urbis, nautis tributa exigentes, iam captas inuasisset, auxilio et nauali assultu Pisanorum et Genuensium,<sup>85</sup> custodesque catholicos alios trucidasset, alios uisu excecatos ab ipsarum<sup>a</sup> arce eiecisset. Sed Pisani et Genuenses non nimium super hiis iniuriis criminandi sunt, nam ex ore Boemundi longe aliter quam res esset intellexerunt. Vnde falsa illius adhortatione ducentis nauibus predictas turres uallauerunt, et malis nauium, procera longitudine nubes tangentibus, sportasque uimineas in summitate affixas continentibus, custodes presidiorum grauiter oppresserunt, creberrimis lapidum et sagittarum ictibus a supereminenti arbore turres et uiros impugnantes. Audito namque Pisanorum et Genuensium aduentu, Boemundus, princeps subdolos et frater auarus, ab Antiochia sex miliariis Laodicie uicina illis occurrens, omne malum et grande nefas de ciuibz Laodicie referebat, et hos noxios Christianorum calumniatores,<sup>b</sup> ut sic omnium animos in odium ciuium et urbis obsidionem hoc instinctu facilius concitaret. Vnde<sup>c</sup> factum est, ut creduli uerbis illius primum turres obsidentes, custodes earum in deditionem cogerent, dehinc turribz sua arte uel ui<sup>d</sup> superatis, urbem cingerent. Qui graui et longo assultu ciues uexantes, iam trans uallum murorum pontes duos potenter locauerunt, per quos usque ad menia facilis pateret ipsis accessus et sic urbs angustiat<sup>e</sup> in breui Boemundo redderetur. In proximo etenim fuit ut urbs<sup>f</sup> applicitis<sup>g</sup> huiusmodi ingeniis caperetur, ciues punirentur, Boemundo omnia iniuste subderentur. Iniuste quidem, nam in obsidione Antiochie eadem Laodicia nauali obsidione et assultu Winemari de Bolonia<sup>h</sup> piratarum magistri et quorundam

55    <sup>a</sup> ipsa *N*    <sup>b</sup> *A* adds referebat after calumniatores    <sup>c</sup> Quare *ACHN*    <sup>d</sup> in *N*  
<sup>e</sup> angustata *ACHN*    <sup>f</sup> ciuitas *ACHN*    <sup>g</sup> applicitis *H*    <sup>h</sup> Bolonia *AH*

<sup>85</sup> Albert may be mistaken about the presence of the Genoese, since Caffaro does not mention this campaign. It is mentioned in the *Gesta Triumphalia per Pisanos facta de captione Hierusalem*, along with the blockade of Jubayl: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vi. 2 (Bologna, 1930), p. 89.

city ramparts because there were suitable places with streams and pastures on the open plains, and for two days they enjoyed the abundant goods of that land.

55. While they were staying in these places a message reached them that Bohemond, his greed for aggrandizement and acquisition unsatisfied, after a long siege had seized Latakia, a city inhabited by Greek Christians, with support and a naval attack from the Pisans and Genoese,<sup>85</sup> and he had captured and entered two towers of the town situated on the seashore, citadels which exacted dues from sailors, and he had slaughtered some of the Catholic guards, had blinded others, and had thrown them from the top of the towers. But the Pisans and Genoese were not greatly to blame for these injuries, for they had understood from Bohemond's lips something quite other than the truth. And so with his lying encouragement they had surrounded the towers with two hundred ships, and with their ships' masts which touched the clouds with their great length and had wicker baskets fixed to the tops, they bore down heavily upon the guards of the fortresses, attacking towers and men with a constant bombardment of stones and arrows from the towering timber. For indeed, when he heard of the Pisans' and Genoese approach, Bohemond, cunning prince and greedy brother, met them near Latakia, about six miles from Antioch, and told them that the Latakians were entirely bad and really evil, and that they were criminal opponents of the Christians, so that with this prompting he could more easily stir up the minds of them all to hatred of the townspeople and to a blockade of the town. And thus it was done, so that the men who were taken in by his words first besieged the towers and forced their guards to surrender, and then, once the towers were overwhelmed by their skill or strength, they encircled the city. They were tormenting the townspeople with a severe and long attack; already they had placed two bridges strategically across the rampart of the defences, by way of which they would gain easy access to the ramparts and thus the tormented city would surrender to Bohemond in a short while. For indeed the next thing was that the city would be captured by engines of this sort brought up to it, the citizens would be punished and all things would unfairly be surrendered to Bohemond. Unfairly indeed, for this same Latakia and these same towers had been overcome and captured during the siege of Antioch by a naval siege and attack by Winemer of Boulogne, master of pirates, and

Christianorum cum predictis<sup>i</sup> turribus superata et capta est. Hii collectione nauium a diuersis regnis et terris contracta, uidelicet ab Antwerpia, Tila,<sup>j</sup><sup>86</sup> Frisia,<sup>k</sup> Flandria, per mare Prouincialibus in terra sancti Egidii de po|testate comitis Reimundi associati, nauigio in  
 501 circuitu orbis terre usque ad ipsam urbem Laodicie appulsi sunt. Quam occupantes et expugnantes, Turcos et Sarracenos iniustos dominatores in ea repertos gladio percusserunt, urbemque<sup>l</sup> et eius menia apprehendentes, comiti et principi Reimundo cum ipsis turribus post obsidionem Antiochie contulerunt. Winemarus, magister et ductor piratarum, post hec a Turcopolis et militibus regis Grecorum captus, carceri deputatus est, sed ducis Godefridi interuentione post plurimum temporis a carcere et uinculis eductus est. Comes uero Reimundus post captionem Antiochie decreto itinere suo cum ceteris in Ierusalem, imperatori Constantinopolis Laodiciam ciuitatem Turcis et gentilibus ereptam restituit, ut sic fidem inuiolatam illi<sup>m</sup> seruaret. Iurauerat enim sibi "et foedus" percusserat "cum eo,"<sup>o</sup> una cum duce Godefrido et ceteris principibus, de cunctis urbibus, terris et castellis ad regnum eius<sup>p</sup> pertinentibus nihil quicquam<sup>q</sup> de omnibus retinere aut mentiri. Hac de causa Boemundum principes ab Ierusalem regressi et in terminis<sup>r</sup> ciuitatis Gybel hospitati comperientes Laodiciam iniuste obsedissee, "imperatori ac comiti<sup>s</sup> Reimundo iniuriam fecisse, nuncios constituunt qui Boemundum<sup>t</sup> amicabilem et pacifice ex legatione et rogatu Christianorum confratrum ab Ierusalem in uictoria<sup>u</sup> redeuntium compellarent, quatenus ab obsidione urbis recederet, <sup>v</sup>et nullam<sup>v</sup> Christianis ultra calumniam inferret."<sup>87</sup>

56. Interea dum ad hoc<sup>a</sup> nuncii eligerentur, episcopus Pisanorum, Dagubertus<sup>b</sup> nomine,<sup>88</sup> cognito aduentu et reditu peregrinorum<sup>c</sup> ab Ierusalem, quorum per plurimum tempus non fuit fama aut memoria usque ad diem hanc, assumptis aliquibus uiris egregiis de comitatu suo, fratres audire et uisitare festinat.<sup>d</sup> Quibus inuentis in regione

<sup>i</sup> prefatis ACHN      <sup>j</sup> Tyla HN      <sup>k</sup> Fresia ACHN      <sup>l</sup> urbem uero ACHN  
<sup>m</sup> illis H      <sup>n</sup> " fedusque ACHN      <sup>o</sup> " om. A      <sup>p</sup> ipsius CN; illius H  
<sup>q</sup> umquam A      <sup>r</sup> terminos C      <sup>s</sup> ac imperatori comitique ACHN      <sup>t</sup> illum ACHN  
<sup>u</sup> ACHN add Dei after uictoria      <sup>v</sup> nullamque ACHN

56      <sup>a</sup> hec N      <sup>b</sup> Dagobertus CH      <sup>c</sup> Christianorum A      <sup>d</sup> contendit H

<sup>86</sup> Tiel, Gelderland, Netherlands. Riant translated 'Tila' as Thule and asserted that there were Danes in Winemer's fleet: Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, p. 134.

<sup>87</sup> For the complex history of Latakia, see Lilie, *Byzantium*, Appendix i, pp. 259-76.

certain Christians. These people assembled ships drawn from different kingdoms and lands, namely from Antwerp, Tiel,<sup>86</sup> Frisia, and Flanders, and they joined by sea the Provençals in the land of Saint-Gilles who were subject to Count Raymond and sailed around the world to that same city of Latakia. They took possession of it and conquered it, putting to the sword those Turks and Saracens they found there as unjust lords and, seizing the city and its ramparts, they conveyed it with those same towers to Count and Prince Raymond after the siege of Antioch. Winemer, master and leader of the pirates, was captured after this by Turcopoles and soldiers of the king of the Greeks, and was sent to prison, but by Duke Godfrey's intervention he was brought out of prison and from fetters after some considerable time. After the capture of Antioch Count Raymond, having decided to journey with the others to Jerusalem, restored to the emperor of Constantinople the town of Latakia which had been seized from the Turks and gentiles, so that he would in this way keep his oath to him unbroken. For Raymond had vowed and made a treaty with him, along with Duke Godfrey and the other princes, that they would not keep any at all of the cities, lands, and castles belonging to his kingdom, nor would they deceive him. For this reason, when the princes returned from Jerusalem and were quartered in the territory of the town of Jubayl, and they realized Bohemond had unfairly besieged Latakia, and had wronged the emperor and Count Raymond, they appointed messengers on the instruction and request of the Christian brothers returning victoriously from Jerusalem, who addressed Bohemond in friendly and peaceful fashion and asked him to withdraw from the siege of the city and not to inflict any further injustice on Christians.<sup>87</sup>

56. Meanwhile, until the messengers were chosen for this purpose, the bishop of the Pisans, called Daibert,<sup>88</sup> who had heard about the arrival and return of the pilgrims from Jerusalem—where there had been no news or record of them for a considerable time to this day—hurried to hear and see the brothers, taking with him some eminent men from his company. When he found them in the aforesaid region

<sup>88</sup> Daibert had been appointed by Urban II to succeed Adhémar as papal legate. He had become bishop of Pisa in 1088, and in 1092 the see became an archbishopric in his honour. He had taken the cross at Clermont and preached the crusade, but did not leave for the east until 1099 (Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 14–15). For his later career see especially book vii of Albert's history. See also M. Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa: Zwischen Pisa, Papst und erstem Kreuzzug* (Sigmaringen, 1998).



predicta nullomodo a fletu pre gaudio se continere potuit, sed in omnium maiorum ac minorum colla ruens cepit cum lacrimis uniuersos deosculari, dicens: 'Vere et absque ulla ambiguitate fateor uos filios et amicos Dei uiuentis, qui non solum rebus uestris, urbibus et castellis ac<sup>e</sup> prediis,<sup>f</sup> uxoribus filiisque<sup>g</sup> ac filiabus abrenunciastis, sed etiam animabus uestris non pepercistis, cum hanc Dei et Domini Iesu Christi expeditionem in tam longinquas et barbaras nationes facere non dubitastis, <sup>h</sup>et tot<sup>h</sup> aduersa ut compertum habemus pro redemptoris nostri<sup>i</sup> gratia sustinuistis. Non est auditum a Christi natiuitate, ut aliquis Christianorum exercitus per tot regna et  
 502 pericula | transiens Ierusalem in potentia et uirtute, expugnatis et eiectis adulterinis filiis et incolis, obtineret, loca sancta mundaret, et<sup>j</sup> in ea post uictoriam ad tuenda menia Godefridum magnificum Christianorum principem exaltaret, sicut de gloria et uirtute uestra nunc accepimus. Propter quod gauisi desiderio uidendi uos, salutandi et<sup>k</sup> colloquendi huc uenire decreuimus.'

57. Ad hec a fidelibus peregrinis uenerabili episcopo sic responsum est: 'Si Christianorum prosperitati <sup>a</sup>et saluti congaudetis et<sup>a</sup> arridetis, cur Christianis ciuibus uidelicet urbis Laodicie uim iniuste intulistis, turres eorum cepistis, custodes trucidastis, et adhuc urbem obsidione uallatis?' Hiis auditis episcopus benigne et patienti animo se excusauit, ac se suosque in omnibus ignoranter deliquisse profitetur dicens: 'Mundi a sanguine hoc sumus,<sup>89</sup> nam cum rudes et totius rei uestre ignari, nauigio ad has partes uenissemus, Boemundus ab Antiochia nobis obuiam factus est, qui ciues Laodicie falsos Christianos esse asseruit, <sup>h</sup>et eosdem<sup>h</sup> semper Christianis confratribus aduersari, et traditores peregrinorum apud Turcos et<sup>c</sup> Sarracenos fuisse illos summopere referebat. Ad hoc ulciscendum opem et uirtutem nostram precatus est. Nos uero, <sup>d</sup>uerbis et assertioni illius<sup>d</sup> credentes, 'et hos<sup>e</sup> ciues sceleratissimos estimantes, uires et opem sibi ad obsidendam urbem et eius habitatores contulimus, et obsequium nos prestare Deo in occisione illorum arbitrati sumus. Sed nunc ex ore uestro ueritatem nouimus, quoniam inuidia et auaricia non Dei gracia hos Boemundus persequitur, et nos misere decepit ad obsidendos et perimendos Christianos. <sup>f</sup>Et ideo<sup>f</sup> sine mora ad nostros

<sup>e</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>f</sup> om. A

<sup>g</sup> -que om. H

<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> totque ACHN

<sup>i</sup> om. N

<sup>j</sup> atque ACHN

<sup>k</sup> ac H

57 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> congaudetis et saluti ACHN

<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> eosdem etiam ACHN

<sup>c</sup> uel CH

<sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> assercionem eius et uerba uera A; uerbis et assercionibus N

<sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> hosque ACHN

<sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> Ideoque ACHN

he could not restrain himself at all from weeping for joy, but fell on the necks of everyone, great and small, and began to kiss them all with tears, saying: 'Truly and unequivocally I acknowledge you as sons and friends of the living God, for you did not only renounce your possessions, cities and castles and estates, wives and sons and daughters, but you did not even grudge your lives, since you did not hesitate to make this expedition of God and Lord Jesus Christ into such distant and barbarous nations, and you suffered so many difficulties, as we have heard, for the sake of our Redeemer. What we now hear concerning your glory and power is unheard of since Christ's nativity: that any army of Christians, travelling through so many kingdoms and dangers, should take Jerusalem in power and strength, having conquered and thrown out its bastard sons and inhabitants, and should cleanse the holy places, and raise up Godfrey, magnificent prince of Christians, to protect the defences in the city after the victory. Rejoicing because of this, we decided to come here in the desire of seeing you, greeting you and talking with you.'

57. The faithful pilgrims replied to the venerable bishop in this way: 'If you are glad and pleased at the good fortune and deliverance of Christians, why have you unfairly exerted force against Christian citizens, namely those of Latakia, why have you captured their towers, slaughtered their guards, and why do you still surround the city by a siege?' When he heard these things the bishop absolved himself courteously and patiently, and claimed that he and his men had done wrong in complete ignorance, saying: 'We are innocent of this bloodshed,<sup>89</sup> for when we sailed to these parts, in ignorance and unaware of your entire undertaking, Bohemond met us from Antioch, and he declared that the citizens of Latakia were false Christians, and always opposed to the Christian brothers, and he reported that they had been in an extreme degree traitors of the pilgrims among the Turks and Saracens. He beseeched our assistance and strength to revenge this. We, indeed, believed his words and declaration and thought these citizens most wicked; we brought our forces and assistance to him to besiege the city and its occupants, and thought we were performing a service to God in killing them. But now we know the truth from your lips, that Bohemond pursued these people from envy and avarice and not for God's sake, and that he wretchedly deceived us into besieging and killing Christians. And so we shall go

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Dan. 13: 46 (Sus. 46).

redituri rem aperiemus, et sic ab urbe eos<sup>g</sup> et ab omni inpugnatione cohibebimus.<sup>h</sup>

58. Hoc dicto, nuncii ab exercitu Ierosolimitanorum<sup>a</sup> cum Pisano episcopo profecti sunt, sed Boemundum in nimia auaricie sue pertinacia reppererunt,<sup>b</sup> legationem confratrum et comprimorum  
503 benigne sibi aperientes,<sup>c</sup> quatenus ab urbe | Laodicie<sup>d</sup> arma et uires suas amoueret, ne erga imperatorem Grecorum fidem promissam mentirentur, et reditus sui impedimentum grauissimum in regno illius paterentur. Boemundus uero, auditis nunciorum uerbis, petitionem et ammonitionem fidelium prorsus spreuit, et numquam se recessurum a muris et menibus Laodicie asseruit, donec urbs et ciues sue ditioni manciparentur. Nuncii autem omnia responsa et aspera uerba Boemundi <sup>e</sup>et eius<sup>e</sup> inpatientiam ad exercitum referentes, primoribus indicant, ac iras omnium uehementius acuentes, eo animos illorum commouent, ut arma adquiri et bello parari uniuersi magni et parui commonerentur. Ad hec episcopus in castra et classes suorum descendens, Boemundi intentione et responsione cognita, uniuersos qui in suo erant comitatu causam edocuit, et commonitionem exercitus Christianorum,<sup>f</sup> ac<sup>g</sup> sic cunctos Pisanos et Genuenses, in Domino Deo conpunctos, ab obsidione urbis et auxilio Boemundi reuocauit, ne ultra nisi<sup>h</sup> ad subueniendum in ciues manum mittere presumpsisent. Boemundus ergo, uidens se auxilio destitutum <sup>i</sup>et uires<sup>j</sup> suas nimium attenuatas, et quoniam fideles Christi et<sup>k</sup> principes bello et ui<sup>k</sup> armorum eum amouere conspirassent, uespere celos terrasque obumbrante, ab obsidione murorum procul cum omni manu sua secessit, et<sup>l</sup> confratrum uoluntati, nescio amore an timore, nolens uolens obtemperauit.

59. Crastina uero die per uniuersum mundum relata, tota<sup>a</sup> multitudo peregrinorum armis et loricis induuntur, et iter insistentes plerumque diei transacto Laodiciam peruenerunt in uexillis ostreis<sup>b</sup> et tubarum<sup>b</sup> tumultu. Sed nullam contradictionem sibi resistentium inuenientes, pacifice portas ciuitatis ultro sibi a ciuibus patefactas<sup>c</sup> introierunt in omni susceptione benigna. Boemundum quidem<sup>d</sup> procul abstitisse et

<sup>g</sup> om. N      <sup>h</sup> cohibemus N

58    <sup>a</sup> Ierosolimorum A      <sup>b</sup> repperientes ACHN      <sup>c</sup> aperuerunt ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> Laodicia ACHN      <sup>e</sup> eiusque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> Christiani A      <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> sibi C      <sup>i</sup> uiresque ACHN      <sup>j</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>k</sup> in N      <sup>l</sup> om. ACHN

59    <sup>a</sup> omnis ACHN      <sup>b</sup> tubarumque ACHN      <sup>c</sup> patefactis H      <sup>d</sup> siquidem ACHN

back at once to our people and reveal the matter to them, and so we shall hold them back from the city and from any attack.'

58. After he said this, messengers from the Jerusalemite army set out with the Pisan bishop, but they found Bohemond persevering exceedingly in his greed. They revealed the legation of the brothers and fellow leaders to him courteously, asking that he move his weapons and forces away from the city of Latakia, so that they would not bely their promised faith towards the emperor of the Greeks and suffer severe hindrance to their return through his kingdom. Bohemond, when he heard the messengers' words, utterly scorned the request and advice of the faithful, and declared that he would never retreat from the walls and ramparts of Latakia until the city and citizens were delivered into his power. The messengers took back all Bohemond's replies and harsh words and his impatience to the army, and made them known to the leaders, and they excited everyone's anger fiercely, stirring up their feelings so that everyone, great and small, was minded to take arms and prepare for war. At this point, the bishop went down to the camp and the fleet of his men, knowing Bohemond's purpose and reply, and he informed all who were in his company of the matter and of the advice of the Christians' army, and so he withdrew from the siege of the city and from Bohemond's assistance all the Pisans and Genoese, who were conscience-stricken by the Lord God, so that they would no longer venture to raise a hand towards the citizens except to help them. Therefore, seeing he was destitute of help and his forces were greatly weakened, and that Christ's faithful and the princes had conspired to move him away from battle and force of arms, as evening was shadowing the heavens and earth Bohemond withdrew far from the siege of the walls with all his company, and, I know not whether from love or fear, he was forced to comply with the will of his brothers, whether he liked it or not.

59. When the next day dawned through all the world, the entire multitude of pilgrims put on weapons and hauberks and went on their way, and when much of the day had passed they arrived at Latakia with purple banners and a clamour of trumpets. But finding no opposition or resistance from the people, they entered peacefully the town gates, which were opened to them voluntarily by the citizens, and received a completely genuine welcome. They were told that Bohemond had in fact withdrawn to a distance and was positioned as

abhinc usque ad dimidium miliarii consedissee eis nunciatum est. Comes igitur Reimundus, cum quingentis fratribus sue societatis munitionem urbis ingressus, suum uexillum quod erat notissimum<sup>e</sup> in eminentioris turris erexit culmine, custodia suorum per uniuersas turree Laodicie locata. Ceteri uero fratres et comprimores per omnia edificia domorum extra et intra hospitandi gratia diuisi sunt. Circiter uiginti milia Ierosolimitanorum erat numerus quando ab Ierusalem reuersi Laodicie confinia intrauerunt, quibus omnium rerum uite necessariorum copia a uendentibus collata<sup>f</sup> est. Mensis enim September<sup>g</sup> et autumnus tempus erat quando Laodiciam peruenerunt, | ubi precipua ubertate frumenti, uuarum, musti, olei et ordeis fruentes, quindecim dierum spacium letanter peregerunt, ciuibz urbis<sup>h</sup> et peregrinis, Pisanis ac<sup>i</sup> Genuensibus omnem familiaritatis et affabilitatis mutuam gratiam exhibentes.

60. Inter hec mutue karitatis gaudia utrimque recordati sui<sup>a</sup> Christiani nominis et communiter habite tribulationis, passionis et pristinae dilectionis, internuncios constituerunt, qui Boemundum de concordia interpellarent et de iniusticia sua arguerent,<sup>b</sup> quatenus conpunctus fratribz reconciliari non abnueret, 'fratresque<sup>c</sup> cum satisfaciendam benigne in concordiam et karitatem reciperent. Boemundus hiis auditis nunciis, conpunctus super omnibus in<sup>d</sup> unitatem et dilectionem<sup>d</sup> festinanter redit. Ac<sup>e</sup> statuto die in campestribus Laodicie colloquio habito, precipue inter comitem<sup>f</sup> Reimundum ac<sup>g</sup> Boemundum, dehinc inter alios pax et amicia firmata est, et omne uetus odium<sup>h</sup> exclusum,<sup>i,j</sup> et sic<sup>j</sup> triduo Boemundus cum illis moram faciens in obsequio karitatis et sciscitatione uictorie Ierusalem, post hec Antiochiam cum suis reuersus est. Robertus uero Flandriensis, Robertus pariter Nortmannorum princeps, Gastus de Bederz, Cono de Monte Acuto et ceteri compares, post aliquot dies reditum nauigio constituerunt usque<sup>k</sup> ad terram natiuitatis sue. Sed<sup>l</sup> Reimundus comes metuens Laodiciam, Tortosam et<sup>m</sup> urbes quas difficili labore subiugauerat ex Boemundi auaricia et instabilitate amittere, cum plurima manu suorum sequacium remansit.<sup>n 90</sup>

<sup>e</sup> nominatissimum A      <sup>f</sup> concessa H      <sup>g</sup> Septembris N      <sup>h</sup> om. N      <sup>i</sup> et N

60    <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> redarguerent A      <sup>c</sup> fratres quoque A      <sup>d</sup> concordiam et karitatem E      <sup>e</sup> Etenim ACHN      <sup>f</sup> ACHN add duos before comitem      <sup>g</sup> et ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> ACHN add penitus after odium      <sup>i</sup> A adds est after exclusum      <sup>j</sup> sicque ACHN  
<sup>k</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>l</sup> At ACHN      <sup>m</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>n</sup> CHN add Explicit liber sextus

much as half a mile from there. Therefore Count Raymond entered the city defences with five hundred brothers of his company and erected his banner, which was very well known, on top of the highest tower, placing a guard of his men throughout all Latakia's towers. The other brothers and fellow leaders were divided among all the buildings inside and outside for the sake of finding quarters. The number of Jerusalemites was about twenty thousand when they entered Latakian territory on the way back from Jerusalem, and a plentiful supply of all the necessities of life was brought together for them by the merchants. For it was the month of September and the season of autumn when they arrived at Latakia, and they rejoiced in an especial abundance of corn, grapes, new wine, oil, and barley, and they happily spent a period of fifteen days with the citizens and pilgrims, the Pisans and Genoese, displaying every favour of friendship and courtesy to one another.

60. Amidst these joys of mutual love on all sides they were mindful of their Christian name and of the trouble they had undergone together, of their suffering and former love, and they appointed intermediaries to speak to Bohemond about friendship and to reprove him for his injustice, so that he would be remorseful and not refuse to be reconciled to his brothers, and the brothers would graciously accept him, if he fulfilled this condition, into friendship and love. When Bohemond heard these messengers, he was remorseful about everything and hastily returned to unity and love. And on an appointed day talks were held on the plains of Latakia, especially between Count Raymond and Bohemond, and then peace and friendship were established among the others, and all the old hatred shut out, and so for three days Bohemond stayed with them in the observance of love while he enquired about the victory at Jerusalem, and after this he returned to Antioch with his men. After some days Robert of Flanders, likewise Robert prince of the Normans, Gaston of Béziers, Cono of Montaigu, and the other fellow nobles arranged their return by ship to the lands of their birth. But Count Raymond, fearing he might lose Latakia, Tortosa, and the cities which he had conquered by hard work to Bohemond's avarice and unreliability, stayed on with a very great company of his followers.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> For the continuing suspicions between Raymond and Bohemond, see also Fulcher of Chartres (FC, pp. 320-1; 342-3).

## LIBER SEPTIMVS

507 1. "Post reditum Ierosolimitanorum<sup>a</sup> ciues Assur, uulgariter<sup>b</sup> Arsith,<sup>c</sup> ex consilio inuidorum urbem et redditus quos pepigerant duci Godefrido singulis annis conferre, concussi timore uictorie quam acceperat iuxta Ascalonam prorsus negauerunt, obsides illius pro pacto amicitie datos inique retinentes, et suis gaudentes receptis, qui in fide male<sup>d</sup> seruata ducis custodiam euaserunt.<sup>e</sup> Quapropter dux, ira motus, <sup>f</sup>et ceteri<sup>f</sup> nobiles et ignobiles qui secum remanserant,<sup>g</sup> Willelmus<sup>h</sup> de Montpehlir,<sup>i</sup> Warnerus<sup>j</sup> de Greis, Geldemar Carpenel,<sup>l</sup> Wicherus<sup>k</sup> Alemannus,<sup>2</sup> et<sup>l</sup> uniuersi equites et pedites Christiani,<sup>m</sup> cum tribus milibus urbem cinxerunt,<sup>3</sup> in circuitu eius tabernacula sua extendentes. Collocatis itaque<sup>n</sup> undique tentoriis, aptauerunt machinas et instrumenta manganarum, spacio sex<sup>o</sup> ebdomadatum ea fabricantes.<sup>p</sup>

2. Applicatis<sup>a</sup> tandem muro ingeniis, fortiter ciues oppugnabant; ciues<sup>b</sup> uero non segnius pro uita resistebant a turrita arce et menibus. Sed tandem<sup>c</sup> frustra uidentes se in defensione desudare, malum naualem procere altitudinis, qui in media urbe iacebat, funibus et catenis astrictum in altum leuauerunt. In quo unum de obsidibus ducis, Gerardum<sup>d</sup> predictum ortum de genere Hainaucorum de presidio Auennis, militem egregium, in modum crucifixi affixerunt, manus et pedes illius funibus extendentes. Quem iam diu penis consumptum a carnificibus Christiani arbitrabantur. Sic erectus et affixus in culmine mali idem Gerardus in hanc miserabilem uocem  
508 cum lacrimis erupit, ac ducem alloquitur: | 'O dux, uir<sup>e</sup> illustrissime, nunc reminiscere quoniam tuo precepto huc obses et exul inter

1    " " om. A        <sup>b</sup> uulgariter H        <sup>c</sup> Arsith A        <sup>d</sup> mala N        <sup>e</sup> euasere ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> ceterique ACHN        <sup>g</sup> remansere H        <sup>h</sup> Willelmus C; Wilelmus E  
<sup>i</sup> Montphilir A        <sup>j</sup> Wernerus A; E has Warnerius once later        <sup>k</sup> Wikerus E; N  
has Vicherus later        <sup>l</sup> om. ACHN        <sup>m</sup> Christianorum A        <sup>n</sup> igitur A; ergo CHN  
<sup>o</sup> septem A        <sup>p</sup> ACHN add summo studio before ea fabricantes

2    <sup>a</sup> Applicitis H        <sup>b</sup> illi ACHN        <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN        <sup>d</sup> Gerhardum CH  
<sup>e</sup> om. A

<sup>1</sup> From Dargoire (dép. Rhône, France). Geldemar is also mentioned by Raymond of Aguilers and Peter Tudebode (RA, p. 142; PT, p. 135). His death and subsequent apparition are featured in the variant version of Raymond printed in *RHC Occ* iii. 307-8. See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 198; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 206.

## BOOK SEVEN

1. After the Jerusalem pilgrims returned home, the citizens of Assur, commonly called Arsuf, listened to the advice of envious men and they utterly refused to grant the city and the revenue which they had agreed to pay each year to Duke Godfrey when they were alarmed at his victory near Ascalon. They were unjustly holding on to his hostages, given in earnest of friendship, and rejoicing at the return of their own men who, keeping bad faith, escaped the duke's custody. Because of this the duke was angry, and so were the others who had stayed with him, both noble and humble: William of Montpellier, Warner of Grez, Geldemar Carpenel,<sup>1</sup> Wicher the Swabian,<sup>2</sup> and all the Christian cavalry and infantry surrounded the city of Arsuf with three thousand men,<sup>3</sup> spreading out their tents all around it. With their tents pitched on all sides they prepared siege engines and mangonels, spending six weeks constructing them.

2. At length the engines were brought close to the wall and they attacked the citizens vigorously. And the citizens were not at all slow in fighting back for their lives from the turreted fortress and walls. But, realizing eventually that they were exerting themselves for the defence in vain, they used ropes and chains to raise on high a ship's mast of great length, which was lying in the middle of the city, and on it they fastened one of the duke's hostages, the aforesaid Gerard, who was a Hainaut man from the fortress of Avesnes and an exceptional soldier, stretching out his hands and feet with ropes in the manner of a crucifix. The Christians thought he had long since been tortured to death by those murderers. Thus upright and fixed to the top of the mast, this same Gerard burst out into this wretched speech with tears, and spoke to the duke: 'O most distinguished duke, remember now that it was on your instruction that I was sent here as a hostage and

<sup>2</sup> Wicher was a 'ministerialis' of Fulda, mentioned in many sources, especially from northern France and Germany: see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 235.

<sup>3</sup> This number is difficult to reconcile with the passage where Radulf of Caen laments the paucity of the forces left to defend Jerusalem: only 200 knights. Nicholson, following Kugler, suggests that heavy losses at Arsuf were the beginning of the attrition which resulted in this number (RC, p. 703; Nicholson, *Tancred*, pp. 103-4).

barbaras nationes et uiros impios transmissus sum, <sup>f</sup>et ideo<sup>f</sup> peto ut misericordia uel aliqua humanitate<sup>g</sup> super me mouearis, et tam seuo et<sup>h</sup> graui martyrio me perire non patiaris.' Ad quem dux ait: 'Nequaquam, Gerarde<sup>i</sup> miles acerrime, tui misereri possum, et tot homines auertere a uindicta iniurie ciuitatis huius. Et ideo si frater meus uterinus ut Eustachius esses, hac conditione liberari non poteris, ut urbs illesa permaneat. Mori siquidem habes, et utilius est ut solus moriaris quam decretum et iusiurandum nostrorum uioletur, et urbs hec semper peregrinis infesta habeatur. Si enim presenti<sup>j</sup> uita moriaris, <sup>k</sup> uiuere habes cum Christo in celestibus.' Hec igitur<sup>l</sup> Gerardus intelligens, et se nulla prece lacrimarum uidens<sup>m</sup> proficere, summopere exorat ducem, ut equum et arma sua sancto presentet sepulchro, que illic Deo<sup>n</sup> famulantibus pro animo sue remedio largiatur. Ad hec dux et uniuersa multitudo Christianorum fortiter assiliunt urbem, in confratre Gerardo totius pietatis et misericordie obliti, urbis defensores in sagittis et fundibulis<sup>o</sup> et manganellis circumquaque inpu gnantes. Et iam inter plurimas sagittas incaute emissas, decem sagittis eiusdem Gerardi corpus confixum ac uulneratum est.

3. Gentiles uero<sup>a</sup> uidentes<sup>b</sup> quia uir strenuus, omni pietate a cordibus suorum exclusa, contempnitur ac uulneratur, sic duci et omni populo Christiano magnis blasphemiiis improperebant dicentes: 'Gens impia et crudelis que minime fratri et conchristiano uestro parcere curastis, sed acrius uiso illo et eius perditione urbem et<sup>c</sup> ciues obpugnastis!' Et<sup>d</sup> hoc dicto, ab intus manganis, <sup>e</sup> balistis et sagittis uiriliter resistentes, urbem in machina expugnantes milites ducis expugnare<sup>f</sup> nitebantur. Palos enim ferreos et acutos, oleo, stuppis, pice immixta inuolutos, ignis fomite omnino aqua inextinguibilis creberrima iaculatione machine a menibus intorquebant, trans taurina coria, quibus uimine et uittee crates aperte erant, ad excutiendos ingestos ignes. Sed tandem, paulatim flamma suscitata, et uires undique in arida materie rapiente, tota machina combusta humi procumbens corrui, cum tribus cenaculis, in quibus uiri bellatores amplius quam quinquaginta a duce et ceteris primoribus constituti, nunc undique flammarum

<sup>f f</sup> ideoque ACHN    <sup>g</sup> humilitate N    <sup>h</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>i</sup> ACHN add O before Gerarde    <sup>j</sup> A adds in before presenti    <sup>k</sup> morieris AGN    <sup>l</sup> om. H    <sup>m</sup> N adds se after uidens    <sup>n</sup> om. A    <sup>o</sup> fundibalis A

3    <sup>a</sup> ergo CN; autem H    <sup>b</sup> cernentes ACHN    <sup>c</sup> atque ACHN    <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> manganellis A    <sup>f</sup> repellere H

exile among barbarous peoples and wicked men. That is why I ask that you may be moved by pity or some kindness towards me, and that you do not allow me to perish in so cruel and painful a martyrdom.' The duke said to him: 'There is no way, Gerard, bravest of knights, that I can take pity upon you and turn aside so many men from revenge for this town's insult. And that is why if you were my brother by birth, like Eustace, you could not be freed on condition that the city remains unharmed. Indeed you have to die, and it is better for you alone to die than for the decree and oath of our men to be broken, and for this city always to remain a danger for pilgrims. For if you die in this present life, you will live with Christ in heaven.' Therefore Gerard, understanding the duke's response and realizing that no tearful prayer would do him any good, entreated the duke at the very last to present his horse and weapons at the Holy Sepulchre, and bestow them on those serving God, for the cure of his soul. At this the duke and the whole multitude of Christians attacked the city strongly and, forgetful of all affection and pity for their comrade Gerard, they assaulted the city's defenders on all sides with arrows and slings and mangonels. And now, among the very great number of arrows heedlessly released, the body of that same Gerard was shot and wounded by ten of them.

3. The gentiles, seeing that this vigorous man was disregarded and had been wounded, all affection having been put from his comrades' hearts, taunted the duke and all the Christian people with great blasphemies in this way, saying: 'Wicked and cruel race, who do not care to spare your brother and fellow Christian, but see him and his destruction and attack the city and citizens the more fiercely!' They said this, and, manfully resisting the mangonel, the crossbows, and the arrows from within the town, they strove to attack the duke's soldiers who were attacking the city in siege engines. For they were using a machine to hurl sharp iron stakes from the walls in a constant bombardment; they were wrapped with a mixture of oil, tow, and pitch, making kindling for a fire that was completely inextinguishable with water. These were shot into the bulls' hides which covered the baskets and banded wickerwork in order to shake off thrown flares. But at last, little by little, a flame was kindled, and it was gathering strength everywhere on the dry material, and the whole tower was burnt up and collapsed to the ground, falling forward with its three storeys. In them more than fifty warriors, appointed by the duke and other leaders, were now everywhere overtaken by the invading flames

inuasione occupati, cum ipsa machina ruinam perpersi sunt. Alii fractis ceruicibus et collo, alii semiputatis cruribus, coxis aut |  
 509 brachiis, quidam ruptis uisceribus ab intolerabili massa lignorum nulla ope liberandi una cum lignis in fauillam et cinerem redacti sunt. <sup>g</sup>Inter quos<sup>g</sup> Franco de Mechela uilla, que est iuxta Mosam fluuium, miles inperterritus, sub ardentissima trabe occupatus, eodem inextinguibili incendio concremari ab omnibus uisus est.

4. Continuo sine mora Rotholdus,<sup>4</sup> miles acerrimus, uidens quia ars et flamma Sarracenorum inualuit, machinaque cum inhabitatoribus suis humi procubuit, a menibus urbis in que a machina ante incendium descenderat, una cum Petro Longobardo<sup>a 5</sup> milite preclaro <sup>b</sup>celeri pede<sup>b</sup> desiluit, quoniam nullum eis<sup>c</sup> ferebatur auxilium, et in uallum iuxta muros in lorica et armis illesi constiterunt. Sarraceni autem uidentes eos iuxta muros corruisse, ferratis sudibus et immensa mole lapidum uiros opprimere certabant. Sed Deo protegente, et galea fortissima crebros ictus sustinente, uiui et incolumes ad societatem Christianorum reuersi sunt. Dux itaque Godefridus<sup>d</sup> cernens sic<sup>e</sup> suos audacissimos milites graui interitu et ruina, alios extinctos et combustos, alios enervatos, et omne opus machine celeri strage et edaci flamma consumptum, et<sup>f</sup> plurimos Christiane societatis animo deficere, fugamque meditari, mestus et dolens uniuersos desperatos cepit reuocare ad assultum urbis et interitum aduersariorum, et<sup>g</sup> firmandam obsidionem, dicens: 'Ah! miseri et inutiles, ad quid de terra et cognatione uestra existis,<sup>6</sup> nisi ut animas uestras usque ad mortem pro nomine Iesu daretis, et redemptione sancte ecclesie et liberatione confratrum uestrorum? Ecce ciuitas hec et uniuerse ciuitates in circuitu urbis Ierusalem inimicantur et insidiantur saluti uestre, quarum hec una est quam obsedistis. Videte ne deficiatis a proposito uestro, et tam uiliter effeminati ciuitatem<sup>h</sup> insuperatam relinquatis. Agite ergo penitentiam luxurie uestre fedissime quam in hac uia sancta incesti coluistis, et omnium iniquitatum uestrarum quibus gratiam Dei offendistis, et sic Deum<sup>i</sup> celi, apud quem non est

<sup>g g</sup> In quibus *H*

4 <sup>a</sup> Langobardo *CN* <sup>b b</sup> *om. N* <sup>c</sup> *om. A* <sup>d</sup> *om. ACHN* <sup>e</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>f</sup> *ac ACHN* <sup>g</sup> *ac ACHN* <sup>h</sup> *urbem ACHN* <sup>i</sup> *A adds apud before Deum*

<sup>4</sup> Not otherwise known.

<sup>5</sup> Not otherwise known.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. 12: 1.

and they suffered destruction along with that same machine. Some had broken backs and necks, others legs half cut off, hips or arms, certain had burst intestines from the unbearable weight of the timbers; having no strength to free themselves, they were reduced to ember and ash along with the timbers. Among these men was Franco of the Mechelen estate, which is next to the river Meuse, an undaunted soldier, who was trapped under a blazing beam, and everyone saw him burnt up in that same inextinguishable fire.

4. Immediately and without delay, Rothold,<sup>4</sup> a very fierce knight, seeing that the Saracens' contrivance and fire grew stronger, and that the engine with those inside it had fallen to the ground, and since there was no way of helping them, jumped down quickly from the walls of the city, onto which he had descended from the engine before the fire, together with Peter the Lombard,<sup>5</sup> a distinguished knight; and they stood together unhurt, bearing arms and armour, on the rampart next to the wall. The Saracens, however, seeing that they had come down next to the walls, endeavoured to crush the men with iron-clad stakes and an enormous pile of stones. But with God's protection, and with very strong helmets to withstand the frequent blows, they returned alive and well to their Christian comrades. Duke Godfrey, seeing that his boldest knights were thus afflicted by ruin and destruction, some killed and burned, others weakened, and that the entire workmanship of the engine had been consumed by swift slaughter and devouring flame, and seeing that many of the Christian fellowship were losing heart and considering flight, was sorrowful and grieving, and began to recall all the desperate men to the attack on the town and the destruction of the enemy and to strengthen the blockade, saying: 'Ah, wretched and useless men! For what purpose did you leave your country and kindred,<sup>6</sup> unless it was so that you might give your lives, even to death, for the name of Jesus and the recovery of the holy Church and the freeing of your fellow Christians? Look, this town and all the towns around the city of Jerusalem are hostile and plot against your safety: this is just one of them you are besieging. See that you do not fail in your purpose and are not so despicably effeminate that you leave this town unconquered. Repent, therefore, of the disgraceful profligacy which you have sinfully practised on this holy journey, and of all the injustices with which you have offended the grace of God; and, cleansed by confession and forgiveness of all your

iniquitas,<sup>7</sup> uenia et confessione delictorum<sup>f</sup> uestrorum purgati, facite uobis placabilem<sup>k</sup> et adiutorem audibilem,<sup>k</sup> quia sine illo nihil potestis facere.<sup>8</sup>

510 5. Ad hanc ducis uocem et ammonitionem, uniuersi fuge intenti et timore concussi nunc solatio roborati, obsidionem circa <sup>a</sup>Assur uel Arsit<sup>a</sup> amplius et stabilius<sup>b</sup> quam antea firmauerunt, donec et<sup>c</sup> altera machina iterato fabricata muris applicaretur, per quam ciuitas capta redderetur. In hac tandem uoluntate omnibus repertis, crastina luce primum exorta, Arnolfus<sup>d</sup> cancellarius dominici sepulchri, clericus illustris et Deo deuotus, ipsum ducem et uniuersos magnos et paruos cepit redarguere de perfidia et duricia cordis qua in fratres suos Gerardum et Lambertum malo affixos et apud Assyrios obsides factos peccauerant. Et<sup>e</sup> idcirco omnes de hac impietate<sup>f</sup> et omnium delictorum feditate<sup>f</sup> ad confessionem et correctionem paterne adhortatus<sup>g</sup> est. Sic itaque eo adhortante ad compunctionem cordis et ueniam culparum suarum, lacrimis profusis in unam eriguntur ac solidantur uoluntatem ad urbis obsidionem. Ac<sup>h</sup> rursum machinam componentes et tormenta lapidum, longa tempora circa muros expleuerunt. Ad instar uero et magnitudinem<sup>i</sup> prioris machine altera hec machina facta<sup>j</sup> et composita, muro ciuitatis in uirtute loricorum ac multitudine uirorum ac mulierum trans uallum applicata est, et in eius cenaculis uiri fortissimi et audaces ad pugnam ciuibus inferendam constituti sunt. Hec uero<sup>k</sup> machina dum sic trans uallum traheretur, et muros ciuitatis plurimum sublimitate superaret, uirique<sup>l</sup> ex ea arcu, iaculis ac lanceis menia oppugnarent,<sup>m</sup> et ciues<sup>n</sup> in menibus consistentes grauiter uexarent, simili iaculatione palorum ignitorum ut priorem machinam Sarraceni infixerunt, quousque leni<sup>o</sup> aura flamma suscitata inualescens, crates, postes, trabes inuasit ac<sup>p</sup> combussit. Mox ad extinguendam machinam de omni exercitu et tentorio concurrunt uiri ac mulieres, aquam singuli in singulis uasis afferentes. Sed minime profecit tanta aquarum suffusio.<sup>q</sup> Nam genus huius ignis aqua erat inextinguibile, flamma siquidem<sup>r</sup> magna et insuperabilis. Et ideo<sup>s</sup> machina nequaquam restingui potuit, donec penitus combusta,

<sup>j</sup> peccatorum A      <sup>k k</sup> om. ACHN

5    <sup>a a</sup> Assur AHN; Arsit C      <sup>b</sup> ualidius H      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> Arnolfus A; E has Arnolphus later      <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>f f</sup> cunctorumque feditate delictorum ACHN  
<sup>g</sup> cohortatus ACHN      <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>i</sup> similitudinem A      <sup>j</sup> A adds est after facta      <sup>k</sup> autem ACHN      <sup>l</sup> utrique ACHN      <sup>m</sup> oppugnauerunt AH  
<sup>n n</sup> ciues etiam ACHN      <sup>o</sup> leui HN      <sup>p</sup> et A      <sup>q</sup> profusio A      <sup>r</sup> om. A  
<sup>s s</sup> Ideoque ACHN

sins, thus appease God in heaven, with whom there is no injustice,<sup>7</sup> and hear his voice, because without him you can do nothing.<sup>8</sup>

5. After the duke's speech and his reproof, all those who were then intent on flight and terror-stricken were now fortified by his comfort, and they strengthened the siege around Assur, or Arsuf, further and more firmly than before, until the other siege tower, once more rebuilt, might also be set up against the walls, by means of which the city would be delivered captive. At length, when everything had been found for this purpose, on the following day at first light, Arnulf, chancellor of the Lord's Sepulchre, a distinguished cleric and devoted to God, began to reproach the duke himself and everyone great and small concerning the treachery and hard-heartedness with which they had sinned against their brothers, Gerard and Lambert, who were fixed to the mast and made hostages with the Arsufians. For that reason he urged everyone in a fatherly manner to confess and make amends for this disloyalty and for the hideousness of all their wrongs. And so, as Arnulf urged them to remorse and pardon for their faults, they wept copiously and they were encouraged and strengthened in one purpose, the siege of the city. Once more putting together the engine and the catapult for stones, they spent a long time around the walls. This second tower, which was made and constructed, indeed, in the likeness and size of the earlier tower, was brought across the rampart and close to the wall of the town by the strength of armoured men and by a great number of men and women, and in its storeys were stationed very brave and bold men to wage war on the citizens. But while this engine was thus being dragged across the rampart, and was towering over the town walls with its great height, and the men were attacking the walls from it with bows and javelins and spears, and the citizens still standing on the walls were attacking them violently, the Saracens shot it with the same bombardment of lighted stakes as they had the earlier engine, until a soft gold flame was kindled, and, growing stronger, it attacked and burned the wicker-work, the doorposts, and beams. Soon men and women ran together from all the army and camp to extinguish the engine, each carrying water in individual containers. But though they poured so much water it did very little good, for fire of this sort was inextinguishable, the flame indeed great and unconquerable, and that is why the engine could not be quenched at all, until it was utterly burnt, making a great

<sup>7</sup> Rom. 9: 14.

<sup>8</sup> John 15: 5.

ruinam magnam faciens, quam plurimos uirorum ac mulierum circumstantium diuersis plagis attriuit. Alii ibidem mortui, alii membrorum lesione eneruati iacebant; quidam semineces quassatis uisceribus purpureum<sup>f</sup> sanguinem uomebant; alii flammis suffocati, a nemine liberari ualentes, misere periclitabantur.<sup>u</sup>

- 511 6. Nihil hiis ingeniis duce proficiente, consilio suorum accepto, eo quod ciuitas Assur hoc tempore grauissime hiemis inchoante pre frigore et niue insuperabilis haberetur,<sup>a</sup> Ierusalem Decembri mense mediato rediit, sed centum equites cum peditibus ducentis Ramnes uel Rama attitulauit, qui assidue ciues Assur inpugnarent ac<sup>b</sup> bello lacerarent. Ciues uero precauentes ne aliquis impetus aut insidie illorum ex inproviso eis<sup>c</sup> nocerent, nequaquam longe a muris procedebant, unde milites ducis sata et uineta illorum per singulos dies depopulabantur. Tandem milites idem Christiani, uidentes quia nil insidiis aut<sup>d</sup> assultu proficerent, Ierusalem et ipsi reuersi, per spacium duorum mensium se ab omni impetu et infestatione continuerunt. Et<sup>e</sup> sic securi facti uiri Assur, et nil aduersitatis ultra estimantes, in negociis suis paulatim ab urbe incaute procedebant, uites, agros excolebant. Boemundus secus ciuitatem Antiochie, audita Christianorum uictoria, et Godefridi ducis gloria et exaltatione in Ierusalem, ex uerbis et<sup>f</sup> relatione Roberti Flandriensis et Roberti Nortmannorum principis<sup>g</sup> et ceterorum redeuntium, Baldwino eiusdem ducis fratre per legatos ammonito uiam Ierusalem insistere decreuit ad uisitandum locum dominici sepulchri, quibus Daibertus<sup>h</sup> Pisanus episcopus cum omni comitatu suo longo tempore trium mensium in regione Laodicie commoratus, nunc in uia hac adiunctus est, 'ac datis<sup>i</sup> muneribus cum utrisque amicitiam pactus est, de diem in diem in omni sermone et actione<sup>j</sup> simulate religionis, cunctis nimium acceptus. Natali autem Domini iam in proximo facto, prefati principes cum ingenti honore et comitatu Christianorum Ierusalem sunt ingressi; duce Godefrido gloriose eis<sup>k</sup> occurrente, et pre gaudio 'et nimio<sup>l</sup> desiderio eos uidendi pia eis oscula faciente.

<sup>f</sup> ACHN add et before purpureum  
quies. after periclitabantur

<sup>u</sup> ACHN add Vnus erat dolor pereuntium, nulla

6 <sup>a</sup> habetur AN <sup>b</sup> et A <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>d</sup> et N <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN <sup>f</sup> ac

CH <sup>g</sup> comitis CHN <sup>h</sup> Dagobertus C

<sup>i</sup> datisque ACHN <sup>j</sup> actu A

<sup>k</sup> illis A <sup>l</sup> nimioque ACHN

ruin, and it destroyed with different wounds as many men and women as stood around it. Some lay there dead, others weakened by injury to their limbs; some, half-dead with damaged insides, were vomiting purple blood; others were suffocated by flames, and as no one could free them they were wretchedly endangered.

6. Since these machines were not giving the duke any advantage, he took advice from his men, because the town of Arsuf was thought to be unconquerable on account of the cold and snow, now that the time of severest winter was beginning, and he returned to Jerusalem in mid-December; but he appointed a hundred cavalry with two hundred infantry from Ramnes, or Ramla, to attack the citizens of Arsuf continually and provoke them to war. The citizens, indeed, were taking care lest any attack or ambush from these men should harm them unexpectedly, and were not going very far at all from the walls, so the duke's soldiers were destroying their crops and vineyards every single day. At length these same Christian soldiers, seeing that neither ambushes nor attacks were doing them any good, themselves returned to Jerusalem, and they held back from any attack or assault for a period of two months. Thus the men of Arsuf were made safe and, thinking there would be no further opposition, they gradually came out of the city about their business and cultivated vines and fields. Bohemond, near Antioch, heard about the Christians' victory and Duke Godfrey's glory and his elevation in Jerusalem from the words and account of Robert of Flanders and Robert prince of Normandy and the others who were leaving, and he sent messengers advising Baldwin, the duke's brother, to take the road to Jerusalem to visit the place of the Lord's Sepulchre. Daibert, the Pisan bishop, now joined them on this road, having stayed in the region of Latakia for the long period of three months with all his company, and after gifts were given, he agreed friendship with both, and from day to day, by every speech and action of pretended piety, he became ingratiated with them all. When the birthday of the Lord was drawing near, the said princes entered Jerusalem with enormous honour and a company of Christians. Duke Godfrey met them in state and kissed them affectionately from joy and very great longing to see them.

7. Aliquot deinde diebus transactis, episcopus Pisanus, multum fautoribus Boemundo et Baldwino sibi adquisitis,<sup>a</sup> duci gratus et dilectus adeo fieri cepit, quousque ad patriarchatus dignitatem prouehi meruit, <sup>b</sup>sed potius collectione<sup>b</sup> pecunie quam electione noue ecclesie. Idem uero Daibertus cum adhuc Pisanus esset episcopus, ante biennium ab Urbano Romanorum summo pontifice, in Hyps|niam directus in legationem Christiani cultus et religionis honorifice a rege, Antfos nomine,<sup>9</sup> susceptus est, et ab omnibus episcopis et archiepiscopis regni illius in obedientia et karitate, quin muneribus preciosis et<sup>c</sup> magnificis, tam in auro quam argento<sup>d</sup> et ostro, ab<sup>e</sup> ipso rege<sup>f</sup> et cunctis<sup>f</sup> primoribus<sup>g</sup> ditatus<sup>h</sup> et honoratus est.<sup>h</sup> Innotuit etiam plurimis quoniam arietem aureum miri<sup>i</sup> et decori<sup>i</sup> operis idem rex illustris per manum eiusdem Daiberti domino apostolico<sup>j</sup> dono et causa karitatis<sup>j</sup> miserit. Quem Daibertus<sup>k</sup> cum cetera undecumque collecta pecunia, auaricia inardescens celando retinuit. Et, ut pro uero aiunt quibus res patuit, hanc massam grandis talenti et arietis aurei, mortuo Urbano pontifice, Ierusalem detulit, ac Boemundum, Baldwinum hiis muneribus corrumpens, Godefrido duci arietem et cetera munera contulit, <sup>l</sup>et sic<sup>l</sup> honore patriarchatus sublimatus est.<sup>10</sup>

8. Iam Daiberto in cathedra Ierosolimitane sedis patriarcha constituto et consecrato a Roberto episcopo <sup>a</sup>de ciuitate<sup>a</sup> Rama, quam uulgariter nominant Ramnes, et natali Domini in omni iocunditate et leticia a catholicis uiris et principibus celebrato, Boemundus, Baldwinus<sup>b</sup> et ipse patriarcha a duce impetrauerunt, ut sic iter moderarentur, quatenus ad Iordanis flumen in uigilia epyphanie Domini<sup>c</sup> <sup>11</sup> conuenirent, ubi Dominus Iesus a Iohanne baptizari dignatus est. Qui uoluntati et desiderio eorum satisfaciens, in omni apparatu et uirtute peditum et equitum cum eis ad ipsum descendit flumen Iordanis, in quo pre gaudio loti et delectati sunt. Post hec Baldwinus, Boemundus<sup>d</sup> in omni hylaritate et mutua gratia cum duce letati illic

7 <sup>a</sup> conquisitis ACHN <sup>b b</sup> collatione potius ACHN <sup>c</sup> ac ACHN <sup>d</sup> AC add in before argento <sup>e</sup> A adds tam before ab <sup>f f</sup> quam cunctis A; cunctisque CHN <sup>g</sup> A adds eius after primoribus <sup>h h</sup> est atque honoratus CHN <sup>i i</sup> decoris et H <sup>j j</sup> caritatis causa dono ACHN <sup>k</sup> ille ACHN <sup>l l</sup> sicque ACHN

8 <sup>a a</sup> ciuitatis ACHN <sup>b</sup> A adds et before Baldwinus <sup>c</sup> om. A <sup>d</sup> A adds et; CHN add ac before Boemundus

<sup>9</sup> Alfonso VI, king of Leon (1065) and Castile (1072), died 1109.

<sup>10</sup> Albert's attitude to Daibert is uncompromisingly hostile. Here he accuses him of simony. According to Guibert of Nogent's more temperate account, Daibert challenged



7. Then after some days the Pisan bishop, who had assiduously sought Bohemond and Baldwin as his patrons, began to make himself so pleasing and delightful to the duke that he was rewarded with promotion to the position of patriarch, but rather by means of a contribution of money than by choice of the new Church. Indeed, this same Daibert, when he was still bishop of Pisa, two years before, had been sent by Urban, the supreme pontiff of the Romans, into Spain as a missionary of the Christian cult and religion, and he was received with respect by the king, Alfonso by name,<sup>9</sup> and with obedience and love by all the bishops and archbishops of his kingdom: indeed he was enriched and honoured with precious and splendid gifts, in gold as well as in silver and purple, by the king himself and all the nobles. It even became common knowledge that that same distinguished king had sent a golden ram of marvellous and beautiful workmanship by the hand of this same Daibert to the lord pope, as a gift and token of his love, which Daibert, inflamed with greed, had secretly kept for himself with the rest of the money he had collected from different sources. And, as they say who are in the know, after Pope Urban's death he carried off this great mass of money and the golden ram to Jerusalem and, bribing Bohemond and Baldwin with these gifts, he bestowed the ram and the other gifts on Duke Godfrey, and so he was elevated to the rank of patriarch.<sup>10</sup>

8. When Daibert had been appointed to the patriarchal throne of the see of Jerusalem, and consecrated by Robert bishop of the town of Ramla, which they commonly call Ramnes, and Christian men and princes had celebrated Christmas in all joy and happiness, Bohemond, Baldwin, and the patriarch himself requested of the duke that they might organize their journey in such a way that they meet on the eve of Epiphany<sup>11</sup> at the river Jordan, where Lord Jesus deigned to be baptized by John. Acceding to their wish and desire, the duke went down with them with his infantry and cavalry, fully equipped and in strength, to that same river Jordan, in which for joy they bathed and enjoyed themselves. After this Baldwin and Bohemond rejoiced with the duke in all happiness and in shared friendship, and there in the

Arnulf's election, claiming that as the son of a priest he was ineligible for the office of patriarch, and after his 'deposition' Arnulf was asked to advise on his replacement. For his own 'depraved reasons' he nominated Daibert, who was scarcely asked for his consent (GN, p. 292). An interesting question is how Arnulf could then become archdeacon, since his clerical parentage should have barred him from that office too. Daibert's career is discussed in Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 81-93; Matzke, *Daibert von Pisa*.

<sup>11</sup> 5 Jan. 1100.

in regione Iordanis, dato cum lacrimis osculo, ab inuicem dissociati sunt. Ac<sup>e</sup> Godefridus cum patriarcha reuersus est Ierusalem, Boemundus uero et<sup>f</sup> Baldwinus Antiochiam et<sup>g</sup> Rohas uel Edissam regressi<sup>g</sup> sunt.

9. Dehinc mense Februario mediato,<sup>a</sup> ciues Assur, dum secure de die in diem in omnibus negociis studerent, et pacifice ad excolendas uineas et agros procede<sup>h</sup>rent, quidam Sarracenus ex ciuibus urbis Assur ut gratiam inueniret in oculis ducis omnia ei propalauit, quam secure et nullius timoris<sup>b</sup> respectum habentes ciues ab urbe exirent ad omnia que eis essent necessaria. Dux autem, Sarraceno audito, benigne in omnibus aurem illi adhibuit, et curam eius egit, ut sic magis<sup>c</sup> uiro blandiretur. Vnde ab illo traditore dies designata est qua illos egressos uineis<sup>d</sup> agrisque laborantes alios occidere, alios posset comprehendere. Eadem itaque die illucescente, Godefridus dux quadraginta equites armatos iuxta Ramnes in insidiis constituit, qui Sarracenos ad mille<sup>e</sup> ab urbe<sup>e</sup> egressos, repentino impetu equorum aggressi sunt, et eos seu uulnere interimentes, supra quingentos, naribus amputatis, manibus aut pedibus, campo semiuiuos reliquerunt. Ipsi uero uictores cum captiuis uxoribus illorum<sup>f</sup> et pueris Ierusalem<sup>g</sup> reuersi sunt. Cognita hac<sup>h</sup> strage grauissima<sup>i</sup> tota ciuitas<sup>i</sup> Assur dolore et lamentis<sup>j</sup> commota est;<sup>j</sup> et uniuersi in ea habitantes.<sup>k</sup> Qui sine dilatione regi Babylonie tam crudelis fame et damni nuncios direxerunt.<sup>l</sup>

10. Audito quidem tam crudeli nuncio, Meraius,<sup>a</sup> qui post regem secundus imperat, et cuius uoci omnes ciues et uniuerse ciuitates de regno Babylonie obediunt, turbatus est uehementer. Ac<sup>b</sup> centum equites Arabitas et ducentos Azopart<sup>c</sup> mittere se promisit ad subueniendum ciuibus, <sup>d</sup>ad tuendam urbem.<sup>d</sup> Non enim passus est ad aures domni regis ammirabilis tam grauem legationem peruenire, ne nimium cor eius grauaretur, <sup>e</sup>et aduersus suos indignaretur.<sup>e</sup> Intellecto igitur hoc solamine quod promiserat Meraius, multum gauisi sunt ciues Assur, et ab illo die portis apertis ipsi et omnia armenta eorum secure in agros procedebant, sed non tamen longe ab urbe.

<sup>e</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>f</sup> ac A      <sup>g</sup> Roas (Rohas H) reuersi ACHN

9    <sup>a</sup> mediante ACHN      <sup>b</sup> mortis ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> ACHN add in before uineis      <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>f</sup> eorum ACHN      <sup>g</sup> eorum N      <sup>h</sup> ergo N  
<sup>i</sup> ciues A      <sup>j</sup> commoti sunt A      <sup>k</sup> uniuersique habitantes in ea A      <sup>l</sup> miserunt ACHN

10    <sup>a</sup> Meraius all MSS here. E has Meraus later      <sup>b</sup> Statimque ACHN  
<sup>c</sup> Azoparth ACN sometimes      <sup>d</sup> urbemque tuendam ACHN      <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN

region of Jordan they kissed with tears and took their leave of each other: Godfrey returned to Jerusalem with the patriarch; Bohemond and Baldwin went back to Antioch and Rohas, or Edessa.

9. Then, in the middle of February, while the citizens of Arsuf were safely carrying on all their affairs from day to day, and peacefully going out to cultivate their vineyards and fields, a certain Saracen who was himself a citizen of Arsuf made everything known to the duke, in order to find favour in his eyes: how the citizens were going out safely and with no regard for fear to get everything necessary to them. Moreover, when the duke had heard the Saracen he graciously consulted him on all matters, and he took care of him, so that he might flatter the man more. And so a day was fixed by that traitor on which the duke could kill some and capture others when they were outside working in the vineyards and fields. At dawn on that day, Duke Godfrey stationed forty armed horsemen in ambush next to Ramla: they attacked with a sudden cavalry charge some thousand Saracens who came out of the city, and, destroying them with savage wounds, they left over five hundred half-dead on the battlefield, their noses cut off, or hands or feet, while the victors returned to Jerusalem with citizens' wives and sons as prisoners. When this violent massacre was known, the entire town of Arsuf was shaken by grief and lamentation, and everyone living there, and at once they sent messengers to the king of Egypt with news of the great cruelty and damage.

10. Assuredly, when he heard this cruel news Meraius, who was second-in-command after the king, and whose voice all the towns and all the citizens of the Egyptian kingdom obeyed, was violently upset, and he promised to send a hundred Arab horsemen and two hundred from Ethiopia to help the citizens and protect the city; for he did not allow such a serious embassy to come to the ears of the lord king amir, lest his heart might be too much weighed down and might be angry against his own men. When, therefore, they found out about this relief force which Meraius had promised, the citizens of Arsuf were overjoyed, and from that day the gates were open and they and all their herds went out safely into the fields, but nevertheless not far

Deinde octo diebus transactis, auxilium et uires regis Babylonie illis affuerunt, centum equites Arabite et ducenti Azopart, quorum iussione et consolatione longius quam solebant ab urbe et porta procedere presumpserunt. Audito tandem in Ierusalem aduentu illorum, surrexerunt clam duce decem equites Christianorum et in termino Ramnetis constiterunt ad explorandam rei ueritatem, utrum milites Babylonie affuissent in auxilium urbis Assur. Qui protinus quinque armigeros direxerunt ante urbis menia ad lacescendos et producendos<sup>f</sup> uiros quorum fama erat, ipsi uero decem in campestria Assur descenderunt. Armigeros uero<sup>g</sup> discurrentes in equis ante menia urbis ex decreto decem militum triginta equites Arabum, ab urbe subito armati exeuntes, grauiter eos<sup>h</sup> insecuti sunt, post tergum relictis insidiis. Armigeri autem<sup>i</sup> quantotius equorum | uelocitate ad  
 514 decem equites Christianorum fugam inierunt. Quibus ad subueniendum decem domni sui ilico in equis et armis affuerunt, et triginta Arabes in fugam remittentes usque ad portas et menia urbis<sup>j</sup> Assur eos persecuti sunt, tres illorum in momento perimentes, quorum capita ab armigeris amputata cum equis et spoliis eorum afferentes,<sup>k</sup> Ierusalem cum gaudio<sup>l</sup> reuersi sunt.

11. Comperta autem<sup>a</sup> hac uictoria<sup>b</sup> et tam<sup>b</sup> laudabili<sup>c</sup> audacia decem equitum, dux et uniuersi sui letati sunt. Vnde centum et<sup>d</sup> quadraginta equites conuocans in insidias<sup>e</sup> uersus Ramnes conductu Warneri de Greis ac Roberti probi militis de Apulia<sup>f12</sup> ituros constituit, ut Arabes milites aliqua arte lacescitos et ab urbe Assur productos circumuenientes aliquid insigne cum eis molirentur. Manserunt itaque hii milites Christiani ducis iuxta Ramnes in insidiis duobus diebus, donec tertia die egressi ciues Assur fiducia suorum militum per agros cum gregibus suis, ignari totius infestationis, uagari secure<sup>g</sup> ceperunt. Illis ergo<sup>h</sup> sine respectu periculi uagantibus uiginti milites continuo ab insidiis et societate Christianorum egressi predam undique contraxerunt, ui eam abducentes.<sup>i</sup> Sed mox a militibus Assur excussa est. Ad hec tota manus Christianorum exurgens ab insidiis fortiter assilierunt milites Arabum et Azopart<sup>j</sup> et omnes<sup>j</sup>

<sup>f</sup> prouocandos *A*    <sup>g</sup> autem *ACHN*    <sup>h</sup> om. *ACHN*    <sup>i</sup> uero *ACHN*    <sup>j</sup> om. *ACHN*    <sup>k</sup> auferentes *A*    <sup>l</sup> *A* adds magno after gaudio

11    <sup>a</sup> om. *ACHN*    <sup>b</sup> om. *A*    <sup>c</sup> *A* adds et after laudabili    <sup>d</sup> om. *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> insidiis *H*    <sup>f</sup> Apuleia *AN*    <sup>g</sup> om. *A*    <sup>h</sup> uero *A*    <sup>i</sup> adducentes *N*  
<sup>j</sup> omnesque *ACHN*

from the city. Then after a week the forces of the Egyptian king came to reinforce them, a hundred Arab horsemen and two hundred from Ethiopia: at their command and with their protection the citizens ventured further from the city and the gate than they were used to. At length they heard in Jerusalem about the arrival of the relief force, and without the duke's knowledge ten Christian knights took the initiative and stationed themselves in the territory of Ramla to find out the truth of the matter, whether Egyptian troops had come to the assistance of the city of Arsuf. Right away they sent five squires before the city walls to provoke and draw out the men whose presence was rumoured, and indeed ten of them came down onto the plain of Arsuf. However, as the squires were riding about before the city walls on the orders of the ten knights, thirty of the Arab horsemen suddenly rode from the town bearing arms and pursued them hotly, leaving the Christians' ambushes behind them. The squires, indeed, took flight as quickly as their horses could carry them to the ten Christian knights. Instantly their ten lords came to help them with horses and weapons, and, putting the thirty Arabs to flight, they chased them up to the gates and walls of the city of Arsuf, killing three of them in a moment, whose heads, cut off by the squires, they carried off together with their horses and spoils when they returned joyfully to Jerusalem.

II. When they heard about this victory, moreover, and the highly praiseworthy courage on the part of the ten knights, the duke and all his men rejoiced. Consequently, the duke called together a hundred and forty knights and ordered them to go and arrange ambushes towards Ramla, led by Warner of Grez and Robert, an excellent soldier from Apulia,<sup>12</sup> so that they might harm the Arab soldiers by some stratagem, and, surrounding those who had been drawn out of the city of Arsuf, perform some great deed with them. Therefore these soldiers of the Christian duke stayed in ambush near Ramla for two days, until on the third day the citizens of Arsuf, confident in the protection of their own soldiers, came out into their fields with their flocks, and began to wander about in safety, unaware of any enemy presence. As they wandered, heedless of danger, twenty soldiers speedily came out from ambush and the rest of the Christian company and took booty everywhere, seizing it by force. But soon it was recaptured by the soldiers of Arsuf. At this the entire Christian army rose from ambush and bravely attacked the Arab soldiers and those from Ethiopia and all

<sup>12</sup> Probably Robert of Anzi: see above iii. 16.

pedites illorum.<sup>k</sup> Et utrimque graue commissum est prelium. Sed tandem Christiani preualentes, plurimam partem illorum occiderunt, <sup>m</sup>ac predam<sup>m</sup> retinentes cum pluribus<sup>n</sup> equis, cum captis ibidem militibus <sup>o</sup>in gloria et iocunditate Ierusalem regressi sunt.<sup>o</sup> Residui autem Sarraceni, qui pauci uix euaserant, cum fama luctuosa Babyloniam reuersi sunt, et regis iram <sup>p</sup>et Babyloniorum<sup>p</sup> metum adauxisse nulli dubium habeatur. Dux denique<sup>q</sup> Godefridus de prospero euentu suorum non ad modicum letatus est.

12. Sic tandem ciuitas Assur tedio affecta, nec regis sui auxilio uidens se posse resistere, pacem composuit, clauis portarum et turrium duci contulit,<sup>a</sup> facta ei<sup>b</sup> ultra<sup>c</sup> tributaria.<sup>13</sup> Cuius tributa Roberto, militi  
515 preclaro de Apulia, pro con|uentione solidorum a duce concessa sunt. Post hec dux, uolens amplius adhuc urgere et subiugare, ciuitatem Ascalona et ceteras ciuitates<sup>d</sup> de regno Babylonie opprimere ac debellare, Ioppen, que et<sup>e</sup> uulgariter Iafeth<sup>f</sup> dicitur, antiquo exterminio dirutam<sup>g</sup> reedificari <sup>h</sup>et muniri muris constituit,<sup>h</sup> quatenus illic portus nauium fieret, et ab hac ceteris ciuitatibus gentilium locus esset resistendi ac nocendi. Firmata<sup>i</sup> et renouata ciuitate Iafeth uel Ioppe,<sup>j</sup> ab omnibus regnis et insulis Christianorum mercatores uite necessaria afferentes ad eius portum accedebant.<sup>14</sup> Peregrini quoque usquequaque aduentantes illuc<sup>k</sup> secure descendebant,<sup>l</sup> corpora sua hospitio et quiete curantes.

13. Sarraceni autem tristes et dolentes facti sunt, eo quod ab hac ciuitate reedificata et restaurata uniuerse ciuitates gentilium in circuitu subiugande, debellande, ac deuastande sint,<sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup>et Christianorum<sup>b</sup> uires per mare aduentantes de die in diem auferentur. Quid aduersus hoc<sup>c</sup> facerent<sup>d</sup> gentiles nil melius senserunt in omni consilio, nisi ut legatio ab Ascalona, Cesarea<sup>e</sup> et<sup>f</sup> Ptolomaida<sup>g</sup> uel Accaron ad salutandum ducem maturaretur, ex parte ammiraldorum predictarum urbium. Nec mora, legatio ad aures ducis et omnium primatum

<sup>k</sup> om. N    <sup>l</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>m</sup> <sup>m</sup> predamque ACHN    <sup>n</sup> plurimis H    <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> om. A; et gloria et iocunditate Ierusalem reuersi sunt H    <sup>p</sup> <sup>p</sup> Babyloniorumque ACHN  
<sup>a</sup> itaque A

12    <sup>a</sup> obtulit ACHN    <sup>b</sup> est A    <sup>c</sup> om. H    <sup>d</sup> urbes ACHN    <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> Iapheth A; Iafet C    <sup>g</sup> derutum E    <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> murisque constituit muniri ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> ACHN add igitur after Firmata    <sup>j</sup> uel Ioppe om. AHN; C has the words above the line  
<sup>k</sup> om. A    <sup>l</sup> accedebant A

13    <sup>a</sup> forent ACHN    <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> Christianorumque ACHN    <sup>c</sup> hec A    <sup>d</sup> facientes N  
<sup>e</sup> Cesaria A later    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> Phtolomaida A later

their foot soldiers, and on all sides a fierce battle was joined. But at length the Christians prevailed and they killed the most part of the enemy, and, holding on to the booty, they returned in triumph and joy to Jerusalem with many horses and with soldiers they had captured there. Moreover, the remnant of the Saracens, the few who had barely escaped, returned to Egypt with the sorrowful news, and none of them doubted that it aggravated the anger of the king and the Egyptians' fear. Then Duke Godfrey rejoiced not a little at the success of his men.

12. So at length the town of Arsuf, weary and seeing that it could not resist even with the assistance of the Egyptian king, made peace; the inhabitants presented the keys of the gates and towers to the duke and became liable to pay tribute to him besides.<sup>13</sup> The tribute of Arsuf was granted by the duke to Robert, the distinguished soldier from Apulia, in return for a cash settlement. After these things the duke, wanting yet further to oppress and subdue the town of Ascalon and to overthrow and vanquish the rest of the towns of the Egyptian kingdom, decided that Ioppe, which is commonly called Jaffa and which had been destroyed in ancient times, should be rebuilt and its walls fortified, so that there might be a port for ships there, and from this it would be a centre for resistance and harm to the other towns of the gentiles. When the town of Jaffa or Ioppe had been strengthened and rebuilt, merchants came to its harbour from all the kingdoms and islands of Christendom carrying vital supplies.<sup>14</sup> Pilgrims too, coming from all over the place, used to go down there in safety, caring for their bodies with hospitality and recreation.

13. The Saracens, however, became sad and sorrowful because from this repaired and rebuilt town all the gentiles' towns around were to be brought under, subdued, and laid waste, and the Christians' forces would be increased from day to day with people arriving by sea. In all their consultation as to what they should do against this, the gentiles decided on nothing better than for an embassy from Ascalon, Caesarea, and Ptolomaida or Acre, to be sped on its way to pay respects to the duke on behalf of the amirs of the above cities. Without delay an embassy was carried to the ears of the duke and all

<sup>13</sup> Although Albert's wording implies capitulation, this is not supported by other sources, so it should be read as a truce.

<sup>14</sup> Jaffa (Arabic *Yāfā*; Hebrew *Yafo*) was the nearest port to Jerusalem. On Jaffa Albert is corroborated by the contemporary Damascus chronicler Ibn al-Qalanisi, who says that before he died Godfrey rebuilt Jaffa and gave it into Tancred's charge: IQ, p. 51.

suorum in<sup>b</sup> Ierusalem in hunc modum delata est. 'Ammiraldus Ascalonis, ammiraldus Cesaree, similiter ammiraldus Ptolomaide duci Godefrido in omnibus salutem. Exoramus te, ducem gloriosissimum ac magnificum, quatenus gratia et concessu tuo ciues nostri securi<sup>i</sup> et pacifice ad negocia sua procedant,<sup>j</sup> et decem ualentes equos, mulos quoque tres corpore elegantes tibi mittemus, ac singulis mensibus quinque milia bysantiorum in ratione tributorum reddituri sumus.' Hoc pacto nimirum pax facta et firmata est quin abhinc amicitia fieri cepit de die in diem, precipue inter ducem et ammiraldum ciuitatis Ascalonis,<sup>k</sup> et donorum copie duci accrescebant, in frumento, ordeo, uino et oleo, plus quam dici aut memorari possit. Similiter Cesarea et Accaron, datis redditibus auri et argenti, pacem et securitatem obtinebant. Incubuit enim timor Christianissimi ducis in<sup>l</sup> uniuersas terras et regiones gentilium.<sup>m</sup>

- 516 14. Principes dehinc Arabie, famam ducis tam gloriosissimam intelligentes, pariter et ipsi pacem et amicitiam cum eo sub hac conditione componebant, ut pacifice Ierusalem et Ioppe<sup>a</sup> sui mercatores omnia corpori necessaria afferentes sine interdictione cum Christianis precio mutuarent. Quod sic actum est, et allata sunt<sup>b</sup> habundanter uniuersa tam Ioppe quam Ierusalem in armentis, bobus, ouibus et equis, uestibus et annona, et omni equo precio cum Christianis mutuabant, et sic leticia magna in populo facta est. Omnem uero commutationem et egressionem per mare dux omnibus gentilibus interdixit. Erant enim custodes et insidie diffuse per mare, ne quicquam gentiles nauigio suis ciuitatibus inferrent, unde ciuitates necessariis opibus habundantes et confise facte rebelles superbirent, et, foedere neglecto quod cum duce pepigerant, exaltate resisterent. Si qui uero ab Alexandria, Damiata uel Africa<sup>c</sup> 15 nauigio ueniebant cum opibus suis a militibus ducis capti, capite truncabantur. Sarraceni similiter Christianis nullam in mari pacem seruabant, solummodo pacem et foedus utrimque statuerunt per terram. Hec pax nimirum adeo inter ducem et ammiraldum<sup>d</sup> Ascalonis cepit crescere, ut ciues illius Ierusalem<sup>e</sup> pacifice cum rebus uenalibus penetrarent, et uiri Christiani similiter Ascalonam sine impedimento proficiscerentur.

<sup>b</sup> om. ACHN<sup>i</sup> secure A<sup>j</sup> om. N<sup>k</sup> Ascalone C<sup>l</sup> om. N<sup>m</sup> gentium ACHN14 <sup>a</sup> Iope A<sup>b</sup> om. N<sup>c</sup> Affrica ACHN<sup>d</sup> E adds inter before ammiraldum<sup>e</sup> om. ACHN

his nobles in Jerusalem, like this: 'The amir of Ascalon, the amir of Caesarea, likewise the amir of Acre send greetings to Duke Godfrey. We entreat you, most glorious and magnificent duke, that by your grace and favour our citizens may safely and peacefully go about their business, and we shall send you ten powerful horses, and three mules too, elegantly built, and every month we shall pay you five thousand bezants by way of tribute.' With this agreed, of course peace was made and strengthened: indeed thereafter friendship began to grow from day to day, especially between the duke and the amir of Ascalon, and the duke's store of gifts increased, in grain, barley, wine, and oil, more than can be told or remembered. In the same way, by giving payments of gold and silver, Caesarea and Acre obtained peace and security. For fear of the most Christian duke was instilled in all the lands and regions of the gentiles.

14. When the princes of Arabia heard such glorious news of the duke, in the same way they too made peace and friendship with him, on this condition: that their merchants, carrying all bodily necessities, might trade peacefully with the Christians in Jerusalem and Jaffa without prohibition. This was agreed, and everything was brought in great quantity both to Jaffa and to Jerusalem—cattle, oxen, sheep and horses, clothes, and corn—and everything was traded with the Christians at a fair price, and so there was great rejoicing among the people. But the duke forbade all trade and departure by sea to all the gentiles. For there were guards and scattered ambushes by sea to prevent the gentiles bringing anything into their towns by ship, lest as a result the towns, having plentiful supplies and feeling confident, should become arrogant and rebellious and, ignoring the treaty they had agreed with the duke, should rise up and oppose him. Indeed, if any people arrived by ship from Alexandria, Damietta, or Africa,<sup>15</sup> they used to be captured by the duke's soldiers along with their riches and their heads were cut off. In the same way the Saracens kept no peace on the sea towards the Christians: only on land did they establish peace and the treaty on both sides. This peace, to be sure, began to grow so much between the duke and the amir of Ascalon that this amir's townsmen entered Jerusalem peacefully with goods for sale, and Christian men likewise set out for Ascalon without hindrance.

<sup>15</sup> The modern town names are al-Iskandariyya and Dimyat, both in Egypt. By Africa Albert probably meant the coast beyond Egypt, rather than the continent as a whole: see *EF*<sup>2</sup> iii. 1047–50, s.v. 'Ifrikiya'.

15. Cum<sup>a</sup> hec pax tanta cresceret, et amicitia<sup>b</sup> magis 'ac magis' iungerentur, quadam die idem preses et ammiraldus Ascalone Gerardum<sup>d</sup> de presidio Auennis, ab omni plaga curatum, honorifice uestibus indutum, equo optimo residentem, duci Christianissimo Ierusalem dono remisit, quem multis diebus iam in Assur obisse dux et uniuersi Christiani estimabant, nescientes quod a malo depositus ab Assur eidem ammiraldo missus fuisset. Dux itaque, uiso et incolumi recepto Gerardo dilecto milite, et egregio adolescente, gauisus est uehementer. Cui statim in remuneratione sui grandis laboris maxima beneficia terre centum marcarum cum castello quod dicitur ad sanctum Abraham<sup>16</sup> in presentia omnium fidelium qui aderant largitus est. Cepit denique ab ea<sup>e</sup> die super terram magis ac<sup>f</sup> magis pax hinc et hinc multiplicari, donec militibus Gallie<sup>g</sup> tedio facta est.

- 517 16. Post hec non multa mora Tancradus duci Ierusalem occurrit a presidio Tabarie,<sup>17</sup> quod dux<sup>a</sup> uallo et insuperabili munitione in montis arduo reedificauit in aduentu natalis Domini<sup>b</sup> et<sup>c</sup> quod nunc Tancradus dono ducis ad tuendam suscepit,<sup>b</sup> ualde conquestus et auxilium querens,<sup>d</sup> eo quod terra et ciuitates Grossi Rustici,<sup>18</sup> regno Egypti<sup>19</sup> adiacentes, sibi rebellarent, et reditus<sup>e</sup> sibi<sup>f</sup> soluere<sup>g</sup> dedignarentur. Hoc dux audito et moleste accepto, post dies octo precibus Tancradi satisfaciens, ducentis equitibus et mille peditibus assumptis, <sup>h</sup>terram et regionem<sup>h</sup> Grossi Rustici ingressus est, predaque<sup>i</sup> innumerabili undique contracta, homines gentiles alios trucidari, alios iussit captiuari. Cetera omnia in flammam et cineres usquequaque redegit. Moram itaque in regione hac duce per dies octo strage et incendio faciente, Grossus Rusticus princeps regionis legationem<sup>j</sup> in Damascum<sup>j</sup> direxit, propter auxilium Turcorum, si forte<sup>k</sup> eorum uiribus<sup>k</sup> duci occurrens resistere posset. Hic princeps appellatus est a Gallis Grossus Rusticus pre nimia<sup>l</sup> et pingui<sup>l</sup>

15 <sup>a</sup> Dum *H* <sup>b</sup> amicitie *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> de die in diem *A* <sup>d</sup> Gerardus *N*  
<sup>e</sup> ipsa *A* <sup>f</sup> et *A* <sup>g</sup> *ACHN* add pugnacibus *after* Gallie

16 <sup>a</sup> *ACHN* add idem *after* dux <sup>b</sup> *om. A* <sup>c</sup> *om. CHN* <sup>d</sup> petens *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> redditus *N* <sup>f</sup> *om. ACHN* <sup>g</sup> reddere *H* <sup>h</sup> *om. CHN* <sup>i</sup> terras et regiones *A*; terram  
regionesque *CHN* <sup>j</sup> et preda *ACHN* <sup>k</sup> *om. H* <sup>l</sup> uiribus illorum fretus  
*ACHN* <sup>11</sup> pinguique *ACHN*

<sup>16</sup> Al-Khalil (Arabic); Hebron (Hebrew).

<sup>17</sup> Tabariyya (Arabic); Teverya (Hebrew). According to a variant version of Baudri of Dol, Tancred found Tiberias empty, except for a few Syrians, so he captured and garrisoned it (BD, p. 111).

15. Since this peace was growing so pervasive, and they were increasingly joined in friendship, one day, as a gift, that same ruler and amir of Ascalon sent back to the most Christian duke, in Jerusalem, Gerard of the fortress of Avesnes, cured of all his wounds, dressed in a distinguished manner and riding a horse of best quality: this was the man whom the duke and all the Christians thought had died many days before in Arsuf, not knowing that after he was taken down from the mast he had been sent from Arsuf to that same amir. When the duke saw Gerard and received him back unharmed, a beloved soldier and outstanding youth, he was overjoyed. At once, as compensation for his great suffering, he bestowed on Gerard in the presence of all the faithful who were there, very great fiefs of a hundred marks of land, with the castle which is called 'at St Abraham'.<sup>16</sup> Then from that day peace began to increase more and more everywhere throughout the land, until it became wearisome to the soldiers of Gaul.

16. Not long after this, Tancred came to meet the duke in Jerusalem from the fortress at Tiberias,<sup>17</sup> which the duke rebuilt in Advent with a rampart and invincible defences on the steep slope of the mountain, and which Tancred had now received as a gift from the duke for its defence, and Tancred was complaining bitterly and seeking help, because the land and towns of the Fat Peasant,<sup>18</sup> which lay next to the kingdom of Egypt,<sup>19</sup> were rebelling against him and were refusing to pay revenue to him. The duke listened to this and heard it with annoyance, and after a week, in response to Tancred's pleas, he entered the land and region of the Fat Peasant, taking with him two hundred cavalry and a thousand infantry, and he took immeasurable booty everywhere, and ordered some of the gentile men to be slaughtered, others to be captured. Everything else he reduced on all sides to flames and ashes. While the duke, therefore, was spending a week in this region inflicting fire and slaughter, the Fat Peasant, prince of the region, sent an embassy to Damascus to ask for Turkish help, so that if he happened to meet the duke, then he could resist by relying on Turkish forces. This duke was called by the Gauls Fat Peasant on account of his very great and gross

<sup>16</sup> Since Albert explains both elements of his nickname below, a more politically correct translation cannot be substituted. His real identity is not known.

<sup>19</sup> Egypt is here a translation of 'Egypti', whereas everywhere else it translates 'Babylon'. The lands of the Fat Peasant evidently lay to the east of the Galilee, but see Mayer, *Montréal*, p. 22, where it is suggested that they also extended far to the south and therefore bordered on Fatimid territory.

corpulentia et uili persona, in qua totus rusticus esse<sup>m</sup> uidebatur. Princeps uero Turcorum et rex Damascenorum illius legatione audita, quingentos Turcos sine mora illi misit ad<sup>n</sup> auxilium, sed<sup>n</sup> iam Christiani milites post nimiam et diutinam stragem de terra Rustici exierant, duce semper cum preda gregis et uestium ceterarumque rerum in fronte gradiente, Tancrado a longe post tergum cum centum equitibus custodiam faciente.<sup>b</sup> Et ecce post paululum<sup>q</sup> Turcorum milites cum festinatione adesse uisi sunt. Quibus Tancradus non segniter occurrens, 'cum illis' prelium commisit et<sup>s</sup> utrimque hac die bello grauati sunt. Alii occisi, alii grauiter<sup>u</sup> uulnerati, Tancradus uix elapsus est. Vespere autem facto, dux et tota manus illius per loca<sup>a</sup> campestria positis armis pernoctans, et ignorans quoniam Tancradus cum Turcis commiserit,<sup>v</sup> totus adhuc de illius euentu incertus erat, quousque ea nocte media incolumis receptus est cum suis sodalibus, quorum aliqui sagittis grauati sunt. Dux uero ut intellexit quoniam Turci Tancradum a Damasco persecuti<sup>w</sup> cum eo sagittis commiserint,<sup>x</sup> iussit summo mane diei sequentis acies fieri, Turcis eorum insecutoribus<sup>y</sup> occurrere, sed nec<sup>z</sup> unus<sup>a</sup> eorum in regione hac<sup>a</sup> repertus est. Nam tam<sup>b</sup> egregii ducis presentiam nimium uicinam persentientes, ultra ab insecutione<sup>c</sup> Tancradi cessantes, per totam noctem in sua reuersi sunt. |

518 Post hec dux in Ierusalem rediit. Tancradus<sup>d</sup> Tabariam cum suis pariter regressus 'cum sexaginta tantum militibus<sup>e</sup> illic moram fecit, singulis diebus Damascum et Turcorum municipia expugnans, et<sup>f</sup> predas a terra et regione eorum abducens. Arx autem hec Tabaria sita est iuxta lacum quem appellant mare Tyberiadis, duo miliaria<sup>g</sup> habens in longitudine, duo<sup>h</sup> in latitudine. Hanc a Christianissimo duce subiugatam cum presidio restructo Tancradus in beneficio obtinuit, eo quod gratiam in oculis illius<sup>i</sup> inuenerit, in officio militari,<sup>j</sup> et quia aduersariis Christianorum indeficiens ad resistendum uidebatur.

17. Turci uero Tancradum de die in diem uidentes inualescere, <sup>a</sup>et ducis<sup>a</sup> Godefridi uires illi semper adesse, per aliquot tempus pacem

<sup>m</sup> om. A      <sup>n</sup> in ACHN      <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>z</sup> facienti E      <sup>q</sup> pusillum N  
<sup>r</sup> om. N      <sup>s</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>t</sup> om. H      <sup>u</sup> om. H      <sup>v</sup> commiserat ACHN  
<sup>w</sup> ACHN add sunt et after persecuti      <sup>x</sup> commiserunt A      <sup>y</sup> persecutoribus H  
<sup>z</sup> ne C      <sup>a</sup> quidem ex eis in hac regione ACHN      <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>c</sup> insectatione A      <sup>d</sup> A adds autem after Tancradus      <sup>e</sup> quadraginta milites  
secum habens A; sexaginta milites secum habens CHN      <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>g</sup> milia  
ACHN      <sup>h</sup> ACHN add et before duo      <sup>i</sup> ipsius ACHN      <sup>j</sup> ACHN add probus after  
militari

corpulence and his worthless character, in which he seemed to be entirely a peasant. The prince of the Turks and the king of Damascus, when they heard his embassy, at once sent him five hundred Turks as reinforcements. But the Christian soldiers, after so great and so long a slaughter, had already left the Peasant's land, with the duke always marching in front, along with the booty of herds and clothes and other things; Tancred far back acting as rearguard with a hundred knights. And after a very short while the Turkish knights were spotted advancing in haste. Tancred was not slow to meet them, he joined battle with them and both sides this day were oppressed by war. Some were killed, others seriously wounded; Tancred only just escaped. Now, when evening had fallen the duke and all his army had put aside their weapons and were camping for the night on the plains, not realizing that Tancred had joined battle with the Turks. The duke was still entirely uncertain what had happened to Tancred until, in the middle of that night, Tancred came back unharmed with his companions, some of whom had been shot with arrows. When the duke realized that the Turks had chased Tancred from Damascus and exchanged arrows with him, he ordered a war band to be formed early in the morning of the following day, to meet the Turks their pursuers. But not a single one of them was to be found in this region. For, being very conscious that the illustrious duke's presence was too near, they returned to their own lands all through the night, ceasing to persecute Tancred any further. After this the duke returned to Jerusalem. Tancred likewise returned with his men to Tiberias, having with him only sixty soldiers, and he stayed there, every single day attacking Damascus and the provincial towns of the Turks, and taking booty from their region and land. Now, this citadel of Tiberias is situated next to a lake which they call the Sea of Tiberias, which is two miles long and two wide. Tancred gained the castle with its rebuilt defences as a fief after it was subdued by the most Christian duke, because he had found favour in the duke's eyes by his military service, and because he seemed unfailing in his resistance to the enemies of the Christians.

17. The Turks, indeed, seeing that Tancred grew stronger from day to day, and that Duke Godfrey's forces were always there to support

cum eo componere decreuerunt, sub hac conditione, ut post huius pacis terminum communi consilio inito, aut sibi uellent subesse, aut omnino cum illo foedus inire refutarent. Tancradus super hiis cum duce sumpto consilio, adqueiuit precibus Turcorum, et plurima munera bysantium, auri, argenti<sup>b</sup> et ostri ab eis et a Grosso Rustico suscipiens, <sup>c</sup>terram minime post hac<sup>c</sup> bello commouit. <sup>d</sup>Post aliquot deinde dies,<sup>d</sup> Tancradus sex milites, uiros disertos ac peritissimos, direxit ad principem Turcorum Damasci, quatenus sibi urbem redderet, Christianitatis professionem assumeret, si tamen eius dono et<sup>e</sup> consensu in aliqua parte regionis illius habitare uel uiuere uellet, alioquin propter aurum uel<sup>f</sup> argentum et<sup>g</sup> cetera dona illi amicitiam seruare<sup>h</sup> non posse.<sup>20</sup> Hiis igitur auditis, princeps Damascenorum uehementi ira motus est, apprehensosque uiros quinque decollari iussit, sextum<sup>i</sup> quia<sup>j</sup> sectam Turcorum apprehendit<sup>k</sup> uite reseruari precepit. Horum<sup>l</sup> tam egregiorum<sup>m</sup> legatorum cede crudelissima<sup>n</sup> ad aures ducis perlata, uehementer una cum Tancrado et omni ecclesia turbatus est. Qui continuo accitis undique uiribus equitum et peditum in terram Damascenorum<sup>o</sup> descendit, per quindecim dies terram et regionem<sup>p</sup> depopulatus,<sup>q</sup> nemine sibi<sup>r</sup> obsistente. Videns ergo princeps regionis Grossus Rusticus quia a facie Christianorum nil sibi, nil Turcis intactum remanebat, uolens nolens foedus cum duce et Tancrado percussit, Turcos rennuit, quorum auxilio stare <sup>s</sup>ante faciem Christianissimi ducis<sup>s</sup> prorsus non ualebat.<sup>21</sup>

- 519 18. Hoc foedere cum principe predicto firmato<sup>a</sup> sub ratione tributorum, dux per Ptolomaidam et Cesaream et Cayphas regredi disposuit. Cui ammiraldus Cesaree in occursum ueniens, benigne prandium ei obtulit. Sed ille cibum interdicens<sup>b</sup> cum omni mansuetudine et gratiarum actione, tantum de pomo cedri<sup>22</sup> gustans, post modicum graui infirmitate correptus est. <sup>c</sup>Ac Ioppen diuertens,<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> ACH add et before argenti      <sup>c</sup> terra minime post hec A      <sup>d</sup> Deinde transactis  
aliquantis diebus ACHN      <sup>e</sup> uel ACHN      <sup>f</sup> aut ACHN      <sup>g</sup> uel ACH; aut N  
<sup>h</sup> A adds se before, CH add se after seruare      <sup>i</sup> ACHN add autem after sextum  
<sup>j</sup> qui A      <sup>k</sup> arripuit ACHN      <sup>l</sup> Istorum ACHN      <sup>m</sup> egregium uirorum A  
<sup>n</sup> cruentissima ACHN      <sup>o</sup> ACHN add aduersus interfectores fratrum after  
Damascenorum      <sup>p</sup> regiones ACHN      <sup>q</sup> A adds est after depopulatus  
<sup>r</sup> om. N      <sup>s</sup> aduersus Christianissimum ducem A

18      <sup>a</sup> confirmato ACHN      <sup>b</sup> contradicens ACHN      <sup>c</sup> Diuertensque Ioppen  
ACHN

<sup>20</sup> The reference to conversion is only in Albert: see A. Cutler, 'The First Crusade and the idea of conversion', *Muslim World*, lviii (1968), 57-71, 155-64, at p. 163.

him, decided to make peace with him for some time, on this condition: that after the end of this peace they would take counsel together and they would either be willing to submit to him, or would refuse to enter any treaty with him. Tancred consulted the duke about these things and agreed to the Turks' requests, and, receiving very many gifts of bezants, gold, silver, and purple from them and from the Fat Peasant, he disturbed the land with war very little after this. Then after some days had passed, Tancred sent six soldiers, eloquent and very experienced men, to the prince of the Turks at Damascus, demanding that he surrender the city to Tancred and adopt the Christian faith, if he wished to live in any part of Tancred's lands by his gift and consent, or to stay alive: otherwise he could not keep Tancred's friendship by gold or silver and the other gifts.<sup>20</sup> When he heard these things the prince of Damascus was shaken by violent anger, and he ordered that five of the men whom he held should have their heads cut off; the sixth, because he took the Turkish religion, he commanded to be kept alive. When the cruel slaughter of these distinguished emissaries was brought to the ears of the duke, he was moved to extreme anger, along with Tancred and all the Church. He at once summoned forces of cavalry and infantry from all sides and went down into the land of Damascus, and he laid waste the land and region for a fortnight, no one being able to resist. Consequently the Fat Peasant, the prince of the region, seeing that nothing in the path of the Christians was going to be left untouched for him or the Turks, had to strike a treaty with the duke and Tancred whether he liked it or not; he rejected the Turks, whose help no longer enabled him to stand up against the most Christian duke.<sup>21</sup>

18. After this treaty with the aforesaid prince had been secured, subject to calculation of tribute, the duke arranged to go back through Acre and Caesarea and Haifa. The amir of Caesarea came to meet him and courteously offered him dinner. But Godfrey refused food with every polite expression of thanks, tasting only some oranges.<sup>22</sup> After a little he became seriously ill, and turning aside to Jaffa he found the

<sup>21</sup> When Ekkehard summarizes Godfrey's achievements in his *Hierosolymita*, he includes truces with Ascalon and Damascus 'for the sake of trade' (*RHC Occ* v. 26), and this has been seen as contradicting Albert's account of this expedition, but, as Nicholson points out, the peace may have been made after—and as a result of—this campaign (*Tancred*, p. 108 n. 5).

<sup>22</sup> Literally 'cedar fruits'. 'Pomum cedrinum' for orange is recorded in 1291: *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, ed. R. E. Latham (London, 1965), s.v. 'pomum'. Oranges were introduced from India to southern Europe by the Arabs during the 12th c. (*OED*, s.v. 'orange').

episcopum et ducem Venediorum<sup>23</sup> in apparatu copioso et armorum multitudine inuenit. <sup>d</sup>Tandem cognito<sup>d</sup> quia conchristiani<sup>e</sup> essent et non hostilis collectio, secreto hospitium quod sibi nouum construxerat cum paucis subintrauit, nam molestia corporis accrescente premebatur. Cui quatuor ex suis collateralibus assistentes, alii pedes illius in gremio<sup>f</sup> suscipiebant, alii capiti eius<sup>g</sup> ad reclinandum pectus suum subponebant. Quidam uero super eius<sup>h</sup> dolore nimium ac dolenter flebant, eo quod tanto principe destitui in hoc longo exilio pertimescebant.<sup>i</sup><sup>24</sup>

19. Audientes ergo conchristiani peregrini quoniam tantus princeps egrotaret, graui merore et luctu concussi sunt, crebro uisitandi gratia ad eum uenientes, inter quos ipse dux et episcopus Venedie et eorum primates introducti sunt, ad salutandum ipsum ducem, uidendum et colloquendum. Intromissi uero, in uasis aureis et argenteis, ostro et ueste preciosa, mira et insolita dona duci obtulerunt ac dederunt, propter dilectionem et desiderium quod uidendi eum semper habebant. Dux quidem Godefridus summa cum karitate ea que obtulerant suscepit, et benigne eos allocutus, nauali hospitio remisit, asserens se aliquantulum infirmitate detentum, sed in crastino si quicquam ei remissius fuerit, in aspectu omnium se presentari<sup>a</sup> qui eum uidere et cognoscere cupiebant, et tunc libenter uelle<sup>b</sup> perfrui eorum<sup>c</sup> communi affabilitate. Nocte denique eadem dolore ac languore corporis illius inualescente,<sup>d</sup> a suis propter nimietatem tumultus naualis exercitus Ierusalem se deferri iussit, quoniam<sup>e</sup> hoc tempore, sicut pollicitus fuerat, peregrinis Venedie nulla affabilitate potuit communicare.

<sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> Cognito autem ACHN <sup>e</sup> Christiani A <sup>f</sup> A adds suo before gremio  
<sup>x</sup> illius A <sup>h</sup> om. N <sup>i</sup> metuebant A

19 <sup>a</sup> presentare H <sup>b</sup> N adds cum before uelle <sup>c</sup> omnium A  
<sup>d</sup> ingrauescente A <sup>e</sup> que N

<sup>23</sup> For the Venetian involvement at this point there is a useful source in the *Translatio S. Nicolai in Venetiam* by the 'Monk of Lido' (*RHC Occ* v. 253–82). The Venetian fleet was led by Henricus Contareus (Enrico Contarini), bishop of Castello (Venice) 1074–1108, and Johannis Michael (Giovanni Michiel) son of Vitalis Michael (Vitale Michiel), doge of Venice 1096–1102 ('Monk of Lido', p. 255 n. c).

<sup>24</sup> Ekkehard describes the great heat of summer 1099, as a result of which fetid corpses corrupted the air; he adds that some said the springs were poisoned by the barbarians or the cisterns by the blood of the killed. Consequently, he says, there was a great pestilence, and very many died, among them Godfrey, who was overcome by lassitude after only one year

bishop and the duke of the Venetians,<sup>23</sup> with plenty of equipment and a great quantity of weapons. Realizing at length that they were fellow Christians and not an enemy assembly, with a few people he secretly entered a guest house, which had been newly built for him, for he was weighed down by the increasing trouble of his body. Four of his companions were with him: some took his feet onto their laps, others supported his head so that he could lean back his upper body. Some indeed were weeping over him with very great grief and lamentation, because they were very afraid of being forsaken by so great a prince in this long exile.<sup>24</sup>

19. When, therefore, his fellow Christian pilgrims heard that their great prince was ill, they were shaken by mourning and lamentation, coming frequently to visit him. Among these visitors the very duke and the bishop of Venice and their nobles were escorted in to pay their respects to the duke, to see him and to talk with him. Indeed, when they were admitted they offered and gave wonderful and unusual gifts to the duke, of gold and silver vessels, purple, and precious cloth, on account of the love and longing which they always had for seeing him. Duke Godfrey, in fact, received the things they offered with the greatest affection, and when he had spoken to them courteously he sent them back to their lodgings on board ship, claiming that he was somewhat gripped by illness, but on the following day, if he was any better, he would be on view for all who wished to see him and get to know him, and then he would gladly enjoy their universal courtesy. Then that same night the pain and weakness of his body was growing worse, and he commanded that he should be taken back to Jerusalem by his men, because of excessive disturbance from the ship-borne army, seeing that he could not at this time converse courteously with the Venetian pilgrims as he had promised.

(p. 160). A later tale had it that Godfrey died from poison: Guibert records that he was poisoned by a 'certain neighbouring pagan prince', Orderic by the citizens of Jaffa, and Matthew of Edessa by Muslim chiefs in Caesarea (GN, p. 317; OV v. 340; ME, pp. 175-6). In the poems of the late crusade cycle Godfrey dies at the hands of 'Eracles', the patriarch of Jerusalem, and it is interesting that in one version this is Arnulf, 'le lanier, le maistre dou Sépulcre'; in another Daibert, 'Eracle le Lombard': see *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon*, ed. Reiffenberg, iii, pp. lxxxv-vii and lines 21722-3; *The Jerusalem Continuations*, ed. P. R. Grillo (The Old French Crusade Cycle, vii. 2; Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1987), p. xxvi and lines 1329, 1346. Ibn al-Qalanisi is not well informed on this: he says that Godfrey was killed by an arrow during the siege of Acre (IQ, p. 51).

520 20. Cognita hac ducis ualida egritudine, dux et principes<sup>a</sup> Venediorum Warnerum de Greis et Tancradum aggressi sunt, uidelicet ut duci loquerentur, quid acturi sint, seu ciuitatem aliquam in litore maris<sup>b</sup> obsidentes debellarent priusquam Ierusalem descendant,<sup>c</sup> seu expectarent quousque Deo dante<sup>d</sup> sanitatem recipiat. Ascenderat et tunc festinanter Tancradus a Tabaria in Iafeth, uehementi ducis infirmitate comperta. Dehinc ducem ambo super hiis principes que a Venediis audierant conuenerunt, et consilio facto cum eo, licet egrotante, et ceteris primoribus decretum est, ut castellum Cayphas dictum Peregrini Venedie obsidione nauali circumdarent, Tancradus uice ducis cum Warnero obsidionem in sicco locaret, uidelicet ut ab utroque latere maris et terre urbs obsessa et oppressa caperetur. Aptatis siquidem ingeniis quibus Cayphas uinceretur, in terra et mari, fama luctuosa allata est in Ioppen ducem Godefridum summum principem Ierusalem iam obisse. Quapropter conturbati uniuersi tam Venedii quam Galli, relicto omni apparatu obsidionis, festinato Ierusalem uenerunt, ducem<sup>e</sup> sic occupatum infirmitate et aggrauatum inuenerunt, ut uix uerbum reddere ualeret. Sed tamen quantulumcumque<sup>f</sup> priores consolatus, se ab hac infirmitate fatebatur conualescere. Ad hanc ducis consolationem, adorato a Venediis sepulchro dominico et locis sanctis uisitatis, Tancradus, Warnerus, una cum domno patriarcha Daiberto in Ioppen reuersi sunt, apparatus suum sine otio ad unguem iterantes. Ac<sup>g</sup> post quindecim dies cum omni opere machinarum et balistarum profecti, mari et terra Cayphas applicuerunt. Warnerus Iafeth remansit, eo quod subito infirmitate fuerit correptus, et abhinc in gestatorio aduectus est in Ierusalem.

21. Post quatuor deinde dies allato Warnero in Ierusalem, dux uehementius infirmitate laborare cepit. Qui confessione delictorum suorum in uera cordis compunctione et lacrimis peracta, dominici uero<sup>a</sup> corporis et sanguinis communione percepta, sic spiritali scuto<sup>b</sup> munitus et protectus, ab hac luce subtractus est. Mortuo igitur tam egregio duce et nobilissimo Christi athleta 'xv<sup>o</sup> kalendas Iulii,<sup>c</sup> 25  
521 maxima lamenta | et nimius ploratus omnibus illic Christianis,

20    <sup>a</sup> princeps *N*    <sup>b</sup> mare *A*    <sup>c</sup> ascendant *A*    <sup>d</sup> donante *N*    <sup>e</sup> ducemque  
*ACHN*    <sup>f</sup> quantulumque *E*    <sup>g</sup> Et *ACHN*

21    <sup>a</sup> quoque *ACHN*    <sup>b</sup> secuto *A*    <sup>c</sup> *om.* *ACHN*

<sup>25</sup> Thus manuscript E and direct copies, but omitted by later copyists, perhaps because it was known to be incorrect: according to Fulcher, whose testimony has to be preferred, Godfrey died 18 July 1100 (xv. Kal. Augusti): FC, p. 350 and n. 4.

20. When they knew of the duke's severe illness, the Venetian duke and leaders approached Warner of Grez and Tancred, evidently so that they might speak to the duke and ask what they should do: whether they should subdue by siege some city on the coast before they came down to Jerusalem, or if they should wait until, by God's gift, he recovered his health. For then Tancred had also hastily come up from Tiberias to Jaffa, when he heard about the duke's serious illness. Then both the princes spoke to the duke about these things they had heard from the Venetians; they took counsel with him, although he was sick, and with the other nobles, and it was decided that the Venetian pilgrims should surround the city called Haifa with a naval blockade; Tancred, in the duke's place, should lay siege on land with Warner, so that the city would be besieged and overwhelmed from both sides, of course, from land and sea, and would be taken. Accordingly, siege engines were prepared with which Haifa would be conquered by land and sea, and then the sorrowful news was brought to Jaffa that Duke Godfrey, that greatest of princes, had already died in Jerusalem. Therefore all, Venetians as well as Gauls, were thrown into confusion; they abandoned all their siege equipment and came in haste to Jerusalem, where they found the duke so affected by illness and weighed down that he scarcely had the strength to reply a word, yet nevertheless he reassured these first-comers a very little, saying that he was getting better from his illness. The Venetians, comforted by the duke in this way, worshipped the Lord's Sepulchre and visited the holy places, and Tancred and Warner, together with Lord Patriarch Daibert, returned to Jaffa, working without rest to renew their siege equipment to the point of perfection. And after two weeks they set out with all the siege work of engines and ballistas, and besieged Haifa by land and sea. Warner remained at Jaffa because he was suddenly taken ill, and thereafter he was conveyed to Jerusalem on a litter.

21. Then, four days after Warner had been carried into Jerusalem, the duke began to suffer more severely from his illness. He made confession of his sins in true remorse of heart and with tears, took communion of the Lord's body and blood and, thus secured and protected by a spiritual shield, he was taken from this light. After the distinguished duke and noble champion of Christ died on 17 June,<sup>25</sup> for five days there was very great lamentation and bitter weeping by

Gallis, Italicis, Syris, Armenicis <sup>d</sup>et Grecis,<sup>d</sup> gentilibus plerisque Sarracenis, Arabitis, Turcis, fuere per quinque dies. Et<sup>e</sup> post hec die quinta sepultus est in ualle Golgotha<sup>f</sup> Caluarie montis, in porticu templi dominici sepulchri. <sup>g</sup>Sepulto tam nobilissimo et Christianissimo duce,<sup>g</sup> Warnerus<sup>h</sup> cognatus et miles illius<sup>i</sup> pariter obiit, et in ualle Iosaphat, in porticu basilice sancte Marie uirginis et matris<sup>j</sup> Iesu Christi, honorifice et catholice humatus est, octaua die obitus nobilissimi ducis et principis sancte ciuitatis Ierusalem.

22. Duce gloriosissimo infirmitate curriculo quinque ebdomadaram Ierusalem laborante, sicut decretum erat ante eius obitum, patriarcha, Tancradus et omnis apparatus Venediorum cum duce et episcopo illorum ab Ioppe profecti sunt per mare et aridam ad ciuitatem que dicitur<sup>a</sup> Cayphas.<sup>26</sup> Quam mari<sup>b</sup> et in<sup>c</sup> sicco obsederunt, in machina mire et procere altitudinis, in tormentis lapidum septem que uocant mangelas, ad expugnandos urbis defensores eiusque habitatores. Applicatis<sup>d</sup> itaque muro ingeniis cum ingenti machina, et undique graui assultu eam uiris Gallie obpugnantibus, ciues ex genere Iudeorum, qui hanc inhabitabant dono et consensu regis Babylonie in redditione tributorum, in<sup>e</sup> armis et menibus<sup>e</sup> exurgentes, multum in defensione obstiterunt, quousque Christiani uariis plagis grauati per dies quindecim prorsus diffisi ab omni assultu manus suas continuerunt. Nec mirum, quoniam<sup>f</sup> Tancradus<sup>g</sup> non ut solebat uiriliter cum suis auxilium fidele<sup>h</sup> ferebat, pre inuidia que illius precordia mordebat, eo quod dux Godefridus cum adhuc uiueret, et grabato eger cubaret, Geldemaro, Carpenel cognomine, egregio militi et nobili, urbem concesserit,<sup>i</sup> si forte caperetur.

23. Patriarcha uero, cognita illius inuidia et animi amaritudine, omne instinctu et suasionem qua potuit<sup>a</sup> ipsum Tancradum aggressus est, quem demulcere cepit, et eius<sup>b</sup> iram lenire, quatenus ciuitas que defensa fortiter a Iudeis habebatur, non tam uiriliter in statu suo

<sup>a</sup> <sup>d</sup> Grecis et ACHN <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN <sup>f</sup> Golgotha A <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> ACHN add deinde after Warnerus <sup>i</sup> illustris ACHN <sup>j</sup> ACHN add Domini after matris

22 <sup>a</sup> uocatur A <sup>b</sup> ACHN add a before mari <sup>c</sup> a H <sup>d</sup> Applicitis H  
<sup>e</sup> menibus armis ACN; menibus urbis H <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN <sup>g</sup> ACHN add enim after Tancradus <sup>h</sup> om. AC <sup>i</sup> ACHN add in beneficio before concesserit

23 <sup>a</sup> poterat A <sup>b</sup> illius A

<sup>26</sup> Albert has a remarkably detailed account of the siege of Haifa, which should be compared with the 'Monk of Lido' (pp. 275-8) and with Radulf of Caen, in whose brief

all the Christians there—Gauls, Italians, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks—and by very many gentiles: Saracens, Arabs, and Turks. And after this on the fifth day he was buried in the valley Golgotha of Mount Calvary, in the entrance of the temple of the Lord's Sepulchre. After the burial of so very noble and Christian duke, his kinsman and knight Warner likewise died, and he was buried with honour and Christian ritual in the valley of Jehosaphat in the entrance of the church of St Mary the Virgin and mother of Jesus Christ, on the eighth day after the death of the most noble duke and prince of the holy city Jerusalem.

22. While the glorious duke was suffering from illness in Jerusalem for a period of five weeks, and just as had been decided before his death, the patriarch, Tancred, and all the equipment of the Venetians with their duke and bishop set out from Jaffa by land and sea to the town called Haifa.<sup>26</sup> They besieged the town by sea and on land, using an engine of wonderful and outstanding height and seven catapults, which they call mangonels, to overcome the city's defenders and its inhabitants. After the catapults were brought close to the wall with the enormous siege tower, and the men of Gaul were attacking everywhere in a violent assault, citizens of the Jewish race, who lived in the city by the favour and consent of the king of Egypt in return for payment of tribute, got up on the walls bearing arms and put up a very stubborn defence, until the Christians, weighed down by various blows over the period of two weeks, absolutely despaired and held back their hands from any attack. No wonder, since Tancred was not, as he usually did, bravely bringing faithful support with his men, on account of the envy which was gnawing at his heart, because Duke Godfrey, while he was yet alive and lying ill in bed, granted the city as a fief to Geldemar, surnamed Carpenel, a distinguished and noble soldier, if they managed to capture it.

23. The patriarch, indeed, who was aware of Tancred's envy and bitterness, approached him with all the persuasive force of which he was capable, and began to soften him up and to soothe his anger, so that the town, which was being strongly defended by the Jews, would

account it 'fell apart' under the crusaders' assault (RC, pp. 704). According to the variant MS of Baudri of Dol, Tancred suddenly attacked the city and captured it within the day (BD, p. 111). Ibn al-Qalanisi just says it was captured by assault, but later, Nov. 1100–Oct. 1101 (IQ, p. 51).

522 remaneret, ad confusionem Christianorum, quorum | non modica pars attrita erat. Hanc etiam conditionem patriarcha interserebat, ut si Deo annuente urbs caperetur, consilio fidelium ei qui plus in eius strage laboraret traderetur. Dicebat enim: 'Vides,<sup>c</sup> o frater karissime Tancrade, quoniam dux Venediorum cum omni<sup>d</sup> manu sua bello uictus et fatigatus abscessit, nec ultra uires adhibet. 'Sed sui<sup>e</sup> perterriti iam classem usque in medium maris procul a ciuitate reducerunt.' Tancradus autem, hec uerba patriarche audiens, et eius exhortationem bonam, in Christi nomine, animi<sup>f</sup> amaritudine deposita, respondit non ultra se aliqua occasione ab urbis assultu et inuasionem abstinere, <sup>g</sup>sed omni conatu eam oppugnare<sup>g</sup> licet alius donum eiusdem ciuitatis susceperit, cum nondum obsessa uel capta fuerit, et cum Geldemari Carpenel uirtus et manus sibi equiparari non possit.<sup>h</sup> Hoc dicto, festinanter Tancradus<sup>i</sup> cornua sonuit, milites dato signo ammonuit quatenus assultum circa urbem intermissum repeterent, Iudeos expugnarent, qui urbem fortiter defensabant.<sup>j</sup>

24. Audito itaque signo Tancradi, uniuersa manus militum qui aderant, tam ducis quam Tancradi, ad arma contendunt, armati confluent, machinam sine mora ascendentes. Ascendit Wiricus pincerna ducis,<sup>27</sup> miles egregius, Wicherus Alemannus in ictu gladii et Turci loricati sectione laudabilis, Milo quoque de Claro Monte,<sup>28</sup> milites ducis. Sed de omnibus Venetianis militibus neminem preter unum in machina reppererunt, quem nulla pericula mortis ab eius custodia abstertere potuerunt. Videns uero idem Venetianus tyro uiros sibi ad<sup>a</sup> auxilium concurrisse, in nimio gaudio ab imminente angustia respirauit, in hanc uocem prorumpens: 'Recesserunt a me omnes uires nostratum, et solus ex omnibus remansi, sed non ultra Deo annuente a uobis dissociabor, quousque finem<sup>b</sup> nostri<sup>c</sup> assultus et euentum rei aut in urbis aut in<sup>d</sup> nostri ruina agnoscam.<sup>e</sup> Stemus igitur in nomine Dei<sup>f</sup> nunc coniuncti, et si pauci, uirtus Dei magna ad omnia que pro eius gratia<sup>g</sup> parati sumus instare

<sup>c</sup> Vide *N*                      <sup>d</sup> tota *ACHN*                      <sup>e e</sup> Sui quoque *ACHN*                      <sup>f</sup> omni *ACHN*  
<sup>z z</sup> om. *ACHN*                      <sup>h</sup> posset *H*                      <sup>i</sup> om. *ACHN*                      <sup>j</sup> defendebant *A*

24    <sup>a</sup> in *ACHN*                      <sup>b</sup> om. *H*                      <sup>c</sup> uestri *N*                      <sup>d</sup> om. *A*                      <sup>e</sup> cognoscam *A*  
<sup>f</sup> Domini *ACHN*                      <sup>z</sup> nomine *A*

<sup>27</sup> Later called Wiric of Flanders, the duke's chamberlain, but no more is known of him (Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 79, 138).

<sup>28</sup> Murray observes that Clermont is a frequent place name in French-speaking countries, but he suggests that Milo came from Clermont-sur-Meuse (Huy, prov. Liège,

not remain so boldly in this condition, to confound the Christians, of whom no small number had been destroyed. Also the patriarch interposed this condition: that if with God's agreement the city should be captured, it would be handed over to whomever in the opinion of the faithful worked hardest in its overthrow. For he said: 'You see, dearest brother Tancred, that the duke of the Venetians has withdrawn from the war with all his company; he is defeated and exhausted, and no longer brings up his forces. But his men are terrified and have already withdrawn the fleet into the middle of the sea far from the city.' Tancred, moreover, hearing these words from the patriarch and his loyal encouragement, replied to him in Christ's name, his mind's bitterness laid aside, that he would no longer for any reason hold back from the attack and invasion of the city, but would assault it with all his might, even though another had received the grant of this same city, when it was not yet besieged or taken, and even though the valour and the army of Geldemar Carpenel could not be compared to his. This said, Tancred sounded the bugles hastily, and by giving this signal he warned the soldiers that they should resume the interrupted assault around the city and overcome the Jews, who were defending the city strongly.

24. When they heard Tancred's signal the whole company of soldiers who were there, the duke's as well as Tancred's, took up arms and, armed, flocked together, climbing the siege engine without delay. Wiric,<sup>27</sup> the duke's cup-bearer, a distinguished soldier, climbed up; Wicher the Swabian, praiseworthy for his sword blow and slicing of a mailed Turk; also Milo of Clermont,<sup>28</sup> all soldiers of the duke. But of all the Venetian soldiers they found only a single one in the engine, whom they were unable to scare away from his guard duty by any threat of death. Indeed that same young Venetian, seeing the men had rushed to his assistance, breathed a sigh of relief in great joy at his deliverance from his immediate difficulty, bursting out with these words: 'All the forces of our country have left me, and I stay here alone of all of them; but with God's agreement I shall not be separated from you from now on, until I see the end of our attack and how it turns out, either in the destruction of the city, or of us. Therefore let us now stand united in the name of God, and if we are few, the power of God is great, for whose favour we have been made ready to pursue and withstand all

Belgium) and was therefore a vassal of Gisbert of Clermont, who was with Baldwin in Cilicia in 1097 (see above, iii. 16): Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 218.

et sustinere pericula.<sup>7</sup> Nec mora, hiis quatuor coniunctis et conspiratis in Christi nomine ex ammonitione Venetiani ad omnem assultum urbis, uiginti milites Tancradi in momento eis adiuncti sunt, unanimiter sic conspirati, aut<sup>h</sup> ex machina hac oppositam<sup>i</sup> turrim urbis penetrare, aut certe ante eandem turrim in eodem loco uelle deperire. Et subito arreptis bipennibus, securibus et ferreis ligonibus oppositam turrim fortiter cauantes infregerunt.<sup>j</sup> Quibus Iudei ciues, commixtis Sarracenorum turmis, sine dilatione uiriliter resistentes, a turri oleum, picem feruentem, ignem et stuppas opposuerunt, grande uidelicet incendium, per quod Christiani  
 523 milites | fumo et<sup>k</sup> calore in machina extinguerentur, et urbs eiusque turris inuicta cum incolis suis remaneret. Christiani tandem milites, pro Christo mori non diffidentes, inperterriti stabant, omnem angustiam sufferentes per diem et noctem, donec scuta eorum flammis concremata, fundibulis<sup>l</sup> quassata, ferreis<sup>m</sup> sudibus perforata, grandi lesura transuideri potuerunt.

25. Altera dehinc die radiante, et Domino Iesu suorum miserante, Iudei et Sarraceni uidentes Christianos insuperabiles, nec suis flammis aut armis posse reprimi a turri et<sup>a</sup> eius assultu, ipsam turrim mox relinquentes, nec eam amplius retinere ualentes, fugam inierunt. Post quos uniuersa ciuitas in fugam pariter conuersa est. Ad hec milites Christiani, ciues hostiles per mediam urbem insecuti et eos crudeliter perimentes, uictoresque facti, portas ciuitatis aperientes, totum Christianum exercitum intromiserunt. Qui, uniuersis occisis in ea repertis, pecuniam innumerabilem tam in auro quam argento, uestibus, equis et mulis, ordeo, oleo et<sup>b</sup> frumento, illic depredati sunt. Venetiani autem adhuc medio mari fixis anchoris consistentes, nunc Gallorum cognita uictoria et urbis inuasionem, festinanter leuatis anchoris affuerunt, aliquos gentilium occidentes, sed nihil pecunie illic prendiderunt.

26. Capta autem ciuitate Cayphas, Geldemarus Carpenel quia eandem si caperetur dono ducis susceperat,<sup>a</sup> quem obisse nondum sciebat, milites et pedites suos conuocat ad retinendam ciuitatem et munendam. Sed copie Tancradi ampliores et ualidiores urbis<sup>b</sup> menia et eius

<sup>h</sup> ut H      <sup>i</sup> compositam ACHN      <sup>j</sup> perfregerunt A      <sup>k</sup> a N      <sup>l</sup> fundibalis A  
<sup>m</sup> om. A

25      <sup>a</sup> om. N      <sup>b</sup> om. A

26      <sup>a</sup> acceperat A      <sup>b</sup> turres et eius menia H

dangers.' Straight away, after these four were joined together and united in Christ's name, according to the Venetian's suggestion, for the whole attack on the town, twenty of Tancred's soldiers were attached to them in a short space of time, and they unanimously agreed this: either to enter the city tower before them from this siege engine, or for certain to be willing to perish before that same tower in this same place. And, suddenly seizing battleaxes, axes, and iron mattocks, they broke down the tower opposite by excavating vigorously. The Jewish citizens, mixed with Saracen troops, at once fought back manfully, and counter-attacked from the tower with oil, boiling pitch, fire, and torches: that is, with a great conflagration, whereby the Christian soldiers would be killed by smoke and heat in the engine, and the city and its tower would remain unconquered with its inhabitants. In the end the Christian soldiers, who were not afraid to die for Christ, stood undaunted, suffering every torment by day and night, until their shields were burnt up by flames, shattered by slinging machines, pierced by iron pikes, and so damaged you could see right through them.

25. Then, as another day dawned, and Lord Jesus took mercy on his own, the Jews and Saracens, seeing that the Christians were unconquerable and could not by their flames or weapons be forced back from the tower and its assault, were soon leaving that same tower, being unable to hold it any further, and took flight; likewise the whole town was put to flight after them. When this happened the Christian soldiers pursued the enemy citizens through the middle of the town, killing them cruelly, and they were victorious, and, opening the city gates, they let in the whole Christian army. The army killed everyone they found in the city and they plundered there countless money both gold and silver, garments, horses and mules, barley, oil, and corn. Moreover, the Venetians, who up till now were anchored in the middle of the sea, hastily weighed anchor and arrived when they knew about the Gauls' victory and invasion of the city; they killed some of the gentiles, but they took no money there.

26. After Haifa had been taken, Geldemar Carpenel, because he had received the town as a gift from the duke (whose death was not yet known) if it could be taken, called together his soldiers and foot soldiers to hold the town and fortify it. But Tancred's forces, which

turres<sup>b</sup> obtinentes Carpenel et eius gentem ab urbe expulerunt. Carpenel quid ageret non<sup>c</sup> melius hac hora sensit, quam ut a ciuitate cum omnibus suis migraret, et ad castellum ualidissimum ac ditissimum quod dicitur ad sanctum Abraham,<sup>d</sup> uersus montana et ciuitates Sodome et Gomorre,<sup>29</sup> hoc tempore declinaret. Hoc equidem castellum dux non longo assultu, effugatis gentilibus, subiugauit, quod ab Ierusalem sex miliaris remotum, quondam primus patriarcha  
 524 Abraham edificasse et inhabitasse <sup>e</sup>et ibidem<sup>e</sup> sepul<sup>e</sup>tus fuisse perhibetur.<sup>f</sup> Hoc presidium Turci et ceteri <sup>g</sup>Iudei ac gentiles<sup>g</sup> nimia deuotione honorantes uenerabantur, nec minori celebritate a catholicis cultoribus obseruatur et colitur.

27. Patriarcha autem Daibertus et Tancradus ibidem mortem ducis audientes in unum conspirauerunt, nihil de ciuitate Cayphas Geldemaro Carpenel se daturos, sed de ea ad uelle acturos, de Ierusalem quoque, regno Godefridi ducis, similiter per omnia pro uelle deinceps licenter consulere ac disponere. Vnde consilium inierunt in ciuitate Cayphas, quatenus Boemundo auunculo Tancradi legationem Antiochie mitterent, ut in terram Ierusalem proficisceretur cum omni apparatu suo, regnumque illic obtineret priusquam aliquis heres ducis Godefridi tronum regni eius preoccuparet. Legatio denique hec patriarche et Tancradi sine mora directa est. Verum eiusdem legationis portitor, Morellus nomine, secretarius patriarche, quia<sup>a</sup> in dolo missus est, et contra iusiurandum quod idem patriarcha cum Tancrado duci fecerat, si forte obiret, nulli<sup>b</sup> regnum Ierusalem se reddituros nisi fratribus suis aut uni de sanguine eius, ira Dei aduersante, Laodicie in manus comitis Reimundi incidit,<sup>c</sup> et sic tota legatio litterarum irrita fuit, et perfidia ubique patefacta.<sup>30</sup> Boemundus

<sup>c</sup> nil A      <sup>d</sup> Habraham H; Habraam A later      <sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> ibique A; ibidemque CHN  
<sup>f</sup> dicitur A      <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> Iudei et gentiles C; gentiles et Iudei H

27      <sup>a</sup> qui A      <sup>b</sup> nullum H      <sup>c</sup> irrui ACHN

<sup>29</sup> Towns on the southern shore of the Dead Sea, of biblical notoriety: Gen. 19.

<sup>30</sup> This conspiracy of Daibert with Tancred, if it took place as Albert says, has been characterized by B. Hamilton as 'criminally irresponsible', since it brought danger of civil war (Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 54). William of Tyre, by now a source independent of Albert, favourable to Daibert and implacably hostile to Arnulf, represents Godfrey as having promised the governance of Jerusalem to Daibert, so that Daibert is defending the interests of the state against the machinations of a pro-Baldwin party, among whom Warner of Grez is prominent. He reproduces the letter sent by Daibert to Bohemond, which, however, he thinks did not arrive (WT, p. 458). It has been suggested that the letter in William was a complete forgery, but a more likely position, since Albert and William are agreed on the existence of a letter, is that William invented or embellished the content (FC, p. 366 n. 29). Albert's account is corroborated by Radulf of Caen, who recounts that when

were more numerous and stronger, were taking possession of the city walls and its towers, and they drove out Carpenel and his people from the city. Carpenel felt there was nothing better he could do at this time than to move out of the town with all his men, and to turn aside now to the very strong and wealthy castle which is called St Abraham, towards the mountains and the towns of Sodom and Gomorra.<sup>29</sup> This is the castle, of course, that the duke overcame with quite a short attack, the gentiles having fled; it was six miles from Jerusalem and the first patriarch Abraham is reputed to have built it and lived there, and to have been buried there. The Turks and the other Jews and gentiles honoured and revered this fortress with very great devotion, and it is respected and accorded no less renown by Christian worshippers.

27. Patriarch Daibert and Tancred, hearing in that place of the duke's death, agreed together that they were not going to give any of the town of Haifa to Geldemar Carpenel, but were going to do with it as they wished; concerning Jerusalem, as well, Duke Godfrey's domain, they would then likewise freely take measures and arrange matters in all things as they wished. Therefore they took counsel in the town of Haifa and decided that they would send an embassy to Antioch, to Tancred's uncle, Bohemond, asking him to set out into the land of Jerusalem with all his company, and there take possession of the kingdom, before any heir of Duke Godfrey could take first the throne of his domain. Then this delegation of the patriarch and Tancred was arranged at once. Actually, because the bearer of this message, Morellus by name, the patriarch's secretary, was sent in deceit and against the oath which that same patriarch had made with Tancred to the duke, that if he happened to die they would not confer the throne on anyone except his brothers or one of his blood, he was opposed by the wrath of God and fell into Count Raymond's hands in Latakia, and thus the whole delegation of letters came to nothing, and the treachery was revealed on all sides.<sup>30</sup> In



Godfrey was dying he summoned Daibert, Arnulf, and the rest and consulted them about the succession. They agreed to Baldwin, who was summoned after Godfrey's burial. While Baldwin succeeded to Jerusalem, Tancred took a tenuous hold on Antioch. However, Radulf may well have been glossing over events which were to the discredit of his hero (RC, p. 705). As to the legation's fate, Count Raymond had already sailed for Constantinople, and this fact has been used to discredit Albert's account: Hill and Hill, *Raymond IV*, p. 147. However, the envoy may have been captured by Raymond's men, rather than by the count personally (R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), p. 93 n. 43). For the whole question of the succession dispute in 1100, including a critical commentary on the letter in William of Tyre, see A. V. Murray, 'Daibert of Pisa, the *Domus Godefridi* and the accession of Baldwin I of Jerusalem', in id., ed., *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500* (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 81-99.

siquidem eodem<sup>d</sup> tempore, diuino iudicio, in mense Augusto, adunatis trecentis equitibus, uersus Malatinam<sup>e</sup> urbem<sup>31</sup> descenderat, inuitatus ad auxilium Christianorum ex litteris et legatione Gaueras<sup>32</sup> Armenici principis et domni eiusdem ciuitatis, eo quod Donimannus,<sup>33</sup> quidam princeps Turcorum, urbem hanc in manu forti angustiatam obsedisset. Hic itaque, audito aduentu Boemundi et eius copiis, nec illum longe abesse<sup>f</sup> ab urbis obsidione, quingentis equitibus ab exercitu suo assumptis illi in planicie regionis occurrit, prelium cum eo commisit intolerabili grandine<sup>g</sup> sagittarum, donec Boemundi uirtus attrita, et uniuersa societas succubuit interempta, fugitiua facta ac dispersa.<sup>34</sup> Ex hac alii subito sunt detruncati, alii uiui capti<sup>h</sup> et retenti,<sup>h</sup> una cum principe suo Boemundo, et in exilium in Nixandria,<sup>35</sup> ciuitate eiusdem Turci, abducti, et ferreis uinculis alligati sunt.

- 525 28. Capto<sup>a</sup> itaque Boemundo eiusque propinquo Richardo ceterisque maioribus domus sue, Donimannus ad urbem Malatinam cum spoliis eorum et capitibus decollatorum in magna gloria regressus, Gaueras legationem premisit, quatenus ciuitatem in manu<sup>b</sup> eius redderet, sciens quia Boemundum captiuum tenuerit, et omnem equitatum illius<sup>c</sup> attriuerit, in quo omnis spes Christianorum summa fiducia pendebat, alioquin non posse eum uiuere a facie Turcorum. Gaueras uero iactantiam Donimanni intelligens, nequaquam hiis minis ciuitatem se illi aperire fatetur, nec ullis eius obedire mandatis, dum adhuc uitam Baldwini principis ciuitatis Edisse uel Rohas incolumem<sup>d</sup> sciret, nec adhuc aliquot<sup>e</sup> infortunium illius uulgaretur. Donimannus ad hec, magnificus princeps Turcorum, hec audiens, in superbia magna locutus<sup>f</sup> uiro hec responsa dedit: 'Noli modo nimiam in eo habere spem aut fiduciam. Nam ipsum Baldwinum sicut Boemundum post paululum temporis spero me habiturum.'

<sup>d</sup> eo ACHN      <sup>e</sup> Malathinam N      <sup>f</sup> esse C      <sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> h om. A

28    <sup>a</sup> Rapto N      <sup>b</sup> manus C      <sup>c</sup> eius C      <sup>d</sup> incolumen H      <sup>e</sup> aliquod H  
<sup>f</sup> A adds est, et after locutus

<sup>31</sup> According to a Syrian source, Bohemond's motive for the journey in Aug. 1100 was not only to achieve an alliance with Gabriel of Melitene but also to marry his daughter Morphia (who was subsequently married to Baldwin II): Anon. Syriac, p. 74. Albert's account is corroborated by Matthew of Edessa, who reports that Gabriel was under siege by Danishmend, and he begged Bohemond to come to his assistance, promising to cede Melitene to him (ME, p. 176). Ibn al-Qalanisi, better informed about events the nearer they were to Damascus, says that Bohemond received news of Danishmend's arrival at Melitene in May/June 1100 while he was besieging Apamea. After he was captured with a few companions Danishmend sent messengers to Antioch demanding its surrender (IQ, pp. 49–50).

fact, as divine justice would have it, at that very time in August, Bohemond had gathered together three hundred knights and gone down towards the city of Melitene.<sup>31</sup> He had been invited to come to the assistance of the Christians by letters and a delegation from Gabriel,<sup>32</sup> an Armenian prince and lord of that town, because Danishmend,<sup>33</sup> a certain prince of the Turks, had laid siege to this distressed city with a strong company. Danishmend, therefore, when he heard of the arrival of Bohemond and his forces, and that he was not far away from the besieged city, took five hundred knights from his own army and met him on the plain of that region. He joined battle with him with an irresistible hail of arrows, until Bohemond's force was exhausted and the whole company was overcome: killed or put to flight and scattered.<sup>34</sup> Of these last, some were suddenly beheaded; others were taken alive and detained together with their prince Bohemond, and they were taken away into exile in Nixandria,<sup>35</sup> a town belonging to that same Turk, and were bound with iron chains.

28. Therefore, with Bohemond captured, and his kinsman Richard, and the other senior people of his household, Danishmend returned in great triumph to the city of Melitene with the spoils he had taken from them and the heads of the decapitated men. Knowing that he held Bohemond captive and had destroyed all his cavalry, on which all the Christians' hope depended with utmost confidence, Danishmend sent in advance a delegation to Gabriel, demanding that he deliver the town into his hands: otherwise Gabriel would not be able to live in the sight of the Turks. When Gabriel heard Danishmend's boast, he said he would certainly not open the town to him in response to these threats, nor obey any orders from him, until he knew that the life of Baldwin, prince of the state of Edessa, or Rohas, was still safe, and as yet no misfortune of his was generally known. Then Danishmend, magnificent Turkish prince, hearing this, spoke in great arrogance and gave the man this reply: 'Do not have too much hope or confidence in him, for I hope to possess that same Baldwin after a very short while, just like Bohemond.'

<sup>32</sup> Albert's 'Gaveras' is the Armenian Khoril, or Gabriel, who ruled Melitene to 1103.

<sup>33</sup> Malik Ghāzī, Dānishmendid ruler (1097–1105).

<sup>34</sup> According to Matthew, Bohemond's troops were caught completely by surprise, without armour or weapons, while Radulf of Caen says he was captured as a result of his own arrogance and rashness in provoking the Turks to battle (ME, pp. 176–7; RC, p. 705).

<sup>35</sup> Neocaesarea, modern Niksar (prov. Tokat, Turkey).

29. Inter hec nuncia Boemundus, totius salutis et uite diffusus, particulam capillorum<sup>a</sup> capitis sui signum captiuitatis sue et doloris clam per Syrum quempiam<sup>b</sup> Baldwino misit,<sup>36</sup> omnibus hoc Turcis ignorantibus, quatenus sine dilatione sibi subueniens, a manibus Turcorum cum excuteret, priusquam ad ignotas et barbaras terras illorum<sup>c</sup> perueniret. Baldwinus, iam tercia luce captiuitatis Boemundi transacta, assumptis centum quadraginta loricatis equitibus, descendit in campos ciuitatis Malatine ad excutiendum Boemundum confratrem in Christo, si ei prosperante Deo aliquo nisu<sup>d</sup> in loco oportuno cum Turcis committere ualeret. Sed Donimannus Baldwini aduentantis cognita audacia, et plurima illius militari uirtute, sine mora ab obsidione castra mouit, ac uersus mare Russie<sup>37</sup> in terram suam fugiendo cum omni equitatu suo diuertit, gaudens se Boemundum tam nominatissimum principem et caput Christianorum arripuisse, metuens<sup>e</sup> ne uiribus aut arte Christianorum illum omitteret.<sup>f</sup> Baldwinus uero fugam eius<sup>g</sup> intelligens, persecutus est illum<sup>h</sup> spacio 526 trium dierum. | Quem tandem<sup>i</sup> longius persequi dubitans propter dolos falsorum Christianorum, aut hostium insidias, et quia non multos habebat milites, Malatinam reuersus est. Gaueras itaque princeps ciuitatis benigne eum et in fide suscipiens, in manu et tutamine illius urbem reddidit, ac uniuersum thesaurum ciuitatis cum plurima ueste preciosa illi presentans, ut de hiis remuneraretur exorauit. Sed de omnibus sibi presentatis nihil suscipiens retinuit. Cognita igitur Baldwinus illius beniuolentia et fidei constantia, quinquaginta milites in urbe cum illo manere constituit, ad tuenda menia ciuitatis et retinenda, ipse uero cum ceteris Rohas regressus est. Post hec Donimannus, intellecto<sup>j</sup> tam metuendi principis ac militis recessu, readunatis uiribus iterato urbem Malatinam obsedit diebus multis, sed uiriliter a quinquaginta predictis tyronibus a Baldwino ibidem constitutis urbs defensa ab hostibus intacta et inuicta remansit, dum tandem Donimannus, bello fatigatus et longe obsidionis tedio affectus, Christianorum territus auxilio, urbem deseruit, et sic deinceps ab illius obsidione quieuit.

29 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> quendam N <sup>c</sup> eorum A <sup>d</sup> annisu A <sup>e</sup> H adds ac before  
 metuens <sup>f</sup> amitteret ACHN <sup>g</sup> illius A <sup>h</sup> eum ACHN <sup>i</sup> tamen ACHN  
<sup>j</sup> comperto ACHN

29. During this exchange of messages Bohemond, despairing of all safety and of life, secretly sent to Baldwin by way of a certain Syrian a single hair of his head, as a sign of his captivity and grief.<sup>36</sup> He sent it without the Turks' knowledge, so that Baldwin would come to his assistance without delay and would rescue him from the hands of the Turks before he arrived in their unknown and barbarous lands. On the third day of Bohemond's captivity Baldwin took a hundred and forty armoured knights and went down onto the plains of the town of Melitene to rescue Bohemond, his brother in Christ, if, with God on his side, he could by any means join battle with the Turks in a suitable place. But as Baldwin approached rapidly, Danishmend, knowing his courage and his great military strength, at once moved his camp away from the siege and turned away with all his cavalry towards the Russian Sea<sup>37</sup> for flight into his own land, rejoicing that he had seized Bohemond, so famous a prince and head of the Christians; fearing lest he lose him to the forces or skill of the Christians. Baldwin, indeed, learning of his flight, pursued him for three days. At last he hesitated to pursue him for longer on account of the tricks of false Christians or the ambushes of the enemy, and because he did not have many soldiers, and he returned to Melitene. Gabriel, therefore, prince of the town, received him kindly and in good faith and delivered the city into his hands and protection. He also presented the whole treasury of the town to him, with very many precious garments, and tried to persuade him to accept these things as repayment, but Baldwin did not accept or keep anything out of all the things presented to him. Therefore, because he knew of Gabriel's goodwill and reliability, Baldwin appointed fifty soldiers to remain in the city with him, to protect and keep the town walls; he himself, with the rest, went back to Edessa. After this, when Danishmend realized so fearsome a prince and soldier had retreated, he reassembled his forces and once again laid siege to the city of Melitene for many days, but the city was defended manfully from the enemy by the fifty recruits mentioned above whom Baldwin had stationed there, and it remained undamaged and unconquered, until at last Danishmend, tired of war and wearied by the long siege, and frightened off by the Christians' assistance, left the city, and thus it had a respite from his siege from then on.

<sup>36</sup> Fulcher has the same story, adding that the token was a prearranged signal between them (FC, pp. 347-8).

<sup>37</sup> The Black Sea.

30. Interea Baldwino Rohas a Malatina regresso, crudelis legatio ad eum facta est, scilicet quia frater eius uterinus Godefridus, princeps magnificus, Ierusalem obierit, et omne regnum terre illius morte tam pii dominatoris in populo Christiano iam desolatum fuerit. Hac tristi legatione audita, in nimios ploratus et lamenta cor Baldwini defluxit, sed tamen<sup>a</sup> ut uir mire abstinentie longe aliter simulauit ex karissimi fratris occasu, quam in eius corde esset.<sup>38</sup> Robertus<sup>b</sup> episcopus ciuitatis Ramnes uel Rama, et Robertus miles,<sup>39</sup> Gunterus<sup>40</sup> similiter huius legationis fuere nuncii, missi a Geldemaro Carpenel et Roberto filio Gerardi, et Rodolpho<sup>c</sup> de Monzon,<sup>d 41</sup> Iosfrido<sup>e</sup> camerario ducis,<sup>42</sup> Wirico Flandriense, Matheo dapifero illius, Wichero Alemanno, et ab<sup>f</sup> Arnolfo prelato templi Domini, in hunc modum nuncia deferentes: 'Milites et principes regni Ierusalem hactenus sub Christianissimo duce seruientes salutant te in nomine Iesu Christi filii Dei uiui, quorum decreto et consilio huc directi sumus, ut tibi notum sit quod frater tuus Godefridus dux et princeps Ierusalem ab hac luce subtractus est. Quapropter unanimiter te inuitant, ut festinato ueniens loco fratris regnum suscipias, et in throno eius sedeas, conspirauerunt enim se non alium recipere nisi fratrem aut uirum de sanguine illius, propter inestimabilem illius bonitatem, et nimiam largitatem, et propter iusiurandum quo firmauerunt se numquam pati alienigenam regnare aut sedere in throno Ierusalem.' | Baldwinus benigne legationi et uerbis eorum aurem adhibuit, promittens se post non multum temporis, rebus suis ordinatis, Ierusalem uelle descendere, et Deo prosperante<sup>g</sup> regnum consilio eorum<sup>h</sup> obtinere et<sup>h</sup> disponere.

31. Legatis dehinc in omni amoris dulcedine commendatis et Ierusalem repedantibus, Baldwinus dux ciuitatis Rohas in breui omnium suorum fidelium conuentum habuit, cuiusque uoluntatem eundi in Ierusalem singillatim requirens, cuiusque uero remanendi in regione Rohas. Similiter Baldwino de Burg uiro nobili generis<sup>a</sup> sui,

30 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> Rübertus C; Rubertus H <sup>c</sup> Rodulfo A; Rudolfo CN; Rüdolfo H  
<sup>d</sup> Munzon A <sup>e</sup> Ioffrido AN; Goffrido C <sup>f</sup> om. A <sup>g</sup> annuente A  
<sup>h h</sup> suscipere atque ACHN

31 <sup>a</sup> generi C

<sup>38</sup> As Fulcher put it: 'he grieved somewhat . . . but he rejoiced more' (FC, p. 353).

<sup>39</sup> Probably Robert of Rouen: see above, v. 42.

<sup>40</sup> Tentatively identified by Murray as Gundram, the associate of Wicher commemorated in John of Würzburg, 'Descriptio Terrae Sanctae', *Descriptiones terrae sanctae ex*

30. Meanwhile, on Baldwin's return to Edessa from Melitene he had received cruel news: that is, that his brother by birth Godfrey, that magnificent prince, had died in Jerusalem, and the whole domain of his land was now made desolate by the death of so godly a ruler among the Christian people. When he heard this sad message Baldwin's heart dissolved into very great weeping and lamentation, but nevertheless, as a man of remarkable self-control, he long pretended otherwise than was in his heart on account of his beloved brother's death.<sup>38</sup> Robert, bishop of the town of Ramnes or Ramla, and Robert the knight,<sup>39</sup> likewise Gunter,<sup>40</sup> were the bearers of this message, sent by Geldemar Carpenel and Robert the son of Gerard and Ralph of Mousson,<sup>41</sup> Joffrey the duke's chamberlain,<sup>42</sup> Wiric from Flanders, Matthew his steward, Wicher the Swabian, and by Arnulf the dignitary of the Lord's temple, and they delivered the news in this way: 'The knights and princes of the kingdom of Jerusalem, who were serving under the most Christian duke until now, greet you in the name of Jesus Christ, son of the living God. We are sent here by their decision and decree, to make known to you that your brother Godfrey, duke and prince of Jerusalem, has been taken from this light. For this reason they unanimously invite you to come at once and take over the kingdom in your brother's place and sit on his throne, for they have agreed that they will accept no other than his brother or a man of his blood, because of his inestimable goodness and very great generosity, and because of the vow which they made never to allow a foreigner to reign or to sit on the throne of Jerusalem.' Baldwin graciously gave a hearing to the delegation and their words, promising that he would go down to Jerusalem very soon, when his affairs were in order, and, with God's favour, obtain and make arrangements for the kingdom on their advice.

31. The delegates were then commended with all affection's sweetness and sent on their way back to Jerusalem, and Baldwin the governor of Edessa shortly held an assembly of all his loyal people, asking them individually who wanted to go to Jerusalem, and who wanted to stay in the region of Edessa. Likewise he sent letters to Baldwin of Bourcq, a noble man of his own family, son of Count

*saeculo VIII, IX, XII, et XV*, ed. T. Tobler (Leipzig, 1874), p. 155. See also Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 207.

<sup>41</sup> Probably a follower of Louis of Mousson (départ. Meurthe-et-Moselle, France): see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 223.

<sup>42</sup> Joffrey and Matthew are not known from other sources.



filio comitis Hugonis<sup>b</sup> de Roitest<sup>c</sup> castello litteras direxit,<sup>d</sup> quatenus ab Antiochia et conuentione solidorum sequestratus, descenderet ad terram et ciuitatem Rohas<sup>e</sup> uel Edisse,<sup>e</sup> et hanc in beneficio suscipiens, loco eius dominaretur, hostes debellaret. Omnem uero rem ei aperuit, de interitu<sup>f</sup> fratris sui Godefridi clarissimi principis, et qualiter a prepotentibus Ierusalem sit inuitatus ad possidendum regnum, et quoniam illuc post modicum iturus sit. Remansit enim<sup>g</sup> Baldwinus de Burg<sup>g</sup> ab Ierusalem et Ascalona cum ceteris profectus apud Boemundum in Antiochia usque ad diem hanc in obsequio militari et solidorum conuentione. Hiis ita<sup>h</sup> dispositis, ac<sup>i</sup> Baldwino de Burg ab Antiochia statuto tempore recepto, iamque in throno et maiestate ciuitatis Rohas collocato, Baldwinus, primus et magnificus frater ducis,<sup>j</sup> quadringentis equitibus egregiis contractis<sup>k</sup> cum mille peditibus, regia uia Antiochiam primum profectus est.<sup>43</sup> Huic uniuersi milites et custodes<sup>l</sup> ciuitatis ad salutandum occurrentes, ciuitatem<sup>m</sup> ei obtulerunt, si illius princeps et domnus fieri uoluisset. Illic quidem per tres dies in gloria et leticia requiescens, uniuersos ciues et custodes benigne super omnibus audiuit, ac<sup>n</sup> sapienter respondit, plurimum eos desperatos ex<sup>o</sup> amissione Boemundi consolatus, sed ex toto ciuitatem uice illius suscipere contradixit.<sup>p</sup>

32. Quarta uero die ab Antiochia procedens, in omni iocunditate  
 528 Laodiciam pa|cifice cum omni<sup>a</sup> apparatu suo descendit. Vbi<sup>b</sup> biduo  
 requie fruens, retardati ac subsequentis populi prestolabatur aduentum. Adunata siquidem illic uniuersa uirtute suorum, fama ad aures ipsius<sup>c</sup> perlata est, quoniam uniuersa<sup>d</sup> gentilitas tam Turcorum quam Sarracenorum e diuersis locis et terris congregata ad resistendum illi in faciem affutura esset, et quoniam illi uiam ulterius prohibere decreuissent. Ex sola etenim<sup>e</sup> ciuitate et regno Damascenorum uiginti milia Turcorum illuc in armis conuenisse referebantur,<sup>f</sup> ceterorum uero gentilium numerus nequaquam inuestigari potuit, pre illorum multitudine inestimabili.<sup>g</sup> Quapropter pars exercitus Baldwini formidine concussa<sup>h</sup> ac uite<sup>h</sup> diffusa, in silentio noctis fugam iniit, alii simulata infirmitate minime se abhinc sequi posse asserebant. Mane

<sup>b</sup> Hūgonis *H*      <sup>c</sup> Rortest *A*      <sup>d</sup> misit *A*      <sup>e</sup> *om.* *ACHN*      <sup>f</sup> obitu *ACHN*  
<sup>g</sup> *id.* *id.* *Balduinus ACHN*      <sup>h</sup> itaque *N*      <sup>i</sup> et *A*      <sup>j</sup> *ACHN add Godefridi after*  
 ducis      <sup>k</sup> contra cunctos *N*      <sup>l</sup> *Cui milites uniuersi custodesque ACHN*  
<sup>m</sup> urbem *ACHN*      <sup>n</sup> et *A*      <sup>o</sup> super *A*      <sup>p</sup> recusauit *A*

32      <sup>a</sup> toto *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> Ibi *A*      <sup>c</sup> illius *A*      <sup>d</sup> copiosa *ACHN*      <sup>e</sup> enim *A*  
<sup>f</sup> referuntur *A*      <sup>g</sup> innumerabili *A*      <sup>h</sup> uiteque *ACHN*

Hugh of the castle of Rethel, asking that he leave behind Antioch and service for money, and come down to the land and town of Rohas or Edessa; he would receive this land as fief and rule in Baldwin's place, and subdue the enemy. He revealed to him everything about the death of his brother Godfrey, most famous prince, and how he had been invited by the nobles of Jerusalem to take possession of the kingdom, and that he was going to go there in a short while. This same Baldwin of Bourcq, who had set out from Jerusalem and Ascalon with the rest, had stayed with Bohemond in Antioch until that day, in military service and for a money agreement. Having made these arrangements, when Baldwin of Bourcq had been welcomed from Antioch at the appointed time, and once he was established on the throne and in authority over the state of Edessa, Baldwin, first and magnificent brother of the duke, assembled four hundred distinguished cavalry with a thousand infantry and set out by the royal road, first to Antioch.<sup>43</sup> All the soldiers and the guards of the town ran out to greet him, and they offered him the state, if he had wished to become its prince and lord. At any rate he rested there for three days in triumph and happiness, and listened graciously to all the citizens and guards on all matters, and gave wise replies, comforting them very greatly, desperate as they were about Bohemond's loss, but he flatly refused to accept the town in Bohemond's place.

32. Setting out from Antioch on the fourth day, in all agreeableness he came down to Latakia peacefully with all his company. There he enjoyed two days' rest, waiting for the arrival of the people who were following but had been delayed. When in fact all his forces had been assembled there, a rumour reached his ears that the entire host of gentiles, as many Saracens as Turks, brought together from different places and lands, was in the field to oppose him face to face, and that it had decided to bar the road any further to him. For truly, from the city alone and the kingdom of Damascus twenty thousand Turks were reported to have come together there in arms; indeed the number of the rest of the gentiles could not in any way be discovered on account of their innumerable multitude. Because of this, a part of Baldwin's army, awestruck and despairing of their lives, took flight at dead of night; others pretended illness and claimed they could not follow Baldwin from here. In the morning

<sup>43</sup> Fulcher of Chartres describes the journey at first hand, FC, pp. 353-68.

autem facto, Baldwinus intelligens suum defluxisse exercitum, dolore nimio motus, nil tamen expauescens, uniuersos quos uoti sui compotes repperit,<sup>i</sup> sic adhortatur dicens: 'Video quoniam pre timore mortis et noui rumoris populus noster imminutus ac<sup>j</sup> dilapsus est, sed nihil congregatas nationes metuens, iter inceptum continuare non dubito. <sup>k</sup>Et ideo<sup>k</sup> eos qui remanserunt<sup>l</sup> in fide Christi ammoneo, ut mecum ituri Ierusalem,<sup>m</sup> nullo mortis periculo absterreantur, uerum constanti animo proficiscantur, totam spem suam <sup>n</sup>in Deo ponentes.' Qui uero dubitant, et formidolosi sunt, de loco hoc pedem mecum non mouentes, quo tutius illis uidetur reuertantur.<sup>o</sup> Hoc dicto, et uniuersis de uia inquisitis, unanimes et uic concordēs omnes qui aderant inuenit, sed cum ad Gibel descenderet<sup>p</sup> ibique pernoctaret,<sup>p</sup> de quadringentis equitibus et mille peditibus uix centum et<sup>q</sup> sexaginta equites ac quingenti<sup>r</sup> pedites cum eo remanserunt. Ceteri omnes pre angustia auditi aduentus Turcorum, ab eo dilapsi et dispersi sunt. Nil tamen formidinis habens Baldwinus a campis et regione Gibel pacifice processit, eo quod honorifice et cum mansuetudine a ciuibus sit susceptus in omni copia rerum necessariarum.

33. Dehinc Tortosam ciuitatem preteriens, ad <sup>a</sup>Tripolim uel Triplam<sup>a</sup> peruenit, quem princeps urbis fideliter suscepit, ac iocunde in omni amministratione ciborum quibus indigebat exercitus. Illic innotuit<sup>b</sup> quia Damascenorum rex, et Geneadoil,<sup>c</sup> <sup>44</sup>Sarracenorum princeps, de regione amplissima quam a camelis uocant Camollam,<sup>d</sup> <sup>45</sup>cui preerat  
 529 idem Geneadoil, et de uniuersis ciuitatibus que in litore | Palestini maris erant, et a montanis <sup>e</sup>et diuersis<sup>e</sup> locis conuenissent ad resistendum sibi in angustis faucibus et asperrimis scopulis ciuitatis Baril uel Baurim. Baldwinus hiis<sup>f</sup> minis et tam seuo rumore inperterritus, omnia in Christi nomine se tolerare profitetur, et numquam pro tot nationum milibus in unum collectis, iter suum in Ierusalem uelle differre, sed usque ad sanguinem et mortem cum illis dimicare. Hoc dicto, uiam per diem insistens nocte imminente ad radicem difficilium montium hospitandi gratia pernoctauit, ubi nunciatum est illi omnes proculdubio illuc conuenisse aduersarios

<sup>i</sup> repperit AHN    <sup>j</sup> et A    <sup>k</sup> Ideoque ACHN    <sup>l</sup> remanserant H    <sup>m</sup> A adds in before Ierusalem    <sup>n</sup> ponentes mecum in Domino Deo ACHN  
<sup>o</sup> descenderent N    <sup>p</sup> pernoctarent N    <sup>q</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>r</sup> quingentos N

33    <sup>a</sup> Tripolim AHN; Triplam C    <sup>b</sup> ACHN add ei after innotuit    <sup>c</sup> E has Geneadoil later    <sup>d</sup> All MSS have Camolla here, but Camulla later    <sup>e</sup> diuersisque ACHN    <sup>f</sup> hic H

when Baldwin realized that his army had drifted away, he was affected by a very great grief, yet he was not terrified and he thus encouraged all those whom he discovered shared his own wish, saying: 'I see that our people is diminished and dispersed for fear of death and of the latest rumour, but I have no fear of the assembled nations and I do not hesitate to carry on the journey we have begun. And so in Christ's faith I advise those who have remained that, as they are about to go with me to Jerusalem, they should not be deterred by the danger of death, but truly should set out with steadfast heart, placing all their hope in God. Those indeed who hesitate and are fearful, let them not move a foot from this place with me, but turn back to where it seems safer.' After this speech, and after everyone had been questioned about the expedition, he found all there of one mind and agreed on the journey, but when he went down to Jabala and spent the night there, out of four hundred cavalry and a thousand infantry scarcely a hundred and sixty cavalry and five hundred infantry were still with him. All the rest, from dread when they heard of the Turks' approach, had slipped away from him and scattered. Yet having no fear, Baldwin advanced peacefully from the plains and region of Jabala, because he was received with honour and courtesy by the citizens and was given plentiful supplies.

33. Then, bypassing the town of Tortosa, he arrived at Tripoli, or Tripla: the prince of the city received him in good faith and was happy to supply all the food which the army needed. There it became known that the king of Damascus and Geneadoil,<sup>44</sup> prince of Saracens, had come together from the very great region which they call Camolla,<sup>45</sup> from the camels there, where Geneadoil was in command, and from all the towns which were on the shore of the Palestine sea, and from the mountains and different places. Their intention was to resist him in the narrow passes and on the very rugged crags of the town of Baril or Beirut. Baldwin, undaunted by these threats and so fierce a rumour, declared that he endured everything in Christ's name, and he would never put off his journey to Jerusalem for fear of the thousands collected as one from so many nations, but would fight with them even to the point of bloodshed and death. Having said this, he pressed on through the day, and at nightfall he spent the night at the foot of some difficult mountains for the sake of shelter. It was announced to him there that all of his

<sup>44</sup> Fulcher's 'Ginahadoles', Janāh al-Dawla, amir of Homs, d. 1103.

<sup>45</sup> Modern Homs (Arabic Hims), Syria.

ad prohibendum transitum, et in crastino ad committendum prelium. Quapropter aliquantum<sup>g</sup> cor eius immutatum est, ac<sup>h</sup> renes eius dissoluti,<sup>46</sup> eo quod pauci uiri secum remansissent. Attamen, crastina luce exorta, dux Baldwinus in Domino Iesu confortatus iter inceptum peregit, quousque ad locum multitudinis aduersariorum peruentum est, ubi omnes uires illorum, sicut audierat, in occursum sibi parate erant. Hiis profecto compertis non procul abesse, media die flagrante,<sup>i</sup> armis, galeis, loricis<sup>j</sup> induuntur, lanceis uero strictis et uexillis erectis, obuiam per angustas fauces gentilibus<sup>k</sup> turmis contendunt, diu cum illis prelia conserentes<sup>l</sup> in locis artissimis. Tandem uirtus intolerabilis Turcorum, Sarracenorum<sup>m</sup> inualecens, Christianos cum principe suo Baldwino a faucibus in arcu et iaculis abegerunt. Post hanc diutinam contentionem, quoniam nox incumbabat, utrimque a prelio arma<sup>n</sup> continuerunt. Eadem nocte Baldwinus a radice montium aliquantum remotius<sup>o</sup> paucis tentoriis fixis pernoctauit, parce illic epulatus. <sup>p</sup>Vbi suis<sup>p</sup> consilium dedit, ne aliqui eorum ullomodo a se diuiderentur, donec omnis subsequens peregrinorum manus conueniret, <sup>q</sup>et sic<sup>q</sup> crastina luce sollerti prouidentia quodque periculum tutius inirent, ac pro nomine Iesu martyrium recipientes, nil tolerare dubitarent.<sup>r</sup>

34. Hiis ita decretis, et populo Christiano <sup>a</sup>Baldwino iuxta uerbum suum<sup>a</sup> consentiente, in ipsa nocte per montana mille ignes Turci, Sarraceni<sup>b</sup> suscitauerunt, et multo ampliores quam eorum indigeret exercitus, ad exterrendos populos<sup>c</sup> Christianorum. Geneadoil, princeps de Camolla, post suscitatos ignes intelligens a relatoribus exiguas uires Baldwini, conuenit regem Damasci, quatenus <sup>d</sup>in castris<sup>d</sup> fessos et somno occupatos inuaderent.<sup>e</sup> Sed displicuit ceteris principibus, hec<sup>f</sup> econtra referentibus: 'Non est utile et salubre consilium nobis Turcis, ut in umbra noctis prelium conseramus, ne a Sarracenis, qui  
530 nos semper odio habuerunt, | subito circumuenti occidamur, et tam spolia Francorum quam nostra auferantur. Sed si placet dum aurora diei orta fuerit differamus,<sup>g</sup> qua nos prouidere<sup>h</sup> usquequaque possimus.' Et sic consilium Geneadoil dissipatum est. Altera autem die

<sup>g</sup> aliquantum *A* <sup>h</sup> et *H* <sup>i</sup> flagrante *E* <sup>j</sup> *A* adds et before loricis  
<sup>k</sup> gentilibus *A* <sup>l</sup> crescentes *N* <sup>m</sup> *ACHN* add et before Sarracenorum <sup>n</sup> manus  
*ACHN* <sup>o</sup> remotus *ACHN* <sup>p</sup> *Suis inibi ACHN* <sup>q</sup> sicque *ACHN*  
<sup>r</sup> *ACHN* add aduersi after dubitarent

34 <sup>a</sup> iuxta uerbum Balduini *ACHN* <sup>b</sup> *ACHN* add et before Sarraceni  
<sup>c</sup> exercitus *A* <sup>d</sup> *om. A* <sup>e</sup> inuaderet *A* <sup>f</sup> *om. H* <sup>g</sup> disseramus *A*  
<sup>h</sup> peruidere *ACHN*

opponents had gathered in that place without doubt to bar his passage, and the following day to join battle. Thereupon his heart was somewhat affected, and his kidneys were dissolved,<sup>46</sup> because few men had stayed with him. Nevertheless at daybreak the following day Duke Baldwin, taking strength from Lord Jesus, carried on the journey he had begun, until he arrived at the place of the enemy host, where all their forces, just as he had heard, had prepared to meet him. When it was known for certain that these men were not far away, at high noon, they put on weapons, shields, and armour; with spears at the ready and standards on high they pressed on through narrow defiles to meet the gentile hordes, joining battle with them for a long time in the narrowest places. At last the irresistible strength of the Turks and Saracens was growing stronger, and they used bows and javelins to drive away the Christians with their prince Baldwin from the passes. After this long-drawn-out struggle, since night was falling, both sides held back their weapons from battle. That same night Baldwin was a short way away from the foot of the mountains and after a few tents were pitched he spent the night, eating there sparingly. He advised his men there that none of them should in any way be separated from him until the whole army of pilgrims who were following was assembled, and thus on the following day they would meet every danger more safely as a result of intelligent foresight and, accepting martyrdom for Jesus' name, they would not hesitate to endure anything.

34. After these things were resolved, the Christian people agreeing entirely with Baldwin's word, on that same night throughout the mountains the Turks and Saracens raised a thousand fires, many more than their army needed, to frighten the Christians. After the fires had been lit Geneadoil, prince of Camolla, since he knew from reports about Baldwin's meagre forces, suggested to the king of Damascus that he should attack them in the camp while they were weary and overcome by sleep. But this displeased the other princes, who replied thus: 'It is not good and sound advice to us Turks that we should join battle in the darkness of night, lest we should suddenly be surrounded and killed by the Saracens, who have always hated us, and our spoils as well as the Franks' should be carried off. But, if you like, we shall delay until daybreak, when we can look after our men on all sides.' And so Geneadoil's advice was wasted. When the next day dawned Baldwin,

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Ezek. 29: 7.

orta, Baldwinus sollicitus ac peruigil intelligens Turcos iam matutinos adesse, in quandam camporum planiciem post tergum relictam totum fidelium reduxit exercitum, acsi fugam inisset. Quod uniuersi gentiles uidentes et eum fugientem ac tremefactum estimantes, grauitur eos equis insecuti sunt, cum quingentis premissis equitibus et quindecim milibus peditum. At Baldwinus semper miles imperterritus, uidens<sup>i</sup> hostes se grauitur insequi, et iam per totam planiciem plurimum exercitus<sup>j</sup> descendisse, sine mora cum uniuersis catholicis militibus in freno equis reductis, Turcos uelociter incurrit, <sup>k</sup>et duro<sup>k</sup> certamine commisso, circiter quadringentos<sup>l</sup> Turcorum illic in gladio et<sup>m</sup> lancea et sagitta occisi sunt. Cetera multitudo que adhuc in faucibus subsequebatur, nec auxilio suis adesse<sup>n</sup> poterat pre angustia semitarum, nunc uite diffusa in fugam conuersa est.<sup>47</sup> Baldwinus sic uictoriam Dei gratia adeptus, quadraginta octo ex maioribus Turcorum in eodem captiuauit prelio, nil prede preter centum quinquaginta equos probatissimos contrahens, eo quod in altero latere angustarum faucium tota armenta cum spoliis et tentoriis gentilium remansissent. Finito autem hora nona tam graui prelio, Baldwinus in predicta planicie remanens, tentoria fixit, eo quod fons aque dulcis illic esset, <sup>o</sup>et melliti<sup>o</sup> saporis<sup>p</sup> calamelli, quibus refocilati sunt. Non amplius quam duo milites Walterus <sup>q</sup>Tahuns et Baldwinus<sup>q</sup><sup>48</sup> illic cecidisse reperti sunt, pauci uero uulnerati. Ibidem in tentoriis captiui constituti ac in custodia missi sunt. Vespere autem facto, Baldwinus cum suis recreatus in medio captiuorum resedit ad inquisitionem de qua origine aut parentibus essent, inter quos princeps ac<sup>r</sup> tetrarcha Damascenorum repertus est qui plurimum thesaurum pro uite<sup>s</sup> redemptione obtulisse perhibetur. Rex uero Damascenorum, Geneadoilque et uniuersi principes gentilium, audita suorum contritione, et plurimorum captione, Baldwini glorificatione, tota nocte diffugium fecerunt, metuentes ne mane facto altero in latere montium reperti, a Baldwino<sup>r</sup> audaci incurso<sup>u</sup> impetiti, capitali sententia punirentur, aut superati a Sarracenis regionis pro nichilo computati decollarentur.<sup>v</sup> Est enim mos Sarracene gentis, ut quoslibet nouos uictores timeant et obediunt,<sup>w</sup> uictos paruipendant et persequantur. Baldwinus igitur

<sup>i</sup> cernens ACHN      <sup>j</sup> exercitum A      <sup>k k</sup> duroque ACHN      <sup>l</sup> quadringenti ACHN      <sup>m</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>n</sup> prodesse H      <sup>o o</sup> mellitique ACHN      <sup>p</sup> saporis H  
<sup>q q</sup> et Balduinus Tauns ACHN      <sup>r</sup> et CHN      <sup>s</sup> A adds sue after uite      <sup>t</sup> Christianis ACHN  
<sup>u</sup> cursu A      <sup>v</sup> iugularentur A      <sup>w</sup> ACHN add eis after obediunt

<sup>47</sup> Fulcher has a vivid, apparently first-hand account of this battle which, however, does not essentially disagree with Albert's (FC, pp. 361-4).

anxious and wakeful, realized that the Turks were already at hand early in the morning, and he led the whole army of the faithful onto a certain level plain which had been left to the rear, as if he had taken flight. When all the gentiles saw this they thought the army was fleeing and scared, and pursued them closely on horseback, with five hundred cavalry sent in advance and fifteen thousand infantry. Thereupon Baldwin, always the undaunted knight, seeing that the enemy was pursuing him closely and that most of the army had already gone down over the whole plain, reined in the horses at once and met the Turks at speed with all the Christian knights. They engaged in a hard struggle, and around four hundred Turks were killed there by sword and lance and arrow. The remaining horde, which was still following in the passes and could not be of any assistance to their comrades because of the narrowness of the paths, now despaired of life and took flight.<sup>47</sup> Baldwin by the grace of God thus attained victory. He took prisoner forty-eight of the foremost Turks in that same battle; he took no booty except a hundred and fifty excellent horses, because all the herds had remained on the other side of the narrow passes with the spoils and tents of the gentiles. This very great battle finished, moreover, at the ninth hour, and Baldwin stayed on the aforesaid plain and pitched tents, because there was a spring of good water there and sweet-tasting sugar canes, with which they were refreshed. No more than two knights, Walter Tauns and Baldwin,<sup>48</sup> were found to have fallen there; a few indeed were wounded. In the same place the prisoners were put in tents and placed under guard. In the evening Baldwin, refreshed along with his men, sat down in the midst of the prisoners to question them as to their ancestry or families: a prince and ruler of Damascus was found to be among them, who is said to have offered a very great deal of treasure for ransoming his life. The king of Damascus and Geneadoil and all the princes of the gentiles, when they heard of their men's destruction and the capture of very many and Baldwin's triumph, dispersed all their troops that night, fearing lest when morning came they would be found on the other side of the mountain, be attacked by the Christians in a bold rush, and would suffer the supreme penalty, or they would be overcome by the Saracens of the region, reckoned as worthless, and beheaded. For it is the custom of the Saracen race that they fear any who are recent victors and obey them; they despise the vanquished and persecute them. Baldwin, therefore,

<sup>48</sup> These two are not named elsewhere.

fugam uniuersorum intelligens, orto sole, cum preda equorum, cum captiuis Turcis et spoliis castra mouit, ac Sydonem ciuitatem Gybelotque<sup>x 49</sup> pertransiens, sine obstaculo et periculo, Sur que est Tyrus declinauit, ubi commode hospicio et alimonia cum suis  
 531 refectus est. | Post hec Ptolomaidam que est Acra uel Accaron preteriens, nihil contradictionis aut aduersitatis ab ea uel ab ullis urbibus pertulit, propter uictoriam et famam quam de illo audierant. Et<sup>y</sup> sic pacifice Cayphas perueniens, in ea diebus aliquot pernoctauit.<sup>z</sup>

35. Nescius quippe totius doli, Tancradum illic reperire et alloqui feruebat, <sup>a</sup>et eius<sup>a</sup> consilio de rebus suis ubique agere. Sed Tancradus, omnia ignorans de aduentu Baldwini, Ierusalem profectus fuerat ad corrumpendos principes et custodes turris<sup>b</sup> Dauid, quatenus auunculus eius Boemundus aut ipse regnum obtineret. Omnia autem instinctu, auxilio et consensu patriarche faciebat. Audito itaque ibidem in urbe Cayphas dolo et uersucia Tancradi, que fiebat consensu Daiberti patriarche, Baldwinus uir illustris et prouidus Hugonem de Falkenberch,<sup>c 50</sup> Robertum quoque episcopum ciuitatis Ramnes que est Rama, super hiis compellat. Quos ex consilio suorum Ierusalem sine dilatione direxit, ut preuenirent uniuersum dolum, metuens ne turrim Dauid et regnum Ierusalem aliqua perfidia aut<sup>d</sup> promissione pecunie amitteret.

36. Hiis ita<sup>a</sup> profectis, quidam probi milites de domo ducis Godefridi, Rodulfus,<sup>b 51</sup> Geldemar, Wicherus Alemannus, Rodolfus de Montpinzon<sup>52</sup> in uia ciuitatis Cesaree qua Sarracenos persequiebantur fortuitu<sup>c</sup> illis occurrerunt, de aduentu Baldwini penitus ignorantes. Tunc primum illis a premissis fratribus res innotuit, quoniam Baldwinus loco fratris sui Ierusalem regnum obtinere aduenisset, et<sup>d</sup> Cayphas hospitio adhuc moraretur. Nec mora, audito tam egregii principis aduentu, et digno herede Ierusalem, gauisi sunt uniuersi,

<sup>x</sup> Gybilotque A; Gibelotque C; Gybeloth HN    <sup>y</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>z</sup> remoratus est A; moratus est CHN

35    <sup>a</sup> eiusque ACHN    <sup>b</sup> turres A    <sup>c</sup> Falchenberch A; Falkenberg HN. C has Falkenberch here, Falkenberg later    <sup>d</sup> seu CHN

36    <sup>a</sup> itaque N    <sup>b</sup> Rodolfus A; Rudolfus CHN    <sup>c</sup> fortuito ACHN    <sup>d</sup> atque ACHN

<sup>49</sup> Coming south down the Lebanon coast Baldwin would pass through Jubayl before Sidon.

<sup>50</sup> Also known as Hugh of Saint-Omer (dép. Pas-de-Calais, France), Hugh was later

knowing all had fled, struck camp at sunrise with his booty of horses, his Turkish prisoners, and spoils and, passing through the towns of Sidon and Jubayl<sup>49</sup> without hindrance and danger, he turned aside to Sur, which is Tyre, where he and his men were pleasantly refreshed by hospitality and nourishment. After this he bypassed Ptolomaida, which is Acre or Accaron, and he encountered no objection or opposition from that or from any city, on account of his victory and renown, of which they had heard. And thus arriving peacefully at Haifa, he spent some days and nights there.

35. Completely unaware of Tancred's treachery, Baldwin was eager to find him there and talk to him, and everywhere to act in his own affairs with his advice. But Tancred, knowing nothing about Baldwin's approach, had set out for Jerusalem to corrupt the princes and guards of the Tower of David so that his uncle Bohemond or he himself might receive the kingdom: he was doing all this, moreover, with the encouragement, the assistance, and the agreement of the patriarch. Therefore, when Baldwin heard in that place, in the city of Haifa, of Tancred's treachery and trickery, in which he was engaged with the agreement of Patriarch Daibert, he—a distinguished and farsighted man—briefed Hugh of Fauquembergues<sup>50</sup> and also Robert bishop of the town of Ramnes, which is Ramla, on these things. He sent them to Jerusalem at once, on his men's advice, so that they could prevent the whole coup, for he was afraid he might lose the Tower of David and the kingdom of Jerusalem by some treachery or promise of money.

36. After these men had set out thus, certain honest knights of Duke Godfrey's household who were completely ignorant of Baldwin's approach—Ralph,<sup>51</sup> Geldemar, Wicher the Swabian, Ralph of Montpinçon<sup>52</sup>—met them by chance on the road to Caesarea, along which they were pursuing the Saracens. Then the situation was first made known to them by their brothers who were sent in advance: that Baldwin had come to take possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem in place of his brother, and was still being entertained at Haifa. At once, when they heard of the approach of so distinguished a prince and

given the fief of Tiberias in succession to Tancred (d. 1106). See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 211–12.

<sup>51</sup> Probably Ralph of Mousson: see above, vii. 30.

<sup>52</sup> From Normandy (Lisieux, dép. Calvados, France), the son of William the Conqueror's steward of the same name. Orderic Vitalis relates that he died as a Jerusalem pilgrim (OV, iii. 164–7; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 223).

et commixtis<sup>c</sup> sociis et armis Iafeth, que est Ioppe, tetenderunt. Vbi Tancradum ab Ierusalem in ira reuersum, quia urbem intrare non poterat, in obsidione reperientes, nunciauerunt ei Baldwinum adesse  
 532 et regnum Ierusalem uelle obtinere. | Tancradus, audito tam proximo aduentu Baldwini, statim ab obsidione Ioppe surrexit, per aliam uiam Cayphas profectus, nolens recto itinere Baldwino a Cayphas reuertenti occurrere. Baldwinus uero a Caypha<sup>f</sup> procedens predictos milites de domo ducis Godefridi in occursum habuit, qui omnia sibi de Tancrado retulerunt, et <sup>g</sup>post hec<sup>g</sup> cum eo Ioppen<sup>h</sup> accelerantes per duos<sup>i</sup> dies continuos illic<sup>j</sup> cum eo<sup>j</sup> remorati sunt. <sup>k</sup>Post dies autem duos<sup>k</sup> ordinatis rebus in Ioppe cum omni clientela, <sup>l</sup>cum omni<sup>l</sup> preda quam adduxerat<sup>m</sup> de Baril, que est Baurim, cum quadraginta quinque captiuis militibus Turcorum Ierusalem ascendit, quos in presidio turris Dauid repositos caute iussit custodiri.

37. Quarta denique die postquam ascendit Ierosolimam, conuocatis uniueris magnis ac<sup>a</sup> paruis, de omni<sup>b</sup> cetu Christianorum, requisiiuit de supellectili fratris sui Godefridi, de armatura et pecunia eius, de beneficiis cuiusque militis ac prepotentis. Qui nihil se de rebus fratris eius<sup>c</sup> habere attestati<sup>d</sup> sunt, sed eas in elemosina<sup>e</sup> pauperum et soluendis debitis dispersas.<sup>f</sup> Beneficia uero prout cuique statuta erant de redditibus<sup>g</sup> ciuitatum protulerunt.<sup>53</sup> Ipse uero<sup>h</sup> omnia responsa illorum patienter accipiens, de rebus et armis aliquibus discussis sed excusatis obtinuit, singulis singula beneficia reddens, unde ab omnibus iureiurando firmatus, in throno Ierusalem potenter exaltatus gloriose resedit. Erat autem<sup>i</sup> tempus mensis Nouembris, circa festum beati Martini Turonici pontificis,<sup>54</sup> quando Baldwinus<sup>j</sup> Ierusalem ueniens, ab omnibus magnis ac<sup>k</sup> paruis rex et<sup>l</sup> domnus constitutus est. Sic collocato Baldwino gloriose <sup>m</sup>in throno<sup>m</sup> Ierusalem, uniueri principes et milites de domo ducis Godefridi conuenientes in eius presentiam in<sup>n</sup> hoc modo ei locuti sunt: 'Frater ducis Godefridi es, principis gloriosissimi ac nominatissimi, et ideo

<sup>c</sup> <sup>e</sup> commixtisque ACHN

<sup>i</sup> om. C <sup>j</sup> <sup>j</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>f</sup> Cayphas N

<sup>k</sup> <sup>k</sup> Dein ACHN

<sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> postea A

<sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup> et ACHN

<sup>h</sup> Iope A

<sup>m</sup> abduxerat

A; adduxerant N

37 <sup>a</sup> et ACHN

<sup>b</sup> uniuerso H

<sup>c</sup> sui C

<sup>d</sup> testati C

<sup>e</sup> elemosinas ACHN

<sup>f</sup> ACHN add esse before dispersas

<sup>g</sup> redditibus ACH

<sup>h</sup> autem ACHN

<sup>i</sup> om.

ACHN <sup>j</sup> E adds rex after Baldwinus

<sup>k</sup> et ACHN

<sup>l</sup> ac CHN

<sup>m</sup> <sup>m</sup> om. H

<sup>n</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>53</sup> Money fiefs were not unknown in the West; in the East they allowed the king closer control of defence and the nobles to acquire a money income—something more useful in

worthy heir to Jerusalem, everyone rejoiced, and, mingling companions and weapons, they made for Japheth, which is Jaffa, where they found Tancred laying siege: he had returned in anger from Jerusalem because he was unable to enter the city. They announced to him that Baldwin had arrived and wanted to take possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem. When Tancred heard of Baldwin's very near approach he at once arose from the siege of Jaffa; he set out by another route to Haifa, not wanting to meet Baldwin on the direct route as he returned from Haifa. Baldwin, indeed, as he marched from Haifa, met the knights of Duke Godfrey's household mentioned above, who reported to him everything about Tancred, and after that they made haste to Jaffa with him, and stayed there with him for two successive days. Moreover, after the two days, when his affairs were in order in Jaffa, he went up to Jerusalem with all his court, with all the booty he had brought from Baril, which is Beirut, and with forty-five captive Turkish knights, whom he put in the fortress of the Tower of David, and he ordered them to be guarded carefully.

37. Then, on the fourth day after he went up to Jerusalem, he called everyone together, great and small, from the whole assembly of Christians, and enquired about the household property of his brother Godfrey, about his equipment and money, and about the fiefs of each knight and noble. They affirmed that they had none of his brother's things, but that these had been dispersed in alms for the poor and to pay his debts; they quoted the fiefs according as they were appointed to each person from the revenues of the towns.<sup>53</sup> He patiently listened to all their replies and was silent on the subject of the possessions and weapons which had been dispersed but for which they had apologized, returning the fiefs individually to each person. Because of this he was confirmed on oath by all, and was raised powerfully onto the throne of Jerusalem, where he remained gloriously. Moreover, it was mid-November, around the feast of blessed Martin bishop of Tours,<sup>54</sup> when Baldwin came to Jerusalem and was appointed king and lord by all, both great and small. When Baldwin had thus been gloriously put on the throne of Jerusalem, all the princes and knights of Duke Godfrey's household came together in his presence and spoke to him in this way: 'You are the brother of Duke Godfrey, that most glorious



the East than in western Europe. See S. Runciman, *The Families of Outremer: The Feudal Nobility of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1291* (London, 1960), p. 5; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 21, 350. <sup>54</sup> 11 NOV. 1100.

uniuerse nationes gentilium in circuitu famam de te comperientes de<sup>o</sup> aduentu tuo tremefacte sunt, et<sup>p</sup> quia magnum te <sup>a</sup>et bellis<sup>q</sup> famosissimum intellexerunt. Quapropter decet te aliquid insigne insistere, quo terre gentilium stupeant, et ammirari eis non sufficiat, <sup>r</sup>et sic<sup>r</sup> nomen fratris tui, principis Ierusalem, in te reuiuiscet ac magnificabitur.<sup>r</sup>

- 533 38. Hiis<sup>a</sup> consiliis suorum auditis, Baldwinus terram Ierusalem et ciuitates in circuitu muniens custodia suorum,<sup>b</sup> centum quinquaginta<sup>c</sup> militibus et quingentis peditibus assumptis, ab urbe Ierusalem processit nona hora diei, et uespere facto hospitatus est iuxta fontes recentis aque, ubi montana terminantur. Post hec quinta die abhinc exurgens, ad urbem Ascalonam cum omni uirtute suorum descendit, in qua mille equites Arabite a Babylonia missi habitabant ad tuenda eius menia, ne noui principis uirtus subito<sup>d</sup> inprouisam irrumperet. Ibi milites ipsius Baldwini in tentoriis ante urbis menia fixis duobus diebus sine assultu consederunt. Sed<sup>e</sup> tertia die milites Arabite cum ciuibus crumpentes crebro cum eis prelia conseruerunt, donec tandem utrimque non modicam suorum contritionem pertulerunt. Post duos dehinc dies et plurimam stragem Sarracenorum<sup>f</sup> et grauem<sup>f</sup> Gallorum uulnerationem, rex Baldwinus ab urbis obsidione prudenti consilio sic suos reuocauit dicens: 'Hii aduersarii nostri in murorum protectione confisi, et plurima manu ciuium, facile aduersante fortuna creberrimis suorum auxiliis possunt preualere, nostri<sup>g</sup> incauti sagittis perire,<sup>h</sup> et ideo utile est consilium ut ab hac ciuitate nunc castra moueamus.'<sup>i</sup>

39. Dum<sup>a</sup> hec consilia inter se fierent, innotuit Baldwino quoniam inter deserta Ascalonis et Babylonie, in cauis subterraneis Azopart gens fedissima latens accubisset, ad disturbandos et perimendos peregrinos qui Ierosolimam proficisci disponebant.<sup>55</sup> <sup>b</sup>Baldwinus, hac

<sup>a</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>p</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>q</sup> bellisque ACHN

<sup>r</sup> sicque ACHN

38 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>b</sup> fideli ACHN

<sup>c</sup> E has lx, but the x appears to have been added

later <sup>d</sup> om. A

<sup>e</sup> At ACHN

<sup>f</sup> grauemque ACHN

<sup>g</sup> nostrates ACHN

<sup>h</sup> deperire A

<sup>i</sup> amoueamus A

39 <sup>a</sup> Cum C

<sup>b</sup> Qui mox hac gentis ACHN

<sup>55</sup> Fulcher of Chartres was present on this expedition, and his description of the bandits and of Baldwin's tactics in dealing with them is more prosaic. The expedition was into the area west and south of the Dead Sea, and he calls the inhabitants Saracens. Syrian Christians said they were robbers, and so after they were smoked out of their caves nearly a hundred of them were killed (FC, pp. 370-4). Guibert of Nogent describes the area as the slopes of Mount Sinai and the people as barbarians who resembled the Ethiopians. According to Guibert, Baldwin spared their lives because they were so wild and ugly (GN, p. 340). Both Albert and Guibert may have been influenced by Pliny, who included

and famous prince, and for that reason all the nations of the gentiles round about, hearing rumours about you, are terrified of your approach, and because they know you are great and very renowned in war. For this reason you should do some remarkable deed which will amaze the lands of the gentiles, and they will not be able to help wondering at it, and in this way your brother's name, that of prince of Jerusalem, will live again in you and be esteemed more highly.'

38. After listening to this advice from his men, and after securing the land of Jerusalem and the towns around it with a loyal garrison, at the ninth hour of the day Baldwin left the city of Jerusalem, taking with him one hundred and fifty knights and fifty infantry, and when evening fell he was quartered next to springs of fresh water, where the mountains end. After that on the fifth day he got up from there and went down with all his men's strength to the city of Ascalon, in which a thousand Arab cavalry, sent from Egypt, were living to guard its walls, in case the new prince's forces might suddenly and unexpectedly invade. There Baldwin's soldiers sat for two days in the tents they had pitched before the city walls, without attacking. But on the third day the Arab soldiers, who burst out with the townsmen, repeatedly joined battle with them, until at length both sides suffered considerable destruction of their men. Then after two days and a very great slaughter of Saracens, and severe wounding of Gauls, on wise advice King Baldwin called back his men thus from the siege of the city, saying: 'These opponents of ours rely on the protection of the walls and a very great company of townsmen, so unfortunately, having very abundant assistance from their own people, they can easily prevail, while our careless men can be destroyed by arrows, and so it is sound advice that we should now move the camp away from this town.'

39. While they were consulting among themselves about these things, Baldwin found out that between the deserts of Ascalon and Egypt, in the underground caves of Ethiopia, a most revolting people lay hidden in order to throw into confusion and destroy the pilgrims who decided to set out for Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup> Knowing the wickedness of

among the peoples of Africa both Ethiopians and cave-dwellers who ate snakes and had no language (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* v. 45). The caves may well have been those of Beth Guvrin (Arabic Bayt Jibrin), about halfway between Ascalon and the Dead Sea, which were originally quarries but were occupied from the late Roman period through the Arab conquest: see A. Kloner, 'Beth Guvrin', *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavation in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern, A. Lewinson-Gilboa, and J. Aviram, 4 vols. (Jerusalem and New York, 1993), i. 195–201, at pp. 198–201.

gentis Azopart<sup>b</sup> impietate cognita, castra mouit ab Ascalona, et caua predicta suo obsedit exercitu. Quibus flamma inmissa, 'expertus est' utrum pre nimia angustia fumi et caloris prodirent a cecis et inauditis antris. Sed de omnibus nulli egressi sunt preter duos <sup>d</sup>coram Baldwinum assistentes,<sup>d</sup> si forte 'ab eo' misericordiam et uitam inuenirent. Baldwinus, hos intuens uiros horridos ac<sup>f</sup> squalidos, amica affabilitate eos compellat super omnibus que de eis<sup>g</sup> audierat. Ac<sup>h</sup> uestibus preciosis eos adornans, de gente et cognatione eorum requi|rit. Qui<sup>i</sup> interrogati<sup>j</sup> uniuersa sibi aperientes, et misericordem eum sibi arbitantes, obnixè rogant<sup>k</sup> ut unus<sup>l</sup> eorum cum Baldwino maneret, alter ad caua et nota loca,<sup>m</sup> quatenus socios, perplexa<sup>n</sup> domo ac<sup>o</sup> mirabili arte atque<sup>p</sup> inuestigabili fossa inclusos, produceret in conspectu tanti<sup>q</sup> principis, si forte et ipsi gratiam in oculis eius inuenirent. 'Et ingressus' foueam, uestes et munera Baldwin<sup>r</sup> ostendens, et de eius benigna susceptione loquens, ilico decem ex<sup>s</sup> consociis eduxit ad<sup>t</sup> presentiam ducis et eius optimatum. Interea alter<sup>v</sup> qui cum Baldwino remanserat dum alter in foueam rediit a pueris Baldwin<sup>w</sup> decollatus est. Similiter socius qui uana spe et promissione honestarum uestium decem produxerat ex cauernis, clanculum amotus, in momento decollatus est cum nouem. Decimus uite reseruatur,<sup>x</sup> quem tota strages sodalium latebat. Hunc Baldwinus seorsum tollens, et honorificis ac mollibus indumentis opertum fidei<sup>y</sup> sermone demulcens, protinus illexit cum quatenus rediens ad subterratos<sup>z</sup> sodales, eos prodire hortaretur, asserens illos se benigne tractare, "donis magnis<sup>a</sup> honorare, quin omnia loca regionis illis in beneficio concedere, et eorum consiliis uniuersa agere. Hiis promissionibus miser seductus et illectus, ad caua reuersus, cum ueste preciosa, omnia complicibus suis retulit de principis affabilitate ac<sup>b</sup> largitate, et ampliora quam audisset, credens socios amotos ac decollatos uiuere, ac<sup>c</sup> missos ad tuendas ipsius Baldwin<sup>i</sup> ciuitates.

<sup>c</sup> c experiri uoluit ACHN <sup>d</sup> d qui et coram eo steterunt ACHN <sup>e</sup> e om. ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> f et H <sup>g</sup> g hiis N <sup>h</sup> h Et ACHN <sup>i</sup> i ACHN add secundum quod after Qui  
<sup>j</sup> j ACHN add sunt after interrogati <sup>k</sup> k deprecantur ACHN <sup>l</sup> l alter ACHN  
<sup>m</sup> m ACHN add rediret after loca <sup>n</sup> n ACHN add de before perplexa <sup>o</sup> o om. ACHN  
<sup>p</sup> p ac ACHN <sup>q</sup> q om. ACHN <sup>r</sup> r Ingressus itaque A; Ingressusque CHN <sup>s</sup> s regis  
ACHN <sup>t</sup> t de ACHN <sup>u</sup> u in ACHN <sup>v</sup> v is ACHN <sup>w</sup> w ducis ACHN  
<sup>x</sup> x reseruatus E <sup>y</sup> y suo ACHN <sup>z</sup> z subterraneos H <sup>a</sup> a donisque magnificis  
ACHN <sup>b</sup> b et A <sup>c</sup> c et ACHN

this people of Ethiopia, Baldwin moved camp from Ascalon and besieged the aforesaid caves with his army. He tested them by sending in fire, to see whether they would come out from their blind and extraordinary caves in response to so much pressure of smoke and heat. But of them all none emerged save two, and they stood in Baldwin's presence, hoping somehow they might find mercy from him, and life. Baldwin, contemplating these rough and uncouth men, used friendly courtesy to extract from them information about the things he had heard of them. And, dressing them in expensive clothes, he enquired about their people and kin. After this they were interrogated and they revealed everything to him and, judging him sympathetic to them, they pleaded with all their might that one of them should stay with Baldwin, while the other returned to the caves and places he knew, so that he might lead his fellows from their obscure home where they were enclosed by a wonderful bulwark and an unfathomable ditch, out into the view of the great prince, to see if they too could thus find favour in his eyes. And one entered the pit holding out the king's garments and gifts and speaking of his gracious reception, and he led out instantly ten of his comrades into the presence of the duke and of his nobility. Meanwhile, the one who had remained with Baldwin while the other returned into the pit was beheaded by Baldwin's young men. In the same way his fellow, who had led forth ten from the caverns by offering false hope and promising handsome clothes, was secretly removed and in a moment was beheaded with nine more. The tenth was kept alive and the entire slaughter of his comrades was concealed from him. Baldwin took this man on one side, clad him in soft and flattering garments, cajoled him with confiding conversation, and right away he seduced him into returning to his underground comrades and urging them to come forth, claiming he would treat them well and would honour them with great gifts; indeed, he would grant all the places in the region to them in fief, and do all things according to their advice. The wretched man was seduced and led astray by these promises; he returned to the caves with precious clothing and reported to his confederates everything about the prince's kindness and generosity, and more things than he had heard, thinking that his fellows who had been removed and beheaded still lived and had been sent to protect the towns of this same Baldwin.

40. Azopart inestimabili et inuestigabili cauatione subterrati, bonam promissionem socii audientes, "minasque Baldwini" deinde promissa eius<sup>b</sup> magnifica, ad triginta processerunt. Qui coram ipso principe assistentes, benigne ex ore eius suscepti sunt, 'sed statim<sup>c</sup> a conspectu eius<sup>d</sup> abducti, quasi munera accepturi, omnes capitalem subierunt<sup>e</sup> sententiam, preter unum qui solus cum Baldwino ex omnibus triginta remansit. Hunc igitur<sup>f</sup> solum<sup>g</sup> ex triginta<sup>g</sup> mirifico honore<sup>h</sup> et amore<sup>h</sup> tractauit, nescium cedis consodalium, quem pariter<sup>i</sup> ad antra predicta<sup>j</sup> remisit, quatenus honores et munera ipsius subterratis uiris referret, <sup>k</sup>et eos eadem<sup>k</sup> spe captos<sup>l</sup> a suo presidio exire hortaretur. Sic et sic <sup>m</sup>uana spe illusi, <sup>m</sup>ducenti et<sup>n</sup> uiginti processerunt, omnes sine dilatione iussu Baldwini<sup>o</sup> decollati, eo quod maxima mala peregrinis Ierosolimam transeuntibus intulissent, alios expoliantes, alios trucidantes, <sup>p</sup>et tantum<sup>p</sup> scelus semper inultum remansisset, <sup>q</sup>et nullus eos<sup>q</sup> e<sup>r</sup> specu hoc <sup>s</sup>antea arte uel ui eicere potuisset. <sup>s</sup>Hiis uero<sup>t</sup> ducentis uiginti decollatis, 535 ac nequitia sua<sup>u</sup> in ca|pita eorum reddita<sup>56</sup> ingenio Christianissimi principis in ultionem<sup>v</sup> peregrinorum, solummodo femine et pueri eorum in cauis remanserunt, cum spoliis peregrinorum.<sup>w</sup> Qui necem suorum intelligentes, <sup>x</sup>eo quod nullus eorum ultra ad eos<sup>x</sup> redierit, minime exire ausi sunt. Quapropter Baldwinus uehementer aduersus eos indignatus ligna, stuppas ac stipulam ante os cuiusque specus iussit comportari et incendi, quousque calore et fumo exire cogerentur. Tandem hac fumi et caloris immanitate oppresse matres <sup>y</sup>et pueri,<sup>y</sup> quibus uirorum uirtus<sup>z</sup> defecerat, licet inuiti processerunt, ac statim militibus in predam dati ac<sup>a</sup> diuisi sunt. Quorum cum matribus alii precio redempti <sup>b</sup>sunt, alii cum matribus decollati.<sup>b</sup>

41. "Post hec Baldwinus" ad castellum quod dicitur ad sanctum Abraham profectus,<sup>b</sup> iuxta flumina fetentia Sodome et Gomorre hospitio retardatus requieuit, in cibo et equorum pabulo magnam illic sustinens indigentiam. Ibidem uero<sup>c</sup> dum montana perlustrarent

40    " " minas quoque ACHN    <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN    " " statimque ACHN    <sup>d</sup> illius ACHN    " subiere ACHN    <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN    " " om. ACHN    <sup>h</sup> <sup>k</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> etiam ACHN    <sup>j</sup> om. N    <sup>k</sup> <sup>k</sup> eosque ipsa ACHN    <sup>l</sup> om. A    <sup>m</sup> <sup>m</sup> illusi  
uanis spebus ACHN    <sup>n</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>o</sup> principis ACHN    <sup>p</sup> <sup>p</sup> tantumque  
ACHN    <sup>q</sup> <sup>q</sup> eo quod nullus ACHN    <sup>r</sup> de H    <sup>s</sup> <sup>s</sup> eos antea ui seu qualibet arte  
potuisset eicere ACHN    <sup>t</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>u</sup> eorum A    <sup>v</sup> ultione ACHN  
<sup>w</sup> plurimorum ACHN    <sup>x</sup> <sup>x</sup> quoniam nullus ad eos ultra ACHN    <sup>y</sup> <sup>y</sup> cum pueris  
ACHN    <sup>z</sup> solamen ACHN    <sup>a</sup> et ACHN    <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> alii uero (uiro N) pariter  
decollati sunt ACHN

41    " " Baldwinus post ista profectus ACHN    <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN

40. The men who lived underground in the unknown and secret diggings beneath Ethiopia heard the fair promise of their companion, and Baldwin's threats, then his wonderful promises, and some thirty came forth. When they were in the presence of that same prince they were received by him with kind words, but at once they were taken from his sight, as if they were going to receive gifts, and they all suffered the capital sentence, except one who alone out of all the thirty remained with Baldwin. This lone man from the thirty was treated with wonderful honour and love, and he knew nothing of the slaughter of his comrades. Baldwin sent him likewise to the aforesaid caves to report his honours and gifts to the underground men, and to urge them to come out from their fortress as prisoners in hope of the same. Thus, yet again deluded by false hope, two hundred and twenty came forth and all were at once beheaded on Baldwin's order, because they had caused very great harm to pilgrims journeying to Jerusalem, plundering some, slaughtering others, and this very great crime had always remained unpunished, because no one previously had been able to drive them out of this cave by skill or by force. When these two hundred and twenty had been beheaded, and to avenge the pilgrims their wickedness had been repaid on their heads<sup>56</sup> by the ingenuity of the most Christian prince, only their women and children remained in the caves, with the pilgrims' spoils. When these knew of the murder of their men, because not one of them ever returned to them, they did not dare to go out. Because of this Baldwin was violently angry with them, and he ordered wood, tow, and straw to be brought in front of the mouth of every cave and set alight, so that they would be forced by the smoke and heat to emerge. At length, overwhelmed by the fierceness of the smoke and heat, the mothers and children, who lacked the strength of the men, came out, albeit reluctantly, and at once they were given to the soldiers as booty and separated. Some of the children were ransomed with their mothers; others indeed were beheaded with their mothers.

41. After that Baldwin set out to the castle which is called St Abraham's; he made a stop and rested next to the stinking rivers of Sodom and Gomorra, suffering there a serious lack of food and of fodder for the horses. In that same place, while they were traversing the mountains to search out supplies, it was made known to them by

<sup>56</sup> Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 25: 39; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 2: 44.

ad inuestiganda necessaria, innotuit<sup>d</sup> eis a quibusdam incolis quoniam si paulo procederent, ad locum qui dicitur Palmarum,<sup>57</sup> plurimas opes et copias ciborum reperirent, quibus cum equis suis recreari possent. 'Hec quidam iuuenes<sup>e</sup> audientes circiter quadraginta ab exercitu Baldwini<sup>f</sup> clam subtracti precucurrerunt,<sup>g</sup> ut pecuniam et predam<sup>h</sup> contraherent, sed nihil preter alimenta et plurimam uenationem inuenerunt,<sup>i</sup> quibus uentrem impleuerunt. Nihil<sup>j</sup> uero uini aut alicuius poculi preter fontes dulcium aquarum biberunt. Illic quidem in loco Palmarum refocilati, exurgentes ad montana Arabie uenerunt.<sup>k</sup> Quibus superatis, inter duos apices montium hospitati sunt. Vbi nocte necessariis cibus, quos uehiculis mulorum, camelorum, asinorum attulerant, sufficienter recreati sunt, nihil prorsus illic reperientes preter aquas recentes. Hec montana 'et eorum<sup>l</sup> difficiles scopulos artasque fauces spacio dierum quinque superauerunt graui labore et inestimabili, <sup>m</sup>quousque sexta<sup>m</sup> die montanis permensis, in extremo illorum cacumine maxima pertulerunt pericula, in grandine horribili, "in glacie terribili," in pluuia et niue inaudita. Quarum<sup>o</sup> immanitate et horrore ingruente, ad triginta homines peditum illic pre frigore mortui sunt.

- 536 42. Post hec<sup>a</sup> montium ac difficilium scopulorum pericula in uallem descendentes, per diem continuum in equis residentes, planiciem perambulauerunt,<sup>b</sup> et uespere in 'uillam quandam opulentissimam<sup>c</sup> castrametati, cum principe suo Baldwino hospitio <sup>d</sup>et rebus<sup>d</sup> necessariis refecti sunt. Ibi quidam exploratores ex<sup>e</sup> Sarracenis ad promerendam gratiam tam magnifici principis et uitam impetrandam affuerunt, qui ciuitatem iuxta sitam, Susumus nomine,<sup>58</sup> rebus nimium locupletem, ipsi principi propalauerunt et hanc facile occupari posse et expugnari. Baldwinus hiis intellectis quinta die a uilla predicta exiens ad ciuitatem Susumus uespere descendit. Sed domos et omnia loca ciuitatis uacua reperiens, ibidem potenter hospitio quieuit. Audito namque illius aduentu, uniuersi gentiles a regione et ciuitate hac fugerant, eo quod sine muro hec ciuitas infirma

<sup>d</sup> intimatum est ACHN      <sup>e e</sup> Quod iuuenes quidam ACHN      <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>g</sup> precucurrerunt A      <sup>h</sup> predas ACHN      <sup>i</sup> om. A      <sup>j</sup> Nil ACHN      <sup>k</sup> peruenerunt ACHN  
<sup>l</sup> eorumque ACHN      <sup>m m</sup> sexto uero ACHN      <sup>o o</sup> om. A  
<sup>o</sup> Quorum H

42      <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>b</sup> pertransierunt ACHN      <sup>c c</sup> uilla quadam opulentissima ACHN  
<sup>d d</sup> rebusque ACHN      <sup>e</sup> de ACHN

certain inhabitants that if they went on a little to the place which is called 'of palms',<sup>57</sup> they would find very great riches and plenty of food, with which they could be refreshed along with their horses. When certain youths heard this, about forty secretly left Baldwin's army and ran on ahead, so they could take the money and booty, but they found nothing except food and a very great quantity of game, with which they filled their stomachs. Indeed, they drank no wine or any other drink except springs of sweet water. Those who had refreshed themselves there in the place of palms recovered and came to the mountains of Arabia. They climbed these and they camped between two mountain peaks, where they were adequately refreshed at night by food supplies which they had brought in carts drawn by mules, camels, and donkeys, finding absolutely nothing there except fresh water. They climbed these mountains, with their steep crags and narrow defiles, for five days, with great and incalculable exertion, until on the sixth day while they were traversing the mountains they suffered the greatest dangers on their highest peak: terrifying hail, dreadful ice, unheard-of rain and snow. The severity and horror of the weather assailed them and some thirty of the foot soldiers died there from the cold.

42. Going down into the valley after the dangers of the mountains and steep crags, they spent the whole day on horseback as they crossed the plain, and in the evening they pitched camp in a certain very rich estate where they and their prince Baldwin were restored by hospitality and supplies. There were certain scouts from the Saracens there in the hope of earning the favour of so magnificent a prince and preserving their lives, and they made known to the prince a town situated nearby, Susumus by name,<sup>58</sup> which was excessively rich in possessions and could easily be overcome and conquered. When Baldwin heard these things, he left the aforesaid estate on the fifth day and in the evening he descended to the town of Susumus. But, finding the homes and all the places of the town empty, he took over the place and stayed there. For when they heard of his approach all the gentiles had fled from the district and the town, because they

<sup>57</sup> WT says they went via Engaddi (Arabic 'Ayn Ġidi), and then to a little place called Segor (Arabic Qasr al-Tuba): p. 463. Mayer identifies the latter as Albert's 'place of palms': *Montréal*, p. 245.

<sup>58</sup> In an extended note to his edition of Fulcher of Chartres, H. Hagenmeyer identified Susumus as Ma'an and the 'villa opulentissima' to the north as Udruh: see FC, pp. 382-3 n. 25; R. Fazy, 'Baudouin 1<sup>er</sup> à Petra', *Journal Asiatique*, ccviii (1936), 475-82. However, Mayer identifies Susumus as Wādī Mūsā: *Montréal*, p. 183.

haberetur. In hac siquidem per octo dies sine impedimento et aliquo incurso inimicorum secunda quiete corpora sua curauerunt, singulis diebus gentiles in circuitu persequentes, et plurimos repertos ense trucidantes. Nona deinde die clarescente, ex precepto Baldwini urbs<sup>f</sup> Susumus attrita et combusta est. Spolia uero ciuitatis in armentis et ceteris rebus ubique diripientes, per aliam regionem que est in montanis diuertentes, loca propalata Sarracenorum depopulati sunt, predas ab uniuersis locis contrahentes. Tandem post dies octo, diuersis angustis et difficultate locorum, interdum fame grauati, ad predicta<sup>g</sup> fetentia flumina reditum parauerunt. Et ad uillam Palmarum uenientes, nihil alimonie preter fructum dactilorum repperunt quibus corpora fessa et escis ieiuna recreauerunt.

43. Dehinc per<sup>a</sup> castellum quod dicitur ad sanctum Abraham repedantes, uia qua uenerant in<sup>b</sup> Ierusalem reuersi sunt tertia die ante natale Domini nostri Iesu Christi.<sup>59</sup> Illic cum patriarcha et cunctis optimatibus suis consilio habito, Bethleem natale Domini celebrare decreuit, ubi eadem die sancta et sollempni consecratus et in regem Ierusalem unctus, in magna gloria coronatus est. Noluit enim nec presumpsit in Ierusalem<sup>c</sup> diademate auro uel gemmis precioso |  
537 exaltari, adornari et in regem promoueri, ubi Dominus<sup>d</sup> Iesus<sup>e</sup> rex regum et dominus dominantium humiliatus et obediens usque ad mortem<sup>60</sup> pro mundi redemptione spinis horridis et acutis coronatus est. Proxima autem die a Bethleem migrans, Ierusalem reuersus, curiam ac consilium suum<sup>f</sup> cum omni primatu suo in palatio regis Salomonis tribus diebus eiusdem sollempnitatis tenuit, honorifice quindecim diebus illic in ciuitate regia moram faciendo. In hiis itaque diebus potenter sedit rex in throno suo, ut faceret iudicium et iusticiam inter Christianos confratres, si cui illata fuisset iniuria, uel si qua accreuisset discordia, uolens omnia cum equitate tractare, et non ficta pace componere.

44. Geldemar ergo uidens domnum regem consedissee ad iusticiam, assistens coram eo grauiter conquestus est super iniuriis que sibi a Tancrado inferebantur de ciuitate Cayphas, quam dono et ex manu

<sup>f</sup> urbis H      <sup>g</sup> prefata ACHN

43    <sup>a</sup> ad A      <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> ACHN add urbe before Ierusalem      <sup>d</sup> N adds  
noster after Dominus      <sup>e</sup> N adds Christus after Iesus      <sup>f</sup> om. N

<sup>59</sup> This would be 22 Dec. 1100, but FC has 21 Dec. ('die quo solstitium hiemale accidit'), FC, pp. 383-4 and n. 31. WT adopts the same date as FC: 'xii Kal. Jan., die festo S. Thomae apostoli' (WT, p. 463).

considered this town was weak, being without a wall. In this place, in fact, the Christians cared for their bodies for eight days in peace and quiet, without hindrance or any enemy attack; they pursued the gentiles in the vicinity every day and put to the sword very many whom they found. Then when the ninth day brightened, the city of Susumus was destroyed and burnt on Baldwin's orders. Seizing everywhere, indeed, the spoils of the town in herds and other things, they turned aside to another district in the mountains, and they devastated the known places of the Saracens, taking booty from all parts. At length, after eight days, oppressed by various problems and the difficulty of the terrain, and sometimes by hunger, they made ready their return to the aforesaid stinking rivers. And coming to the estate of the palms, they found no nourishment save the fruit of the date palms, with which they refreshed their weary and famished bodies.

43. Then, retreating through the castle which is called St Abraham's, they returned to Jerusalem, using the route by which they had come, on the third day before the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>59</sup> There Baldwin took counsel with the patriarch and all his nobles, and he decided to celebrate Christmas in Bethlehem, where on that same holy and solemn day he was consecrated and anointed king of Jerusalem and was crowned in great glory. For he was unwilling and did not presume to be exalted and wear a diadem of gold or with precious stones, and to be made king in Jerusalem, where Lord Jesus, King of kings and Lord of lords, was brought low and subject even to death<sup>60</sup> for the redemption of the world, and was crowned with terrible and sharp thorns. Moreover, the next day he returned from Bethlehem to Jerusalem and he held court and council with all his nobility in the palace of King Solomon for three days of the same festival, delaying there in the royal city for fifteen days as a mark of honour. And so in these days the king sat on his throne in authority, to dispense law and justice among his Christian brothers, if there had been wrong done to anyone, or if any quarrel had arisen, wanting to handle all things fairly and not to settle them with a false peace.

44. Geldemar, seeing the lord king had sat to dispense justice, came into his presence and complained bitterly about the wrongs inflicted on him by Tancred, concerning the town of Haifa which he had

<sup>60</sup> Phil. 2: 8.



ducis Godefridi suscepit, et<sup>a</sup> militari obsequio promeruit si caperetur, <sup>b</sup>et quam<sup>b</sup> nunc Tancradus audita morte ducis ui et iniuste retinebat. Hac itaque Geldemari accepta querimonia, rex consilio suorum primum Tancrado legationem direxit, quatenus Ierosolimam ascens, responsionem super querimoniis Geldemari et iniuriis ei illatis faceret. Tancradus autem nullam se de hiis responsionem coram illo habiturum respondit, eo quod nesciret eum regem ciuitatis et iudicem regni Ierusalem.

45. Rex uero, iterato consilio suorum, illi secundo ac tercio legatos direxit, quatenus iusticiam non deuitaret, ne posthac aliquis incusaret regem, <sup>a</sup>nec fateretur<sup>a</sup> aliter quam iuste et patienter regem aduersus confratrem et unum de principibus Christianorum fecisse. Tandem Tancradus anxius quid ex<sup>b</sup> tertia ammonitione<sup>c</sup> ageret, consilium cum suis iniit, quatenus inter Iafeth et Assur, altera ex ripa fluminis quod has duas ciuitates diuidit, regi responderet ac loqueretur, si<sup>d</sup> ei gratum foret, quoniam Ierusalem uenire metuebat. Rex autem responsum ac precatum Tancradi intelligens, ex consilio maiorum suorum uoluntati illius adqueuit, et die statuto ad eundem locum fluminis inter Iafeth  
 538 et Assur | ad colloquium profectus est. Illic diuersis consiliis inter se habitis rursum post quindecim dies Cayphas conuenire decreuerunt, eo quod nihil hoc tempore diffinire<sup>e</sup> potuissent. Et sic Tancradus cum patriarcha Cayphas, rex Ierusalem reuersus est. Interea modico interuallo legatio ab Antiochia Tancrado directa est ab optimatibus Boemundi, quatenus ad eos descendens, loco Boemundi quia heres illius esset regnum Antiochie possideret.<sup>f</sup> Tancradus, super hoc inito consilio, Antiochiam proficisci decreuit, sed tamen diem statutum prestolari disposuit, <sup>g</sup>quo cum rege colloquium Cayphas habiturus esset,<sup>g</sup> ne si ante diem proficisceretur, in obprobrium fuge sibi imputaretur. Itaque, die statuto, ibidem Cayphas rex et Tancradus ad colloquium conuenerunt, ubi ambo concordēs et amici facti sunt, omni querimonia exclusa, et non solum terram et ciuitatem Cayphas, sed etiam arcem et terram Tabarie, quam dono ducis Godefridi obtinuit, in manu ipsius reddidit, eo quod essent de regno Ierusalem,

44 <sup>a</sup> ac ACHN <sup>b b</sup> quamque ACHN

45 <sup>a a</sup> ne faceretur N <sup>b</sup> de N <sup>c</sup> monicione N <sup>d</sup> acsi N <sup>e</sup> definire H  
<sup>f</sup> obtineret A <sup>g g</sup> om. A

received as a gift even from Duke Godfrey's hand, and had earned by military service if he should capture it, and which Tancred since he heard of the duke's death was now holding back by force and unjustly. When he received Geldemar's complaint the king, on advice from his men, first sent a legation to Tancred requiring him to come up to Jerusalem so that he could reply concerning Geldemar's complaints and the wrongs done to him. Tancred, however, answered that he was not going to make any reply concerning these things in Baldwin's presence, because he would not recognize him as king of the city and judge of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

45. So the king, after another council of his men, sent messengers to him a second and third time, saying that he would not evade justice, lest someone should find fault with the king thereafter and should assert that the king had acted otherwise than justly and patiently towards his brother and one of the princes of the Christians. At length Tancred, worried as to what he should do after the third summons, took counsel with his men and said that if it would please Baldwin he would reply to the king and speak to him between Jaffa and Arsuf, from the other bank of the river which divides these two towns, since he was afraid to come to Jerusalem. The king, moreover, understanding Tancred's reply and his request, on the advice of his nobles acceded to his wish and on the appointed day set out to that same point on the river between Jaffa and Arsuf for the talk. There, when they had consulted on various matters, they decided to meet again at Haifa after fifteen days, because they had been unable to decide anything at this time. And so Tancred returned with the patriarch to Haifa, the king to Jerusalem. Meanwhile, after a short time a legation was sent to Tancred from Antioch by Bohemond's nobles, asking him to come down to them and take possession of the kingdom of Antioch in the place of Bohemond, since Tancred was his heir. Tancred took advice on this and decided to set out for Antioch, but nevertheless he arranged to wait for the appointed day on which he was to have talks with the king at Haifa, in case he should be accused of the disgrace of flight if he set out before then. Therefore, on that very day, the king and Tancred met at Haifa for talks, and both became allies and friends there, all complaint put aside, and Tancred returned into the king's hands not only the land and city of Haifa, but also the fortress and land of Tiberias, which he had received as a gift of Duke Godfrey, because they belonged to the

aperiens ei<sup>h</sup> legationem Antiochie. Verumtamen hec conditio in omni concordia a Tancrado firmiter indicta est, ut si post annum et menses tres ab Antiochia rediret, in beneficio terras et ciuitates sub rege obtineret, si autem non esset sibi reditus infra predicti temporis terminum, nequaquam ultra terras et ciuitates has a rege uellet repetere.<sup>i</sup> Hiis utrimque in magna karitate concessis, rex sub eadem conditione terras et ciuitatem suscipiens, Hugoni de presidio Falkenberch Tabariam in custodia<sup>j</sup> et beneficio tradidit, Cayphas uero Geldemaro Carpenel reddidit, sic tamen fide seruata, ut, Tancrado post prefatum terminum reuertenti, omnia in eius potestatem dono regis redderentur. Post hec decreta et pacem compositam, rex Ierusalem secessit, Tancradus uero cum omni suo equitatu et manu quingentorum peditum per aridam usque in Antiochiam descendit.<sup>k</sup>

46. Non aliqua dehinc mora, rex Ierusalem patriarcham de perfidia quam egerat cum Tancrado <sup>a</sup>aduersus eum<sup>a</sup> ne dignus heres Godfrido succederet, sed Boemundus externus sanguis<sup>b</sup> possideret, coram<sup>c</sup> omni ecclesia interpellauit, eo quod de hoc scelere multum a suis optimatibus crimineretur, obiciens ei iam ipsam fraudem esse detectam in litteris per Morellum Boemundo transmissis, sed in uia ablatis, qui notarius ac secretarius ipsius erat. Hec contentio et discordia inter regem et patriarcham adeo de die in diem cepit magis ac magis inualescere, ut tandem Baldwinus rex illius feritate et pertinacia indignatus, | apostolicum ac Romanum pontificem Pascalem<sup>d 61</sup> ad iudicium et iusticiam appellaret, et<sup>e</sup> discussionem tam nefande traditionis et suscitandi homicidii ac discordie quam deprehensis litteris inter Christianorum comprimores et nouam<sup>f</sup> et teneram<sup>f</sup> ecclesiam idem patriarcha fieri omnibus modis elaborauit.

47. Pascalis uero pastor sancte Romane ecclesie, et in toto orbe terrarum Christiane religionis ac fidei examinatus, Baldwini precibus et sancte Ierosolimitane ecclesie satisfaciens, consilio fidelium fratrem Mauricium,<sup>62</sup> unum de duodecim cardinalibus, legatum sancte Romane ecclesie, Ierosolimam proficisci destinauit, ut uice domni

<sup>h</sup> et N      <sup>i</sup> recipere N      <sup>j</sup> custodiam N      <sup>k</sup> ACHN add ut eam susciperet after descendit

46      <sup>a</sup> aduersum se ACHN      <sup>b</sup> sanguinis H      <sup>c</sup> A adds regnum before coram  
<sup>d</sup> Paschalem ACHN      <sup>e</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>f</sup> teneramque ACHN

<sup>61</sup> Paschal II, pope 13 Aug. 1099–21 Jan. 1118.

<sup>62</sup> Cardinal-bishop of Porto, sent as legate by Pope Paschal.

kingdom of Jerusalem, and he revealed to the king the legation from Antioch. Nonetheless, in all friendship these terms were forcefully imposed by Tancred: that if he returned from Antioch after a year and three months he would receive the lands and cities as a fief held from the king; if, however, his return was not within the stated time limit, he would no longer have any claim at all on these lands and cities from the king. After these concessions had been agreed by both sides in great affection, the king receiving the lands and city on those terms, he handed over Tiberias to Hugh of the castle of Fauquembergues for him to guard as a fief; he returned Haifa, indeed, to Geldemar Carpenel, yet he kept faith that if Tancred returned after the agreed time all things would be handed over into his power by gift of the king. After these things were decreed and peace made, the king withdrew to Jerusalem; Tancred went down with all his cavalry and a company of five hundred infantry through the desert all the way to Antioch.

46. Not long after this the king charged the patriarch of Jerusalem in the presence of the whole Church concerning the treachery he had practised with Tancred against him: he had claimed that Baldwin was not a worthy heir to succeed Godfrey, but that Bohemond, who was not of his blood, should possess the kingdom. He did this because the patriarch was widely accused of this crime by his nobility. He reproached him with the deception already detected in letters sent to Bohemond by way of Morellus, who was the patriarch's secretary and confidant, but stolen on the way. This dispute and discord between the king and the patriarch began to grow stronger and stronger from day to day, to such a degree that at last King Baldwin was angry at the man's fierceness and obstinacy, and he appealed to the apostolic and Roman pope Paschal<sup>61</sup> for judgement and justice and an examination of so wicked a betrayal and incitement to murder and discord which, from the captured letters, this same patriarch had worked in all ways to promote between the Christians' leaders and the new and tender Church.

47. Paschal, indeed, minister of the holy Roman Church and examiner of the Christian religion and faith in the whole world, responding to the entreaties of Baldwin and the holy Church of Jerusalem and on the advice of the faithful, appointed Brother Maurice,<sup>62</sup> one of the twelve cardinals, to set out for Jerusalem as legate of the holy Roman Church, so that after that same patriarch



apostolici ipsum patriarcham pro merito et culpa discussum, aut excusatum in cathedram episcopalem sanciret,<sup>a</sup> aut uictum et iuste condempnatum apostolica sententia eum<sup>b</sup> deponeret ac feriret. Itaque, iussu domni apostolici, frater Mauricius Ierosolimam profectus est, Baldwinum regem uniuersamque ecclesiam in uerbo domni apostolici salutauit, benedictionem dedit, audire in omni iusticia<sup>c</sup> et ueritate regem et filios sancte ecclesie Deo obedientes se asseruit, et mala omnia in bonum apostolica auctoritate uelle<sup>d</sup> commutare. Baldwinus rex et omnis ecclesia fidelium gratias Deo super hiis retulerunt, et se in omni iusticia et ueritate apostolicis mandatis obedire responderunt.

48. "Non mora dehinc,<sup>a</sup> die statuto, concilio<sup>b</sup> fidelium collecto, episcoporum abbatumque, in audientia omnium qui aderant, et presentia legati sancte Romane ecclesie, patriarcham assistentem Baldwinus rex reum periurii, traditionis regni Ierusalem, homicidii, ut a Boemundo occideretur in uia qua a Rohas Ierosolimam ascenderet, deprehensis litteris criminando, imputando, astruxit, sub testimonio totius sancte<sup>c</sup> Ierosolimitane ecclesie, et ideo non posse eum<sup>d</sup> ultra episcopari, nisi ab hiis ualeat expurgari. Qui minime de omnibus sibi illatis calumniis ualens hoc tempore excusari, et precipue de sacrilegio ligni sancte crucis, quam partim minuit ac dispersit, suspensus est a diuino officio. Dateque ei adhuc sunt inducie, si forte aliquam excusationis uiam reperire possit.<sup>e</sup>

540 49. Inter hec diuersa negocia mensis Martius suo ordine cepit referri, ieiunium quadragesimale obseruari, dies sollempnis Pasche propinquare,<sup>a</sup> in quo crisma et oleum infirmorum necesse est sanctificari. Hac igitur die reconciliationis et sanctificationis olei et<sup>b</sup> crismatis exorta, qua Dominus Iesus cum discipulis suis cenauit,<sup>63</sup> cardinalis Rome<sup>c</sup> in montem Oliueti, quo id sacramentum crismatis et olei compleri solet, ascendit, alba stola et idoneis uestibus ad tam deificum opus peragendum est<sup>d</sup> indutus, in nullo patriarcham adesse consentiens. Patriarcha nempe<sup>e</sup> Daibertus uidens se officio suo

47 <sup>a</sup> sanciret *A*; sanctiret *E* <sup>b</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> custodia *N* <sup>d</sup> uellet *N*

48 <sup>a</sup> " Nulla deinceps mora *ACHN* <sup>b</sup> consilio *N* <sup>c</sup> om. *A* <sup>d</sup> *N* adds posse after eum <sup>e</sup> posset *ACHN*

49 <sup>a</sup> appropinquare *A* <sup>b</sup> ac *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>d</sup> om. *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> itaque *A*; namque *CHN*

<sup>63</sup> 18 Apr. 1101.

had been examined as to merit or blame he would either be acquitted, in which case Maurice, in his apostolic master's place, would consecrate him in his episcopal office, or defeated and justly condemned, in which case he would depose and punish him by apostolic verdict. Therefore, by order of his apostolic master Brother Maurice set out for Jerusalem; he greeted King Baldwin and the whole Church in the words of his apostolic master; he gave the blessing; he declared that he was listening in all justice and truth to the king and the sons of the holy Church who were obedient to God, and that he wanted by his apostolic authority to change all evil things into good. King Baldwin and all the Church of the faithful gave thanks to God for these things, and replied that they would obey the apostolic commands in all justice and truth.

48. Then, without delay, on the appointed day, when the council of the faithful was assembled, of bishops and abbots, in the hearing of all those who were there, and in the presence of the legate of the holy Roman Church, by accusing and imputing with the intercepted letters, according to the evidence of the whole Church of Jerusalem, King Baldwin charged the patriarch who stood before him with being guilty of perjury, of betraying the kingdom of Jerusalem, and of murder (seeing that Baldwin might have been killed by Bohemond on the road by which he went up from Edessa to Jerusalem), and he said that for this reason he could no longer be consecrated as bishop, unless he was able to clear himself of these things. At this time it was not possible to absolve the patriarch in respect of all the accusations against him, and especially of sacrilege against the wood of the Holy Cross, which he had partly chopped up and dispersed, and so he was suspended from divine office. And furthermore an adjournment was granted to him, in the hope that he could find some way of being exonerated.

49. While all this was going on the month of March began to withdraw in good order, the Lenten fast to be observed, and the festival of Easter to draw near, at which it is necessary for the chrism and oil for the sick to be sanctified. Therefore, when this day of reconciliation and sanctification of oil and chrism dawned, on which Lord Jesus took supper with his disciples,<sup>63</sup> the cardinal of Rome climbed the Mount of Olives, where this sacrament of chrism and oil is always performed, wearing the white robe and proper garments to carry out so godly a task, but not allowing the patriarch to attend at all. So naturally Patriarch Daibert, seeing that he was deprived of his

priuari, quo<sup>f</sup> ea die uniuersi patriarche sui antecessores in eodem monte Oliuarum solito more utebantur, crisma<sup>g</sup> et oleum consecrantes, humilis et supplex cum lacrimis regem<sup>h</sup> conueniens, instare cepit ne hac die tam leuiter ac<sup>i</sup> uiliter ab officio suo expelleretur, et sic in ore omnium peregrinorum haberetur. Rege autem plurimum<sup>j</sup> resistente,<sup>k</sup> et plurima illi obiciente que idem aduersum se<sup>l</sup> presumpserat, sicut anxius ei magis ac magis instabat precibus,<sup>m</sup> rememorans qualiter ab eo unctus et in regem creatus sit. Sed nec sic eum rege audiente, talentum ei trecentorum bysantiorum obtulit in secreto auris sue. Quo corruptus rex, in omnibus deinceps petitioni patriarche adqueiuit. Et ideo tam grandis pecunie promissione rex gauisus est,<sup>n</sup> quia plurima<sup>o</sup> defectione angustiat, hac modo indigebat ad remunerandum suorum militum laborem, ilico surrexit, fratrem Mauricium conuenit, sic ei in hec uerba locutus:

50. 'Frater Maurici, hec ecclesia nostra rudis adhuc tenera habetur, quapropter nolumus, nec placet prudentioribus nostris, nec<sup>a</sup> in consilio nostro repperimus, ut Ierusalem tam subito sua iusticia priuetur, et patriarcha tam celebri die a suo officio destituatur, sicque discordia hiis paschalibus diebus in confusionem peregrinorum et gloriationem gentilium inter nos oriatur. Idcirco constanter te petimus, ut nos qui sanguine nostro hanc sanctam ecclesiam detinuimus, et<sup>b</sup> usque ad mortem pro ea dimicauimus, audire non recuses, nec<sup>c</sup> rem de patriarcha a nobis propalatam hoc tempore grauiter accipias, donec uiderimus quorsum excusatio illius tendat, uel quem finem accipiat. Tempus enim non effugiet, quin satis ad equitatem iudicii de omnibus redeamus. Et hac de causa, | quia placet  
541 uniuersis fidelibus, rogamus te quatenus concedas ei<sup>d</sup> ut hoc tempore<sup>d</sup> officio suo episcopali utatur, crisma et oleum ipse sanctificet, peregrinis de longinquis regnis huc profectis indulgentiam et reconciliationem faciat, iuxta ritum sancte Ierosolimitane ecclesie. Post sollempnitatem uero<sup>e</sup> sancti<sup>f</sup> pasche, quod in summa karitate<sup>g</sup> et concordia<sup>g</sup> nunc oportet celebrari,<sup>h</sup> tuo consilio decreuimus de illo agere, ita ut aut expurgatus<sup>i</sup> in statu suo permaneat, aut conuictus episcopali dignitate priuetur.'

<sup>f</sup> quod A      <sup>g</sup> chrisma E      <sup>h</sup> om. N      <sup>i</sup> et A      <sup>j</sup> multum ACHN  
<sup>k</sup> obsistente A      <sup>l</sup> om. A      <sup>m</sup> om. A      <sup>n</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>o</sup> plurimum ACHN

50      <sup>a</sup> neque ACHN      <sup>b</sup> om. N      <sup>c</sup> neque ACHN      <sup>d d</sup> hoc tempore ut A  
<sup>e</sup> om. N      <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>g g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> celebrare A      <sup>i</sup> excusatus A

office, which all the patriarchs, his predecessors, had been accustomed to perform on that same Mount of Olives, consecrating chrism and oil, met the king humbly and entreated him with tears and began to urge that on this day he should not be expelled so frivolously and cheaply from his office, and so be the subject of gossip for all the pilgrims. The king, however, resisted him firmly and made many objections to him, citing things which the patriarch had dared to do against him, so accordingly the patriarch was worried and urged him more and more with entreaties, calling to mind how Baldwin had been anointed and made king by him. But when the king still did not listen to him he offered him by way of a secret word in his ear the large sum of three hundred bezants. The king was seduced by this and he then acquiesced in all things to the patriarch's request. And the king rejoiced at the promise of so much money for this reason: because he was greatly distressed by lack of money and he was in need of it just now to pay for the labour of his soldiers. So he sprang up instantly, came to Brother Maurice and spoke to him in these words:

50. 'Brother Maurice, this Church of ours is still young and weak, and for this reason we are unwilling, and our wiser men do not wish, and we do not find it in our counsel, for Jerusalem to be bereft of its justice so suddenly, and the patriarch deprived of his office on so illustrious a day; nor for discord to arise among us on these Easter days to the confusion of the pilgrims and the gloating of the gentiles. For that reason we steadfastly ask you that you will not refuse to hear us, who have held this holy Church with our blood, and have fought for her to the very death, and that for the moment you will not treat seriously the affair concerning the patriarch which we made known, until we have seen what direction his defence takes, or what sentence he receives. For time will not slip by without our coming sufficiently to the fair dealing of justice in all things. And for this reason, because all the faithful wish it, we ask you to allow him at this time to enjoy his episcopal office, to sanctify the chrism and oil himself, to render indulgence and reconciliation for the pilgrims who have travelled here from distant kingdoms, according to the ritual of the holy Church of Jerusalem. After the ceremony of holy Easter, which should now be celebrated in greatest love and friendship, we have decided to accept your judgement concerning the patriarch, so that either he will be acquitted and stay in his position, or found guilty and deprived of his episcopal rank.'

51. Hiis et hiis blandiciis cardinalis flexus, in omnibus uoluntati regis optimatumque cessit, et officiali indumento exutus, patriarcham permisit consecrare crisma et oleum; et<sup>a</sup> sollempne pascha in omni diuino officio celebrare.<sup>64</sup> Ab illo siquidem die et deinceps, patriarcha et cardinalis in summa amicitia coniuncti sunt, facientes sibi cumulos ex fidelium oblationibus ciborum uinique plenitudine nocte ac die in locis remotis perfruentes, omnia tamen hec rege ignorante.<sup>65</sup> Interea hec concordia in eodem mense Martio inter regem et patriarcham dum fieret, et terra silueque amota hieme reuiuiscerent, dies prolongari inciperent, serenitas aeris magis ac magis clarescere, ecce nuncia uniuersarum ciuitatum gentilium in palatio regis affuere, quedam in dolo, quedam in puritate regem salutantia in donis ac tributis. Pacem namque cum eo componere querebant, quatenus sine respectu periculi et metus, in negocia sua secure terram perambulant, agros et uineas sine formidine excolerent. Rex sicut qui nouus aduenerat et multis indigebat thesauris in conuentione solidorum militum suorum, omnia que sibi offerebantur a ciuitatibus gentilium, Ascalona,<sup>b</sup> Cesarea, Ptolomaida, Sur, que est Tyrus, suscipere concessit,<sup>c</sup> sed Assur<sup>d</sup> et eius<sup>d</sup> munera refutauit. Ceteris usque post terminum sancti pentecostes pacem et securitatem a se suisque largitus est.

52. Vix termino pacis huius mediato, predictae ciuitates regi Babyloniorum nuncia hec direxerunt, nisi<sup>a</sup> in breui eis subueniret, Francos de regno<sup>b</sup> Ie|rusalem eiceret, se in manu regis illorum<sup>c</sup> ex summa necessitate oportere reddi, eo quod ultra Christianis resistere non ualerent. Rex uero Babyloniorum, summa necessitate suarum urbium intellecta, uniuersis ciuibus et ammiraldis hanc legationem<sup>d</sup> et solatium<sup>d</sup> remisit, quod sine aliqua mora, collectis armorum copiis, uniuersis ciuitatibus suis subueniret. Hec<sup>e</sup> nuncia et consilia omnia regem Baldwinum latebant, et uniuersos fideles qui in regno Ierusalem habitabant.

53. Interea a Damasco frequens legatio Turcorum Ierusalem ad regem descendit, de<sup>a</sup> redemptione suorum captiuorum, quos in

51 <sup>a</sup> ac ACHN <sup>b</sup> Ascalonia H <sup>c</sup> consensit ACHN <sup>d d</sup> eiusque ACHN

52 <sup>a</sup> ACHN add quia before nisi <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> eorum A <sup>d d</sup> solatiumque ACHN <sup>e</sup> ACHN add autem after hec

53 <sup>a</sup> pro H

<sup>64</sup> 21 Apr. 1101

<sup>65</sup> Albert seems to confuse the events of 1101 with 1102, when Daibert was actually

51. The cardinal, swayed by this coaxing speech and that, yielded in all things to the wish of the king and his nobles, and he took off the robes of office and allowed the patriarch to consecrate the chrism and oil and to celebrate the Easter ceremony in all divine office.<sup>64</sup> From that day, in fact, and from then on, the patriarch and cardinal were joined in greatest friendship, heaping up for themselves the offerings of the faithful, and enjoying to the full an abundance of food and wine night and day in remote places, but the king knew nothing about these things.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, in that same month of March when peace was made between king and patriarch, and the land and forests were coming to life again as winter was banished, the days were beginning to get longer, the fair weather was becoming brighter and brighter, and messages began to arrive in the king's palace from all the gentiles' cities, some in trickery, some in purity, greeting the king with gifts and tribute. For they were seeking to make peace with him so they might travel safely through the land on business without consideration of danger and fear, and cultivate their fields and vineyards without dread. The king, as one who had newly arrived and was lacking much treasure for paying his soldiers, agreed to accept everything offered to him by the gentile cities of Ascalon, Caesarea, Acre, and Sur (which is Tyre), but he refused Arsuf and its gifts. On the rest he bestowed peace and security on his own and his men's behalf until after the end of holy Whitsuntide.

52. Scarcely halfway through this truce, the aforesaid cities sent these messages to the king of Egypt: unless he came to their assistance quickly and drove out the Franks from the kingdom of Jerusalem, they would be forced to give themselves into the hands of the Frankish king, for they could no longer resist the Christians. The king of the Egyptians, indeed, realizing the dire necessity of his cities, sent back to all the citizens and amirs this legation and consolation: that without any delay at all he would gather supplies of weapons and come to the aid of all his cities. All these messages and advice were kept secret from King Baldwin and all the faithful who lived in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

53. Meanwhile a Turkish legation repeatedly came down from Damascus to the king in Jerusalem, concerning the ransoming of

suspended by the papal legate: see B. McGinn, 'Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The piety of the First Crusaders', in B. K. Lackner and K. R. Philip, eds., *Essays in Medieval Civilization* (Austin, Tex., 1978), pp. 33-72, at 35.

artissimis faucibus Baurim superatos captiuauit, et Ierusalem adductos<sup>b</sup> reclusit in custodia turris Dauid.<sup>66</sup> Qui consilium iniit cum optimatibus suis, ut pro captiuis precium susciperet,<sup>c</sup> eo quod in terra noua et ignota plurima indigeret pecunia in<sup>d</sup> conuentione solidorum. Et sic<sup>e</sup> uniuersis quadraginta quinque captiuis quibus colla amputare decreuerat nunc pepercit, pecuniamque<sup>f</sup> inauditam, supra quinquaginta milia bysantium auri, suscipiens, uniuersos<sup>g</sup> uiuos et incolumes, a manicis et catenis solutos et<sup>h</sup> de turri Dauid eductos,<sup>i</sup> pacifice in terram Damascenorum remisit.

54. Eodem tempore mensis Martii classes<sup>a</sup> Genuensium ac Pisanorum ab Italia nauigio appulse Ioppen anchoras fixerunt, et illic pascha Domini operientes, tandem Ierusalem uenerunt ad celebrandam ipsam diem Dominice resurrectionis.<sup>67</sup> Hac<sup>b</sup> cum omni religione celebrata, regem adierunt, summopere precantes ut quam uellet ciuitatem gentilium occupare et expugnare eis<sup>c</sup> liceret. Rex igitur, desiderium eorum intelligens, Assur obsideri per mare et aridam constituit. Ipse ergo et omnis uirtus illius ab Ierusalem mouens, in arida<sup>d</sup> urbem et eius menia cinxit, Pisani et Genuenses in litore maris nauigio exitum illorum obseruabant. Vix tertia die obsidionis expleta,<sup>e</sup> ciues Assur<sup>f</sup> pacem cum rege componere querebant, quatenus salua uita<sup>g</sup> et<sup>h</sup> sanis<sup>g</sup> menbris cum rebus suis ab urbe exire eis liceret,<sup>i</sup> ciuitatem uero in manu regis reddere ac relinquere. | Rex quidem consilio suorum pepercit uiris, pacifice eos prodire permittens, cum omnibus que collo deferre poterant, et usque in Ascalonam<sup>j</sup> conductum eis sine respectu periculi largitus est. Ipse uero ciuitatem ingressus cum uniuersa multitudine equitum et peditum per dies octo illic requieuit, et consilia de reliquis ciuitatibus cum domno patriarcha et optimatibus regni sui egit.

55. Placuit tandem<sup>a</sup> uniuersis quatenus<sup>a</sup> Cesaream mitteretur legatio regis, ammiraldo et primis ciuitatis, ut regi ciuitas<sup>b</sup> redderetur, alioquin eam obsideri certum haberent, et si ui caperetur uniuersos in ea repositos in ore gladii occidi. Ammiraldus et uniuersi<sup>c</sup> habitatores ciuitatis responderunt in hec uerba: 'Absit a nobis ut nos et

<sup>b</sup> abductos *H*    <sup>c</sup> acciperet *A*    <sup>d</sup> pro *A*    <sup>e</sup> Sicque *ACHN*    <sup>f</sup> et pecuniam *ACHN*    <sup>g</sup> omnes *ACHN*    <sup>h</sup> ac *ACHN*    <sup>i</sup> eiectos *ACHN*

54    <sup>a</sup> classis *A*    <sup>b</sup> Qua *ACHN*    <sup>c</sup> om. *H*    <sup>d</sup> sicco *ACHN*    <sup>e</sup> completa *A*  
<sup>f</sup> *E* adds *Arsit* (above the word *Assur*)    <sup>g</sup> sanisque *CHN*    <sup>h</sup> om. *A*    <sup>i</sup> licet *A*  
<sup>j</sup> *Ascalona E*

55    <sup>a</sup> cunctis ut *ACHN*    <sup>b</sup> urbs *ACHN*    <sup>c</sup> cunctique *ACHN*

their prisoners which he had captured in the very narrow passes of Beirut and brought to Jerusalem, where he shut them up in the security of the Tower of David.<sup>66</sup> The king took counsel with his nobles in order to receive a price for the prisoners, because in this new and unknown land he lacked much money for paying wages. And so now he spared all forty-five prisoners, whom he had decreed were to be beheaded, and, in return for an unheard-of sum of money, over fifty thousand golden bezants, they were released from their hand-cuffs and chains and put out of the Tower of David, and he sent them all, alive and unharmed, peacefully back into the land of Damascus.

54. At that same time, in March, fleets of Genoese and Pisans which had sailed from Italy anchored at Jaffa and waited there for Easter, at last came to Jerusalem to celebrate that very day of our Lord's resurrection.<sup>67</sup> After the day had been celebrated with utmost devotion, they went to the king, begging most urgently to be allowed to attack and conquer whatever gentile city he wished. Therefore the king, knowing of their desire, decided that Arsuf should be besieged by sea and by land. So he and all his forces moved from Jerusalem and surrounded the city and its walls on dry land; the Pisans and Genoese were keeping close watch on the seashore for the citizens leaving by ship. The third day of the siege was scarcely at an end when the citizens of Arsuf sought to make peace with the king, asking that they might be allowed to leave the city with life and limb safe and sound, taking their possessions, and to hand over and leave the town in the king's hands. The king, in fact, on the advice of his people, spared the men, allowing them to come out peacefully with everything that they could carry on their backs, and he granted them a safe conduct as far as Ascalon. He himself entered the town with his whole host of cavalry and infantry, and rested there for eight days, and he consulted the lord patriarch and the nobles of his kingdom about the remaining towns.

55. At last everyone agreed that a legation should be sent from the king to Caesarea, to the amir and the leaders of the city, demanding that the town should be surrendered to the king; otherwise they should know for sure that it would be besieged, and if it was taken by force, then everyone found in it would be put to the sword. The amir and all the inhabitants of the town replied in these words: 'Far be it

<sup>66</sup> For these negotiations, cf. IQ (p. 55).

<sup>67</sup> 21 Apr. 1101.

ciuitatem nostram in manu regis Christianorum tradamus, cum in manu regis Babyloniorum<sup>d</sup> in breui liberandi simus, et non diu sit ex quo litteras eius super hoc acceperimus.' Rex autem, hanc<sup>e</sup> illorum iactantiam comperiens, in ira magna una cum domno patriarcha ab Assur egressus, relictis in ea custodibus, Cesaream occupauit, undique<sup>f</sup> suorum uiribus<sup>g</sup> collocatis. Erant<sup>h</sup> illic inaudita pomeria in circuitu murorum<sup>i</sup> acsi<sup>j</sup> silua densissima, omni decore et fructuum habundantia inestimabilia, que rex in securi iussit exstirpari, ne inter densitates frondium alique insidie Sarracenorum exercitui sagittis in occulto emissis nocere ualerent. Hiis exstirpatis, in circuitu murorum firmavit obsidionem, per dies quindecim machinam componens qua urbem expugnare et ciues absterere ualeret. Ad unguem tandem perducta machina, ab exercitu super muros erecta, in sublime porrecta est, ac fortissimi in ea pugnatores constituti ad expugnanda menia<sup>k</sup> et urbis<sup>k</sup> defensores. Deinde iussu regis uniuersis<sup>l</sup> indictum est, ut summo mane coram<sup>m</sup> patriarcha et rege conferrentur e cunctis locis et tabernaculis, "et"<sup>n</sup> eius<sup>n</sup> ammonitionem caperent ad assiliendam urbem et implerent. Mane autem facto, ex<sup>p</sup> mandato regis uniuersi Christianorum equites et pedites assunt coram rege et patriarcha. Qui delictorum suorum confessione facta, indulgentia accepta cum communione Dominici corporis, urbem fortiter assiliunt in mari et terra cum Pisanis et Genuensibus.<sup>68</sup> Qui<sup>q</sup> Laodicie tota hieme otio torpentes,<sup>69</sup> tempore Martii<sup>r</sup> ad sacrum et sollempne pascha celebrandum Ierusalem ascenderunt,<sup>s</sup> uiduati suo episcopo Pisano qui clam ab eis subtractus cum Boemundo et Baldwino post captionem Ierusalem in eam descendit, et a Godefrido duce in cathedra patriarchatus constitutus est.

- 544 56. Eodem die domnus patriarcha crucem Dominicam pretulerat ad protectionem et defensionem gentis catholice, stola sancta et candida pro torace<sup>a</sup> indutus, quem usque ad muros tota manus pugnatorum<sup>b</sup> sequi non dubitauit. Sed<sup>c</sup> duro et graui assultu ciues disturbatos a

<sup>d</sup> Babilonie A    <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>f</sup> H adds circa eam after undique    <sup>g</sup> A adds in circuitu after uiribus    <sup>h</sup> A adds enim after erant    <sup>i</sup> A adds collocata after murorum  
<sup>j</sup> ac H    <sup>k</sup> k urbisque ACHN    <sup>l</sup> omnibus ACHN    <sup>m</sup> cum A    <sup>n</sup> " " eiusque CHN    <sup>o</sup> om. A    <sup>p</sup> ACHN add ecce before ex    <sup>q</sup> Isti ACHN    <sup>r</sup> ACHN add ut supre relatum est after Martii    <sup>s</sup> descenderunt E

56    <sup>a</sup> thorace ACN    <sup>b</sup> Christianorum A    <sup>c</sup> Qui ACHN

<sup>68</sup> Albert may be mistaken concerning the involvement of the Pisans, as other Latin sources do not mention it (WT, pp. 469–71; FC, p. 388, 400–4; Caffaro, p. 63). Ibn al-

from us to hand over ourselves and our town into the hands of the king of Christians, since we are shortly to be delivered into the hands of the king of Egyptians, and it is not long since we received letters from him on this matter.' The king, however, finding out about this boasting from them, left Arsuf in great wrath together with the lord patriarch, leaving guards in the town, and besieged Caesarea, deploying his forces on all sides. There were in that place extraordinary orchards all round the walls, as closely planted as woodland, of great beauty and providing an invaluable abundance of fruit: the king ordered that they were to be destroyed with axes, so that no Saracen ambushes among the thickness of the leaves could harm the army with arrows shot from concealment. After the trees had been cleared he established a siege all round the walls for fifteen days, while building an engine with which he could storm the city and frighten the citizens. When at last the tower was brought to perfection it was raised up by the army over the walls so that it extended into the air, and the bravest fighters were stationed in it to overcome the walls and the city's defenders. Then on the king's orders it was proclaimed to all that early in the morning they would gather from all their places and tents in the presence of the patriarch and the king, and would receive his instructions for attacking the city and would carry them out. When morning came, moreover, in accordance with the king's decree all the Christian cavalry and infantry were there, in the presence of the king and patriarch. They made confession of their sins, received forgiveness with communion of our Lord's body, then they attacked the city bravely on sea and land with the Pisans and Genoese.<sup>68</sup> These had idled away the whole winter at Latakia,<sup>69</sup> then in March they went up to celebrate the holy and religious festival of Easter in Jerusalem; they were bereft of their Pisan bishop, who had secretly withdrawn from them and after the seizure of Jerusalem he went there with Bohemond and Baldwin, and he was appointed to the patriarchal see by Duke Godfrey.

56. On that same day the lord patriarch, wearing a holy and white robe instead of a breastplate, had carried the Cross of our Lord before them for the protection and defence of the Catholic people, and the whole army of warriors did not hesitate to follow him right up to the walls. They drove back the citizens in confusion from the walls with a

Qalanisi corroborates William, saying the town was captured by assault with the assistance of the Genoese (IQ, p. 51).

<sup>69</sup> As Fulcher also records (FC, p. 394).

menibus repulerunt, et<sup>d</sup> sic subito scalis muro<sup>e</sup> applicatis<sup>f</sup> medie urbi ui intromissi sunt. Sarraceni uero per urbem Gallos diffusos intuentes, nec eis resistere ualentes, ad aliud munimen urbis, quod muro spaciosissimo ac robustissimo ciuitatem diuidebat introrsum uersus mare, conglobati fugam inierunt. Et<sup>g</sup> illic aliquantulum in menibus resistentes, ad defensionem constiterunt, frustra sagittis, palis igneis et fundibulis diem consumentes. Nona tandem hora diei facta, grauati ciues crebris et numquam intermissis assultibus, tam mangelis<sup>h</sup> quam sagittarum grandine fessi et uicti, per uicos et diuersa loca ciuitatis tremebundi fugerunt. Quos Galli insequentes, et hos muros scalis similiter transcidentes, graue illorum exterminium fecerunt, alios trucidantes, alios captiuantes, quin<sup>i</sup> undique spolia plurima, auri, argenti,<sup>j</sup> ostri<sup>k</sup> preciosi<sup>l</sup> rapientes. Sacerdos quoque ciuitatis, homo grandeuus, ibidem captus est, Azopart quingenti decollati, illuc missi a rege Babyloniorum in conuentione solidorum. Sacerdos itaque predictus regi presentatus, iussu ipsius religatus est in neruo, mulieres quoque eius capte, in compedibus posite, ad discutiendum talentum innumerabilis argenti, quod idem sacerdos propter metum Christianorum subterrauerat. Hac quippe ciuitate attrita et expugnata rex a diebus Pentecostes<sup>m</sup> usque in<sup>n</sup> natale sancti Iohannis Baptiste<sup>70</sup> in omni plenitudine necessariorum in ea requieuit. Vbi<sup>o</sup> in hiis diebus sacerdotem predictum a ciuibus urbis Ptolomaide, que est Acra, mille bysantiis redemptum sine lesione membrorum remisit.

- 545 57. Post hec Ioppen rex in magna gloria secessit, Arpinum de Boduorgis<sup>a</sup> 71 ciuitate principem magnificum ad custodiendos muros et portam ciuitatis reliquit.<sup>b</sup> Ioppe itaque rege commoranti, legatio et fama Meraius a Babylonia | innotuit, quatenus omnes Babylonii ad arma confluxissent, et post dies octo cum eo bellum committere decreuissent. Hec rex audiens, uniuerso cctu suorum in unum conuocato, ex consilio illorum ab Ioppe exiuit et<sup>c</sup> inter Ascalonam et Ramnes, tribus ebdomadis<sup>d</sup> euolutis, in planicie amplissima resedit

<sup>d</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>e</sup> om. A    <sup>f</sup> applicitis H    <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>h</sup> mangelis H  
<sup>i</sup> qui A    <sup>j</sup> HN add et before argenti    <sup>k</sup> ACHN add et before ostri    <sup>l</sup> om. A  
<sup>m</sup> Pentecosten A    <sup>n</sup> ad N    <sup>o</sup> om. ACHN

57    <sup>a</sup> Boduordis ACHN    <sup>b</sup> reliquens ACHN    <sup>c</sup> atque ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> ebdomadibus ACHN

<sup>70</sup> 9 June (Whitsunday) to 24 June 1101.

hard and heavy attack and thus, their ladders placed against the wall, they were suddenly admitted by force into the middle of the city. Indeed the Saracens, realizing that the Gauls were scattered throughout the city and they could not resist them, gathered and took flight to another of the city's defences, which divided the town internally in the direction of the sea with a very wide and strong wall. There, though resisting only slightly on the ramparts, they stood firm in defence, spending the day in vain using arrows, burning stakes, and slinging machines. At last when the ninth hour of the day arrived the citizens were weighed down by the frequent and never-ending attacks, worn out and defeated as much by the mangonels as the hail of arrows, and they fled trembling through the streets and different parts of the town. The Gauls pursued them and surmounted these walls with ladders in the same way, and they wrought a great destruction on them, slaughtering some, taking others prisoner, and everywhere seizing very many spoils of gold, silver, and precious purple. Also the priest of the town, a very old man, was taken prisoner there; five hundred from Ethiopia were beheaded, who had been sent there by the king of the Egyptians as mercenaries. So when the aforesaid priest was presented to the king, he was put in fetters again on his orders, and his women also who had been captured were put in fetters, in order to investigate a sum of silver of immeasurable size which that same priest had buried on account of his fear of the Christians. Since in fact this city was brought down and conquered, the king rested there with a great abundance of supplies from the days of Whitsun to the birthday of St John the Baptist.<sup>70</sup> In these days the aforesaid priest was ransomed there by the citizens of Ptolomaida, which is Acre, for a thousand bezants, and he was sent back with his limbs unharmed.

57. After these things the king withdrew to Jaffa in great triumph, leaving Arpin of the city of Bourges,<sup>71</sup> a splendid prince, to guard the walls and gate of the town. And so, while the king spent time at Jaffa, messages and news from Meraius in Egypt were made known, which said that all the Egyptians had flocked together under arms, and had determined to wage war on the king in eight days' time. Hearing this, the king called together all his company of men, and on their advice he left Jaffa. After three weeks had passed he settled on the very spacious plain between Ascalon and Ramla, together with the

<sup>71</sup> Eudes Arpin of Bourges (départ. Cher, France). Eudes survived to return to France and become a monk at Cluny: see OV, v. 324, 344–52; GN, p. 316.

una cum patriarcha et omni apparatu suo et<sup>e</sup> uniuersa domo fratris sui ducis Godefridi. Hoc uero in loco dum diu prestolarentur<sup>f</sup> aduentum inimicorum, nec quisquam illorum adhuc in iactantia sua descendisset, rex quemque suorum in sua remisit. Ipse uero ciuitates in circuitu sitas, tam Caypham<sup>g</sup> quam Assur et Cesaream ceterasque,<sup>h</sup> pacifice perlustrauit.

58. Nec longo<sup>a</sup> post hec interuallo rex a militibus suis in urbe Iafeth pro pecunia angustiat<sup>us</sup> est, quam illis debebat pro conuentione solidorum, qui etiam fratri eius Godefrido principi Ierusalem multum obsequii impenderant, et nunc eius causa et honore non minori studio militaris operis laborabant. Quapropter Ierosolimam profectus, patriarcham compellat quatenus sibi aliquid pecunie de oblatione fidelium impertiret, quam militibus diuidens, uoluntarios eos sibi redderet, ac secum retineret,<sup>b</sup> alioquin non eos in terminis Ierusalem uelle remanere, et sancta sanctorum defendere. Patriarcha autem, regis petitione audita, induciis per noctem susceptis, in crastino reuersus ducentas marcas argenti se ad<sup>c</sup> usus fratrum inibi Deo<sup>e</sup> famulantium habuisse, et non amplius profitetur, et easdem benigne in eius mandato distribuere concessit. Credidit rex uniuersis que a patriarcha referebantur, et oblatum argentum suscepit. Sed Arnolfus cancellarius sancti sepulchri et ceteri quamplures, quibus<sup>d</sup> tota massa innotuit et oblatio dominici sepulchri nequaquam uerum profiteri patriarcham asserebant, sed inestimabilem pecuniam clanculum suis locellis reposuisse eum astruebant. Hac Arnolphi assertionem et populi opinione super thesauro abscondito, rex nimium iratus, patriarcham uehementer urgere<sup>e</sup> cepit, ut ex oblationibus fidelium milites procuraret ac retineret in conuentione solidorum qui, paganorum uiribus repugnantes, peregrinos et uniuersam ecclesiam ab eorum insidiis et assultibus<sup>f</sup> protegerent ac defenderent.

546 59. Patriarcha uero, uinculo priuate dilectionis fratri Mauricio sancte Romane ecclesie legato innodatus, ita ut simul affluenter de bonis terre epulantes<sup>72</sup> in suo conclaui oblationem sancti sepulchri pro uelle diuiderent, prorsus audire Baldwinum regem paruipendit, spem et

<sup>e</sup> ac ACHN      <sup>f</sup> prestolaretur A      <sup>g</sup> Cayphas H      <sup>h</sup> om. A; ceteras (om. -que) N

58      <sup>a</sup> longe A      <sup>b</sup> teneret H      <sup>c</sup> usum Deo inibi A      <sup>d</sup> om. N      <sup>e</sup> arguere N  
<sup>f</sup> insultibus A

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Deut. 26: 11.

patriarch and all his own equipment and the entire household of his brother Duke Godfrey. In this place, indeed, while they waited a long time for their enemies' arrival and not one of them had as yet come down in his vainglory, the king sent every one of his men back home. He himself peacefully traversed the towns situated round about, Haifa as well as Arsuf and Caesarea and the rest.

58. Not long after these events the king was pressed by his soldiers in the city of Jaffa for money which he owed them according to agreement; they had rendered great service also to his brother Godfrey, prince of Jerusalem, and now they were working for Baldwin's cause and honour with no less keenness of military effort. On account of this he set out for Jerusalem and he reproached the patriarch, calling on him to share with him some of the money from the offerings of the faithful: by distributing this to the soldiers he would return them to his service as volunteers and keep them with him, otherwise they would not be willing to remain in the land of Jerusalem and defend the Holy of Holies. However, the patriarch, when he heard the king's request, took an adjournment of one night, and when he returned the following day he claimed that he had two hundred marks of silver for the use of the brothers who were serving God there, and no more, and he graciously granted these same to distribute at his command. The king believed every word which was reported by the patriarch and he accepted the offered silver. But Arnulf, chancellor of the Holy Sepulchre, and very many others, to whom he revealed the whole sum of money and the offering from the Lord's Sepulchre, claimed that they were not actually the patriarch's to give, and they further stated that he had secretly put away incalculable amounts of money in his own coffers. The king was very greatly angered by this claim of Arnulf and by the people's belief concerning hidden treasure, and he began to urge the patriarch insistently to take care of and maintain out of the offerings of the faithful mercenaries who would oppose the forces of the pagans and protect and defend pilgrims and the whole Church from their ambushes and attacks.

59. The patriarch, indeed, was bound by the chain of his private love for Brother Maurice, legate of the holy Roman Church, to such an extent that while they were feasting copiously together on the fat of the land<sup>72</sup> they would share out at will the offerings of the Holy Sepulchre in his room, so he utterly disdained to listen to King



fiduciam in promissis cardinalis apostolici, precio corrupti, habens, et in eo quod leui precatu <sup>a</sup> et auri<sup>a</sup> munere regem corrumpere potuit et placare. Rege itaque patriarcham sepius ammonente ut milites quadraginta procuraret, et, <sup>b</sup> dato auro et argento, beniuolos in opus belli redderet, patriarcha uero in nullo eum super hiis audiret, die quadam factum est ut idem patriarcha cum fratre Mauricio solito more in domo sua accubisset, uariis<sup>c</sup> cibis splendide epularetur, uinum<sup>d</sup> non modice biberet, et<sup>e</sup> secure in commensationibus dies duceret. Nunciatum est tandem <sup>f</sup> domno regi, <sup>f</sup> quod huiusmodi<sup>g</sup> luxu singulis diebus conuiuantes fidelium uota uorarent, sine modo et numero, et hoc ipsum regem non solum auditu, sed etiam facile uisu posse experiri.

60. Nec mora dum in eodem commensationis studio ad mensam discubuissent, rex cum quibusdam de optimatibus suis pulsato ostio<sup>a</sup> intromissus affuit, et hos patres dure arguens, in hec uerba aspera prorupit: 'Vos in commensationibus, nos in tribulationibus nocte ac die pro salute confratrum nostrorum et periculis uersamur. Vos gratis uota fidelium in deliciis uestris applicatis, angustias et penuriam nostram ignoratis. Sed, uiuit Dominus, amodo<sup>b</sup> de omni oblatione fidelium non contingetis, nec de hac uentrem uestrum ultra tam delicate implebitis, nisi milites in conuentione solidorum suscepitis. Vnde enim uobis ut oblationes et munera fidelium tam libere et potenter a dominico sepulchro tollatis, in cibos delicatos componatis; et minime fidelium necessitati<sup>c</sup> subueniatis? Nos Ierusalem, ciuitatem sanctam et locum desiderati sepulchri, sanguine nostro redemimus, et assidue pro sanctorum<sup>d</sup> defensione pondera laborum et<sup>e</sup> bellorum portamus, et uos oblationis fidelium nos exortes facietis? Absit ut patiar tale facinus, et ultra manus uestra de hiis repleatur. Certe aut uos calicem quem bibituri sumus<sup>73</sup> et bibi|mus hoc tempore angustiarum nobiscum bibetis, aut uidete ne quicquam de rebus ecclesie ultra suscipiatis.' Hoc dicto, patriarcha non minus in uerba iracundie erupit, dicens: 'Non recte consultus fecisti, ut tam temere nos argueres, et res ecclesie interdiceres, cum nostre sit iusticie ut qui

59 <sup>a</sup> aurique ACHN <sup>b</sup> atque ACHN <sup>c</sup> uariisque ACHN <sup>d</sup> ACHN add quoque after uinum <sup>e</sup> atque A; ac CHN <sup>f</sup> regi Baldwino ACHN <sup>g</sup> huiusmodi N

60 <sup>a</sup> hostio A <sup>b</sup> ammodo AN <sup>c</sup> necessitatibus A <sup>d</sup> peccatorum N <sup>e</sup> ac ACHN

Baldwin, putting his hope and trust in the promises of the papal cardinal, who was corrupted by money, and in being able to bribe and placate the king with a quick prayer and a gift of gold. Therefore, while the king repeatedly told the patriarch to procure forty soldiers and, having given the gold and silver, to deliver them well disposed for war, the patriarch would take no notice of him, until one day it came about that the patriarch was reclining at table in his home with Brother Maurice, as was their custom, to share various foods magnificently, and to drink more than a little wine, and to pass the days cheerfully in feasting. And at last it was pointed out to the lord king that by living together every single day in excess of this sort, they would devour the offerings of the faithful, without limit or number, and this the king himself could find out not just from hearsay, but also he could easily see it.

60. Straight away, while they were reclining at table in that same enthusiasm for feasting, the king, with some of his nobles, knocked on the door and entered their presence, and he denounced these fathers harshly, bursting forth with these bitter words: 'Day and night you are engaged in feasts, while we are preoccupied by troubles and dangers for the safety of our brother Christians. You gratuitously devote the offerings of the faithful to your pleasures, you disregard our difficulty and need. But the Lord is living! From now on you shall not touch any of the offering of the faithful, nor shall you any longer fill your stomach from them so luxuriously, unless you undertake the payment of soldiers. For how can you remove offerings and gifts of the faithful from the Lord's Sepulchre so boldly and powerfully, and store them up in the form of luxurious foods, and not relieve the need of the faithful? With our own blood we have redeemed Jerusalem, the holy city and the place of the longed-for Sepulchre, and for the defence of the holy places we continually bear the burdens of hardships and wars, and you will deprive us of the offering of the faithful? Far be it from me to suffer such a crime, and to let your hand be filled in this matter any longer. Assuredly, either you drink with us at this time the cup of want,<sup>73</sup> which we are to drink and are drinking, or take care lest you never again receive anything from the Church's possessions.' When he said this, the patriarch burst out no less in words of rage, saying: 'You have not properly considered, when you accuse us so rashly and forbid us Church possessions, that it is our

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Matt. 20: 22.

<sup>74</sup> 1 Cor 9: 13.

altari seruiunt, de altari uiuant.<sup>74</sup> An tributariam et ancillam<sup>f</sup> facere sanctam presumis ecclesiam, quam Dominus Iesus Deus et<sup>g</sup> Dei filius suo sanguine liberam ex ancilla faciens<sup>75</sup> custodie apostolorum commisit et reliquit? Vide ne ultra presumas de hiis loqui aut agere, cum ad te minime pertineat, et domni apostolici maledictionem de talibus ausis<sup>76</sup> iusto iudicio possis incurrere.' Frater autem Mauricius ad inuicem contententes solummodo auscultabat, sed de pace et concordia illos ammonebat.

61. Verum rex, non ultra patriarche asperam responsionem ferens, et ipse dure et impatienter locutus fuisse perhibetur: 'Videte ne facile hanc mihi sepius obiciatis occasionem, ut qui altari seruiunt de altari uiuant, cum summa exigat necessitas, ut de altari potius Christiani milites pascantur, quam Sarraceni ui de sepulchro<sup>a</sup> munera fidelium asportent<sup>b</sup> et diuidant, et non miles noster uel sacerdos contingat. Viuit Dominus, non solum oblationes fidelium comedam, 'et militibus<sup>c</sup> nostris diuidam, sed etiam aurum de sepulchro Domini et altari euellam, quo milites et defensores Christiane plebis <sup>d</sup>et regni<sup>d</sup> Ierusalem sustentari possint.<sup>e</sup> Et<sup>f</sup> post hec cum Domino Deo placuerit, et superbia et<sup>g</sup> mine de regno Babylonie cessauerint, et terra siluerit,<sup>77</sup> cuncta restaurabimus, <sup>h</sup>et ecclesiam et eius<sup>h</sup> sepulchrum sicut dignum est thesaurizare nos non pigebit, et auro ditioze, gemmis et<sup>i</sup> opere exaltare.' Hiis dictis, tandem patriarcha a rege uiro litteris erudito, conuictus, ex consilio fratris Mauricii triginta milites in conuentione solidorum se procurare promisit, sed in breui tedio eorum affectus, talentum inestimabilis precii sustulit, milites uacuos et immunes reliquit. Rex autem ypocrisim<sup>j</sup> illius magis<sup>k</sup> de die in diem cognoscens, uehementius eum urgebat, et de militari officio sollicitabat; ille e contrario aures surdas ad omnia faciebat.<sup>l</sup>

548 62.<sup>a</sup> Dum<sup>b</sup> hec negocia inter regem et patriarcham agerentur, isto negante pecuniam, illo aut pecuniam aut milites requirente, quidam

<sup>f</sup> A adds uis after ancillam      <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN

61    <sup>a</sup> A adds Domini after sepulchro      <sup>b</sup> exportent A      <sup>c</sup> militibusque ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> regnique ACHN      <sup>e</sup> queant A      <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>g</sup> seu ACHN  
<sup>h</sup> Ecclesiam etiam eiusque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> uel ACHN      <sup>j</sup> ypocrisin ACHN      <sup>k</sup> om. H  
<sup>l</sup> ACHN add Ita animo obstinatus erat after faciebat.

62    <sup>a</sup> This chapter is displaced to the end of Book x in MS H      <sup>b</sup> Cum C

right as those who wait at the altar to be partakers of the altar.<sup>74</sup> Surely you do not presume to make tributary and servant the holy Church, which Lord Jesus, God and Son of God, made free from servitude with his own blood,<sup>75</sup> and entrusted and left to the care of the apostles? See that you no longer presume to speak or to do anything about these things, since they do not at all concern you, and you could incur with fair justice the anathema of the pope for such rashness.<sup>76</sup> Brother Maurice only listened to the arguments on both sides, but he warned them about peace and concord.

61. But the king could not put up with the patriarch's rude reply any longer, and he is reported to have spoken harshly and impatiently: 'See that you do not lightly throw this argument up at me, that those who serve at the altar should live by the altar, when there is an utmost, pressing need that Christian soldiers should rather be fed from the altar than the Saracens carry off by force from the Sepulchre and distribute the gifts of the faithful, and no soldier of ours nor a priest partake of them. The Lord lives! I shall devour not only the offerings of the faithful, and distribute them to our soldiers, but I shall even rip out the gold from the Lord's Sepulchre and altar in order to sustain the soldiers and defenders of the Christian people and the kingdom of Jerusalem. And after this, if it please the Lord God, and if the arrogance and threats of the Egyptian kingdom cease, and the land is peaceful,<sup>77</sup> we shall restore everything; it shall not displease us to treasure both the Church and its Sepulchre, in accordance with its worth, and to glorify it with richer gold, with jewels and craftsmanship.' When these things were said and at last the patriarch was proved wrong by the king, a man instructed in letters, on the advice of Brother Maurice he promised he would maintain thirty soldiers by a money agreement, but in a short while he wearied of them, and they cost him an inestimable sum of money, so he left the soldiers idle and in want. The king, moreover, realizing his hypocrisy more day by day, was urging him more strongly and was nagging him about his military duty. He, on the other hand, turned deaf ears to everything.

62. While these negotiations were going on between the king and the patriarch, with the latter refusing the money, the former demanding either money or soldiers, a certain fellow Christian, an envoy of

<sup>75</sup> Gal. 4: 31.

<sup>76</sup> Vergilian phrase: *Aeneid* ii. 535; xii. 351.

<sup>77</sup> Isa. 14: 7; 1 Macc. 1: 3 *et passim* 1 and 2 Macc.

conchristianus legatus Rotgeri,<sup>78</sup> fratris Boemundi, profectus de Apulia,<sup>e</sup> coram rege astitit,<sup>d</sup> qui talentum auri<sup>e</sup> mille bysantiorum ante paucos dies patriarche se attulisse contestatus est, in audientia totius ecclesie, ut illud pro peccatis suis et pro requie anime ipsius<sup>f</sup> suorumque equa et fidei portione in tria diuideret: unum uidelicet in oblatione dominici sepulchri ad usus fratrum inibi Deo psallentium; alterum in sustentatione hospitalis languidorum <sup>g</sup>et ceterorum<sup>g</sup> inualidorum;<sup>79</sup> tertium regi <sup>h</sup>ad confortandos et remunerandos milites,<sup>h</sup> rebus et armis destitutos. Hec patriarcha, auaricia excecatus, totus sibi solus<sup>i</sup> retinuit, et nil de talento hiis uel illis sicut dispositum et iniunctum ei fuerat distribuit. Hac ingenti fraude et infidelitate <sup>j</sup>coram rege<sup>j</sup> conuictus ab testibus idoneis, non ultra ualens se excusare obtinuit.<sup>k</sup> Quapropter statim sine dilatione priuatus est potestate et oblatione dominici sepulchri, camerarii ac priuati et conscii illius capti, et<sup>l</sup> in custodiam missi sunt.

63. Patriarcha igitur dolens et tristis secessit in<sup>a</sup> Iafeth, ubi ex consensu regis, quia sacerdotii gradum obtinebat, pacifice autumnus et hiemis tempus expleuit,<sup>b</sup> quousque,<sup>c</sup> mense Martio inchoante, anno primo regni ipsius Baldwini, Antiochiam ad Tancradum nauigio profectus est.<sup>80</sup> Camerarii autem illius capti et retenti, minis<sup>d</sup> et uerberum<sup>d</sup> terroribus coacti, pecuniam patriarche subterrata[m] professi sunt ad uiginti<sup>e</sup> milia bysantiorum auri. Argenti autem tantum esse referebant, quod adhuc numero et pondere uniuersos<sup>f</sup> lateret. Fratrem uero Mauricium, quia Romani pontificis legatus erat, in omni quo potuit honore<sup>g</sup> rex secum retinuit, ac diligenter procuratum benigne in omnibus tractauit.

549 64. Interea dum rex ex hiis et aliis diuersis rebus ageret, <sup>a</sup>et propalatam<sup>a</sup> pecuniam suis egregiis militibus diuideret, et cuique pro labore suo rependeret, crudelis legatio a Babylonia descendit, scilicet quod Meraius, id<sup>b</sup> est secundus in regno, cum omni<sup>c</sup> uirtute et

<sup>e</sup> Apuleia A      <sup>d</sup> assistit H      <sup>e</sup> aureum A; aurum EN      <sup>f</sup> sue A  
<sup>g</sup> ceterorumque ACHN      <sup>h</sup> et eius milites confortandos et remunerandos A  
<sup>i</sup> solum H      <sup>j</sup> om. A      <sup>k</sup> conticuit AH      <sup>l</sup> om. N

63      <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>b</sup> adimpleuit H      <sup>c</sup> Dein ACHN      <sup>d</sup> uerberumque ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> triginta A      <sup>f</sup> cunctos ACHN      <sup>g</sup> om. N

64      <sup>a</sup> propalatamque ACHN      <sup>b</sup> qui ACHN      <sup>c</sup> tota ACHN

<sup>78</sup> Roger I, count of Sicily 1062–1101, was the younger brother of Bohemond's father Robert Guiscard.

Bohemond's brother Roger,<sup>78</sup> who had set out from Apulia, came into the king's presence, and he testified in the hearing of the whole Church that a few days before he had brought the sum of a thousand bezants in gold to the patriarch for him to divide into three fair and faithful parts for the sake of his sins and for the repose of his own soul and those of his people: that is, one part as an offering of the Lord's Sepulchre for the use of the brothers singing there to God; another for the support of the hospital for the feeble and other sick;<sup>79</sup> the third to the king for maintaining and rewarding soldiers who had lost their weapons and possessions. These sums the patriarch, blinded by avarice, kept all to himself alone, and he distributed none of the sum to these people or those as had been arranged and enjoined on him. Having been proved guilty of this enormous fraud and treachery by proper witnesses before the king, he was no longer able to make excuses for himself and he fell silent. On this account he was at once and without delay deprived of the power and presentation of the Lord's Sepulchre; his chamberlains and private secretaries and accomplices were seized and sent to prison.

63. Therefore the patriarch, grieving and sorrowful, withdrew to Jaffa where, with the king's agreement, he spent the time of autumn and winter peacefully, because he held the position of priest, until at the beginning of March, in the first year of this same Baldwin's reign, he set out by sea for Antioch, to Tancred.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, his chamberlains, who had been seized and detained and compelled by threats and fears of flogging, volunteered the patriarch's buried money, to the sum of twenty thousand golden bezants. Moreover, they reported a very great amount of silver, the quantity and weight of which no one yet knew. The king kept Brother Maurice with him, paying him all the honour he could, because he was the legate of the Roman pope, and he looked after him well and treated him graciously in all things.

64. Meanwhile, while the king was transacting these and various other affairs, and was distributing the money which had been brought into the open among his outstanding soldiers and to anyone to whom he owed repayment for his work, a cruel legation came down from Egypt, that is to say, it reported that Meraius, second-in-command in

<sup>79</sup> This is the earliest recorded endowment for the hospital; see A. Luttrell, 'The earliest Hospitallers', in B. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand, eds., *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 37-54.

<sup>80</sup> Although Albert says it was in the first year of Baldwin's reign (i.e. 1101), it was, in fact in 1102: see FC, p. 447.

apparatu regis Babylonie properaret, bellum in breui cum eo habiturus. Rex autem Baldwinus, tam crudelia nuncia intelligens, non secure, non facile auribus inmisit, sed ab Ierusalem in Septembri mense in sollempni natiuitate matris et uirginis Marie,<sup>81</sup> anno primo regni sui<sup>d</sup> descendens, urbem Ioppe<sup>e</sup> cum omni uirtute equitum et peditum introiuit, <sup>f</sup>ac eius<sup>f</sup> menia plurima fiducia suorum muniens, cum trecentis tantum equitibus et mille peditibus in occursum inimicorum festinauit, ut agnosceret si uera belli legatio sibi innotuisset. Mane igitur<sup>g</sup> dehinc facto, in campestribus Ramnes <sup>h</sup>uel Rama<sup>h</sup> assistens, uires et<sup>i</sup> copias et arma intolerabilia Babyloniorum uidit terras et fines Ascalonis occupare,<sup>j</sup> circiter ducenta<sup>k</sup> milia tam equitum quam peditum, de quibus rex et uniuersi<sup>l</sup> qui cum eo erant non solum ammirati, sed et terrore concussi sunt.

65. Verumtamen rex, uidens<sup>a</sup> se non posse uitare periculum, nec effugere inimicos haut procul absistentes,<sup>b</sup> quinque acies ordinauit, tam ex manu militum quam peditum. In prima acie Beruoldus,<sup>82</sup> miles nobilissimus, fuit, qui primum prelio commisso, a gentilibus cum uniuersis suis peremptus est, absque solo milite qui, ibidem manu detruncata, uix a periculo mortis elapsus est. Ad hec Gelde-  
marus Carpenel, miles ferocissimus, secundam aciem regens, dum per medios hostes irrumpens periclitantibus sociis subuenire moliretur, cum omnibus sequacibus et adiutoribus<sup>c</sup> suis sub intolerabili manu inimicorum occubuit. Solummodo Willelmus et Erkengoldus<sup>d</sup> uiui euaserunt.<sup>83</sup> Hugo uero de Tabaria iuuenis bellicosus in tertia acie constitutus, per medios hostes equo ueloci aduolans, et cum illis grauiter et<sup>e</sup> diu pugnans, ad extremum certaminis pondere fatigatus et uictus uix e medio<sup>f</sup> turbine aufugit,<sup>f</sup> omnibus de comitatu suo ibidem occisis et attritis. Rex igitur, tam graue exterminium suorum fieri<sup>g</sup> uidens, uehementer cum duabus aciebus que secum remanserant

<sup>d</sup> eius A    <sup>e</sup> Ioppen H    <sup>ff</sup> eiusque ACHN    <sup>g</sup> ergo ACHN    <sup>h h</sup> om. AHN  
<sup>i</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>j</sup> occurrere H    <sup>k</sup> ducenti ACN    <sup>l</sup> omnes ACHN

65    <sup>a</sup> perspicuens ACHN    <sup>b</sup> assistentes A    <sup>c</sup> coadiutoribus ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> Erkenboldus A    <sup>e</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>ff</sup> turbine euasit ACHN    <sup>g</sup> om. A

<sup>81</sup> 8 Sept. 1101—but see below, vii. 69, where it is said that the battle was won on the eve of the feast. Fulcher provides a first-hand account of the battle and confirms that it took place on 6–7 Sept. (FC, pp. 412–20). Ibn al-Qalanisi, who was not present, says after 27 Sept. (IQ, p. 53). The dating of the first battle of Ramla is discussed by M. Brett in an article which draws on the Egyptian chronicler Ibn Muyassar and prints this and other Arabic sources as an appendix: 'The battles of Ramla (1099–1105)', in U. Vermeulen and

the kingdom, was on the move with all the strength and equipment of the king of Egypt, and would soon join battle with the king. When he heard this cruel news King Baldwin did not listen to it unconcernedly, nor easily, but he went down from Jerusalem in September, on the feast of the nativity of Mary, mother and virgin,<sup>81</sup> in the first year of his reign, and with all his strength of cavalry and infantry he entered the city of Jaffa, where he garrisoned its many ramparts with the courage of his men, and he hastened with only three hundred cavalry and a thousand infantry to meet the enemy, in order to find out if the legation of war which had reached him was true. Therefore when morning came he was on the plains of Ramnes, or Ramla, where he saw that the strength and forces and irresistible weapons of the Egyptians were in possession of the lands and territories of Ascalon, around two hundred thousand cavalry and infantry altogether. The king and all who were with him not only wondered at this, they were also terrified.

65. But yet the king, seeing that he could not avoid the danger, nor escape the enemies positioned not far off, organized five divisions from his force of cavalry as well as infantry. In the first line was Bervold,<sup>82</sup> a very noble knight, who was killed by the gentiles when battle was first joined, along with all his men except for a single knight who had his hand cut off there and only just escaped the danger of death. At this Geldemar Carpenel, most bold knight, commanding the second division, charged through the middle of the enemy and endeavoured to assist the endangered comrades, but he fell with all his followers and his officers under the intolerable horde of enemies. Only William and Erkengold escaped alive.<sup>83</sup> Hugh of Tiberias, a warlike youth, was positioned in the third division. He galloped through the middle of the enemy and he fought long and hard with them, but at the last he was exhausted by the intensity of the struggle and he only just escaped, defeated, from the middle of the tumult; everyone from his company had been cut down and destroyed there. The king, therefore, seeing such a severe destruction befalling his men, was afflicted with violent dread, as were the two divisions which

D. de Smet, eds., *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Leuven, 1995), pp. 17–37.

<sup>82</sup> In spite of his evident importance, little is known about Bervold. Murray suggests, on the basis of a Saint-Bertin charter, that he may have been a vassal of Eustace of Boulogne who stayed in the East in Baldwin's service. However, his further possible identification with Beroald who held lands 'in monte' (RR, no. 67), and may have given his name to 'castellum Beroart', is less plausible if Bervold was indeed killed in the first battle of Ramla (Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 189).



timore concussus est. Nec mirum. Nam idem mortis iudicium in momento subire estimabat.<sup>b</sup>

550 66. Ad hec duo catholici pontifices, Gerardus<sup>84</sup> et Baldwinus,<sup>85</sup> quorum alter Gerardus crucem dominicam preferebat ad confusio- nem et obsecationem<sup>a</sup> Sarracenorum, liberationem uero Christia- norum, regi in mansuetudine et correctione sic locuti sunt: 'Timemus, domne rex, ne <sup>b</sup>ob discordiam<sup>b</sup> que inter te et domnum patriarcham orta est, hodie nostris uictorie fiat impedimentum. Et ideo<sup>c</sup> monemus te ut cum illo in concordiam redeas, et sic Domino Deo pacis satisfacias, quatenus a presenti periculo eruamur.' Quibus rex: 'Recte', inquit, 'monuistis.' <sup>d</sup>Et hoc dicto,<sup>d</sup> ab equo desiliens,<sup>e</sup> et coram cruce dominica procidens <sup>f</sup>in terram,<sup>f</sup> adorauit Deum celi; et hec pontificibus responsa dedit: 'Patres et fratres in Christo karissimi, pastores et doctores peritissimi, iudicium mortis nobis presto est; inimici innumerabiles nobis<sup>g</sup> obstant in arcu, in hastis, in gladiis fulmineis,<sup>86</sup> quos penetrare et expugnare pro imperio Romanorum, pro regno Francie et Anglie non hodie adponerem<sup>h</sup> nisi gratia Domini<sup>i</sup> Iesu Christi, de quorum manibus sic me ipse<sup>j</sup> Dominus Deus eruat, non<sup>k</sup> cum illo pacem componam, nisi primum coram apostolico et omni ecclesia de perfidia hac quam egit<sup>l</sup> canonice fuerit expurgatus.'

67. Et hoc dicto cum iureiurando, confessione<sup>a</sup> delictorum suorum coram eisdem episcopis peracta,<sup>b</sup> et<sup>c</sup> corporis et sanguinis Dominici communione<sup>d</sup> percepta, decem milites loricos cum Gerardo epis- copo lignum sancte crucis preferente reliquit. Ipse uero equum ascendens, qui lingua Sarracena Gazela appellatur, eo quod ceteris equis cursu sit potentior,<sup>87</sup> premisit quartam aciem, quam ordinauerat de militibus Ierusalem, uiris bello assuetis ac robustissimis, quatenus cum hostibus in impetu ferirent ac dimicarent. Hec autem quarta

<sup>b</sup> estimabant ACHN

66 <sup>a</sup> obsceationem E <sup>b b</sup> discordia A <sup>c c</sup> Ideoque ACHN <sup>d d</sup> Hec dicens ACHN <sup>e</sup> desiliit AHN; dissiliit C <sup>f f</sup> om. A <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN <sup>h</sup> apponere N <sup>i</sup> ACHN add nostri after Domini <sup>j</sup> om. H; C inserts ipse above the line <sup>k</sup> N adds ut before non <sup>l</sup> agit N

67 <sup>a</sup> confessionem ACHN <sup>b</sup> fecit ACHN <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN <sup>d</sup> H adds et; ACHN add deinde before communione

<sup>83</sup> Neither William nor Erkengold is otherwise known.

<sup>84</sup> Possibly Gerard of Schaffhausen, treasurer of the Holy Sepulchre: see FC, pp. 409,

had stayed with him. No wonder. For he thought he would shortly suffer the same sentence of death.

66. At this point the two Christian bishops, Gerard<sup>84</sup> and Baldwin,<sup>85</sup> one of whom, Gerard, was carrying the Lord's Cross before them to confound and blind the Saracens, and to deliver the Christians, spoke thus to the king in mild reproof: 'We are afraid, lord king, that our men may be prevented from achieving victory today because of the discord which has arisen between you and the lord patriarch. And so we advise you to return to agreement with him, and thus to satisfy the Lord God of peace, so that we shall be rescued from the present danger.' The king replied, 'You advise rightly.' And, this said, he dismounted and fell forwards to the ground before the Lord's Cross, and worshipped the God of heaven, and he gave this response to the bishops: 'Most beloved fathers and brothers in Christ, most learned ministers and teachers, we shall soon be fighting for our lives. Countless enemies oppose us with bows, spears and flashing swords,<sup>86</sup> and I may not risk attacking and overcoming them today on behalf of the empire of the Romans, or the kingdom of France and England, unless with the Lord Jesus Christ's favour. May that same Lord God thus rescue me from their hands, but I shall not make peace with that man unless he is first cleared from censure concerning this treachery he performed, according to the discipline of the Church, in the presence of the entire and apostolic Church.'

67. After he had sworn this on oath, had made confession of his sins in the presence of those same bishops, and had received communion of the Lord's body and blood, he left ten armoured soldiers with Bishop Gerard, who was carrying the wood of the Holy Cross before. Then he mounted his horse, which is called Gazela in the Saracen language because it is swifter than all other horses,<sup>87</sup> and sent forward the fourth division, which he had formed from soldiers of Jerusalem, men well used to war and very hardy, so that they could charge the enemy, strike them, and fight with them. However, when this fourth

411; Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 176; Monachus Scaphusensis (*RHC Occ* v. 337); Annalista Saxo, *MGH SS* vi. 736; Frolow, *Vraie Croix*, p. 288.

<sup>85</sup> Possibly Baldwin, the new archbishop of Caesarea, who had come to the East with Godfrey: see WT, pp. 469-72; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 184-5.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Vergil, 'ensem fulmineum', *Aeneid* iv. 579-80; ix. 441-2.

<sup>87</sup> The same name is found in Bartolf of Nangis (BN, p. 534), writing about the second battle of Ramla, 1102. Albert's use of the present tense may signify that he was writing soon after the events he is recording.

acies ex iussu regis fortiter irruens, dum cum aduersariis committeret<sup>e</sup> pre multitudine illorum pondus belli non sustinens, cepit fugiendo declinare. Sed a rege eius fuga et contritione percepta, magno  
 551 solamine releuata est. In momento namque cum | sua quinta acie affuit, graue prelium cum hostibus agens ac repetens, cedes et strages non modicas operatus.<sup>f</sup>

68. Dum<sup>a</sup> sic rex per medios hostium globos irrumperet et campos cadaueribus occisorum sterneret, quidam<sup>b</sup> nominatissimus ammiraldus episcopo crucem ferenti occurrit in armis et<sup>c</sup> furore uehementi, ut raptim caput illius<sup>d</sup> detruncaret.<sup>e</sup> Sed diuina ultione et percussione preuentus, subitanea morte suffocatus expirauit. Dehinc<sup>f</sup> alter ammiraldus dum subito ipsum regem Christianum impeteret, mox equus illius trans ceruices hasta regis confixus est, que etiam ipsum ammiraldum eodem ictu et impetu trans pectus et iecur uiriliter iacta perforauit, <sup>g</sup>et sic uterque,<sup>g</sup> equus scilicet et eius sessor, a Christiano rege occisi sunt. Mortuis itaque sic<sup>h</sup> duobus ammiraldis, exercitus Babyloniorum magnis ductoribus, primo diuina ultione, altero haste regis transfixione, rex et uniuersi sui, recuperatis uiribus, per medias acies Sarracenorum multitudine densatas irruerunt, in uirtute Domini Iesu Christi et sancte crucis inauditam illorum stragem et occisionem facientes, usque ad uesperum, donec hinc et hinc fatigati, utrimque se a bello continuerunt. Verum rex et reliquie fidelium, obtinentes camporum planitiem, in castris inimicorum pernoctauerunt. Sarraceni uero desperati in montis cacumine ea nocte remanserunt. Patet hic profecto quoniam uirtus sancte crucis non solum contra inuisibilia iacula inimicorum preualet, sed etiam aduersus arma uisibilia; cum in prima, secunda, tertia et<sup>i</sup> quarta acie superbia et fortitudo gentilium uincendo precessit, in quinta uero acie, in qua lignum sancte ac uenerande crucis ante regem et eius socios prefebatur, tota infidelium uirtus infirmari cepit, humiliari et conculcari. Sed et principes eorum ferocissimi, Deo gloriam non dantes nec sancte cruci, sed in eam sibi oppositam audacter et insipienter irruentes, subitanea morte preoccupati perierunt.

<sup>e</sup> N adds bellum before committeret

<sup>f</sup> H adds est after operatus

68 <sup>a</sup> Cum C <sup>b</sup> quia N <sup>c</sup> et om. N <sup>d</sup> eius H <sup>e</sup> amputaret A <sup>f</sup> N  
 adds autem after dehinc <sup>g</sup> Sic uterque ACN; Sicque ambo H <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> om. A; ac H

division charged boldly on the king's orders, it could not sustain the intensity of battle to the point of engaging with the enemy because of their great number, and it began to turn aside in flight. But its flight and destruction were spotted by the king and it was delivered by a great relief operation. For in a moment the king arrived with his fifth division, joining fierce battle with the enemy again and again, inflicting considerable slaughter and bloodshed.

68. While the king was thus charging through the middle of the enemy ranks and strewing the plain with the corpses of the killed, a certain very eminent amir attacked with weapons and violent rage the bishop who was carrying the Cross, in order suddenly to cut off his head. But he was prevented by divine vengeance and struck down, he was choked by violent death and he breathed his last. Then while a second amir was suddenly charging the Christian king himself, his horse was soon pierced through the neck by the king's spear which, strongly thrown, also in that same blow and thrust penetrated the amir himself through chest and liver, and so both, that is to say the horse and its rider, were killed by the Christian king. Therefore, with the two amirs, great leaders of the Egyptians' army, killed in this way, the first by divine vengeance, the second transfixed by the king's spear, the king and all his men, their strength recovered, charged through the middle of the battle lines which had been amassed by the Saracen horde, inflicting on them an unheard-of slaughter and killing by the power of Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Cross, until evening when, exhausted everywhere, both sides drew back from battle. Indeed, the king and the rest of the faithful were in possession of the plain and they spent the night in the enemy camp. The despairing Saracens passed that night on a hilltop. Here it was certainly clear that the power of the Holy Cross prevails not only against the missiles of invisible enemies, but also against the weapons of the visible: when the arrogance and strength of the gentiles excelled in overcoming the first, second, third, and fourth divisions, yet against the fifth, in which the wood of the holy and revered Cross was being carried before the king and his comrades, the entire strength of the infidels began to be weakened, to be brought low and trampled underfoot. But even their fiercest princes, who gave glory neither to God nor the Holy Cross, but recklessly and foolishly made an attack on the Cross when it was before them, were seized by sudden death and perished.

552 69. Igitur post hanc Christianorum uictoriam, que in mense Septem-  
bri ipso ues|pere natiuitatis beate Dei genitricis Marie accepta est,  
crastino sole exorto, quidam Gallorum adhuc uiuentes et incolumes  
cum rege suo rursum armari properant, suspicati adhuc bellum  
ingruere a gentilibus, sed in omni planicie regionis non sunt reperti  
aut uisi. Quapropter securi<sup>a</sup> et gaudentes uictoria,<sup>b</sup> Ioppen et Ier-  
usalem redire disposerunt. Reuertente autem rege cum quadraginta  
tantum militibus, et paucis peditibus<sup>c</sup> qui uix euaserant, uiginti milia  
Sarracenorum qui Iafeth obsederant, et uespere hesterno huic prelio  
non intererant, sed ciuitatem ex precepto Meraius nimio assultu  
uexauerant, in aperto camporum ex improviso affuerunt. Quibus rex  
quia locus diuertendi ab eis non erat<sup>d</sup> resistere disposuit, uniuersos  
suos magna et audaci uoce sic consolatus: 'Ecce inimici nostri obuiam  
nobis integris armis adueniunt. Nos autem nuper bello fatigati, sero a  
manibus aduersariorum<sup>f</sup> solo Deo protegente euasimus, superatis  
hostibus. Optimates nostri et equites uniuersi<sup>g</sup> preter nos ceciderunt.  
Quid igitur pauci aduersus hec tot milia adhuc bello intacta acturi  
sumus? Pauci sumus et sero bello fatigati; locus et possibilitas ab eis  
diuertendi non est, et ideo quid aliud consulam nescio, nisi ut in  
nomine Domini Iesu et uirtute sancte crucis uniuersi stemus,  
aduersus incredulos pugnantes. Potens est <sup>h</sup>enim Deus etiam<sup>h</sup> de  
istorum manibus nos liberare, sicut et<sup>i</sup> heri de manu plurimorum et  
fortiorum liberauit. Si autem morti et contritioni destinati sumus,  
fiduciam et spem habeamus, quia si corpus nostrum pro nomine Iesu  
et sanctis Ierusalem nunc in presenti seculo occidi permiserimus, in  
futuro animas nostras in uitam eternam una cum fratribus nostris  
hesterno prelio pro Christo iugulatis et adtritis conseruare poter-  
imus.'

70. Hac regis exhortatione uniuersi<sup>a</sup> milites et pedites roborati in spe  
eternae uite inimicorum turmas a longe uisas operientes, armis propere  
induuntur. <sup>b</sup>Et lignum<sup>b</sup> dominicum semper ante faciem suam  
habentes, graue prelium cum hostibus commiserunt. Obcecati<sup>c</sup>  
itaque et infirmati Sarraceni in obstaculo tam uenerabilis signi,  
timore illis inmisso, non diu perdurauerunt<sup>d</sup> in bello. <sup>e</sup>Sed uisa<sup>e</sup>

69 <sup>a</sup> secure *H* <sup>b</sup> *ACHN* add in before uictoria <sup>c</sup> *ACHN* add ducentis after  
peditibus <sup>d</sup> fuerat *A* <sup>e</sup> allocutus *A* <sup>f</sup> inimicorum *A* <sup>g</sup> cuncti *ACHN*  
<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> etiam Deus *A* <sup>i</sup> om. *H*

70 <sup>a</sup> omnes *ACHN* <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> Lignumque *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> Obscecati *E*  
<sup>d</sup> perseuerauerunt *ACHN* <sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> Visa quippe *ACHN*

69. After this victory by the Christians, which was won in September on the very eve of the nativity of Mary, blessed mother of God, when the sun rose the next day certain of the Gauls who were still alive and unhurt hastened once more to arms with their king, suspecting that battle was still threatening from the gentiles, but they were not found or seen anywhere on the plains of the region. And so, free from danger and rejoicing in victory, they arranged to return to Jaffa and Jerusalem. As the king was returning with only forty knights and a few infantry who had only just escaped, twenty thousand Saracens who had besieged Jaffa and had not been involved in this battle on the previous evening, but on Meraius' instructions had harried the town with a massive attack, unexpectedly appeared on the open plain. Because there was no room to turn aside from them the king decided to make a stand, encouraging all his men in a loud and bold voice in this way: 'See how our enemies have arrived to meet us with weapons intact. Moreover, we are weary from the recent battle, it was late when we escaped the hands of our adversaries, by God's protection alone, leaving our foe conquered. Our noblest men and all the cavalry except us fell. Therefore what shall we few do against these many thousands as yet untouched by war? We are few and tired from the late battle; there is no room or possibility to evade them, and so I don't know what else I may advise, other than that we all stand firm in the name of Lord Jesus and the power of the Holy Cross, and fight against these unbelievers. For God is even powerful enough to deliver us from their hands, just as yesterday too he delivered us from the power of very many strong forces. If, moreover, we are destined for death and destruction, let us have confidence and hope, because if we allow our body to be killed in this world for the name of Jesus and the saints of Jerusalem, in the world to come we shall be able to keep safe our souls for eternal life along with our brothers who were butchered and destroyed for Christ in yesterday's battle.'

70. All the knights and foot soldiers were strengthened by this encouragement from the king, and in hope of eternal life they waited for the enemy hordes, and when they saw them from far off they hastily took up weapons. And holding the Lord's true Cross always before their gaze, they joined battle fiercely with the enemy. Thereupon the Saracens were blinded and enfeebled in face of so revered a token, it struck fear in them so that they did not hold out long in battle. But

Christianorum audacia et suorum nimia ruina, alii uersus Ascalonam fugam inierunt, alii uersus montana Ierusalem uicti ac dispersi diffugium fecerunt, imminuti graui exterminio, rege crudeliter eos insequente. Rex autem reuersus a cede hostium, paucissimis in unum  
 553 receptis sociis, cum spoliis recentibus, | auro et argento, equis et mulis, <sup>f</sup>et plurimis opibus<sup>f</sup> Iafeth declinauit. Vbi reuera et proculdubio lorica ferrea et ueste ostrea exutus est,<sup>g</sup> que tota ceruicibus tabe et sanguine hostium inebriata fuisse ibidem uisa est. Noctem illam rex illic in leticia et hylaritate <sup>h</sup>et ciborum<sup>h</sup> habundantia exegit. Ciues uero exurgentes, et in campos<sup>i</sup> Ascalonis festinantes, tentoria, aurum et argentum, et multa preciosa spolia occisorum gentilium que rex et sui<sup>j</sup> paucissimi deferre nequiuierant, asinorum et camelorum uehiculo in ciuitatem Ioppe attulerunt. Dehinc, crastina luce effulgente, rex in gloria magna Ierosolimam ascendit. Vbi de omnibus spoliis et preda inimicorum decimam<sup>k</sup> hospitali, <sup>l</sup>et pauperibus Christi<sup>l</sup> erogauit.

71. Wicherus autem Alemannus eodem anno, paulo ante hoc prelium ualidis febribus correptus, mense Augusto obiit, sepultus<sup>a</sup> in ciuitate Ioppe. Qui gladio suo quo Turcum trans loricam<sup>b</sup> et uestes super pontem Antiochie medium secuit, non modicam regi opem hic contulisset, nisi morte interueniente uitam finisset. Hic miles magnificus leonem magnum et horribilem, uiros et armenta sepius iuxta montana deuorantem, in regione Ioppe, die quadam equum pascen-tem<sup>c</sup> inuadere uolentem munitus clipeo aggressus est. Quem facili pede et saltu facie ad faciem sibi occurrentem eiusdem acutissimi gladii ictu percussit, ac fortiter cerebro eius diuiso in partes, crudele et intrepidum animal in campestribus mortuum reliquit.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>f f</sup> opibusque plurimis ACHN      <sup>g</sup> om. N      <sup>h h</sup> ciborumque ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> campis H      <sup>j</sup> suiue ACHN; N adds quam after sui      <sup>k</sup> decimas ACHN  
<sup>l l</sup> Christique pauperibus ACHN

71      <sup>a</sup> sepultusque est ACHN      <sup>b</sup> loricam ACHN      <sup>c</sup> in pastu A      <sup>d</sup> CH add  
 Explicit liber septimus after reliquit

seeing the Christians' boldness and their own very great destruction, some took flight towards Ascalon, others made their escape towards the mountains of Jerusalem, defeated and scattered, weakened by the great disaster, while the king pursued them mercilessly. When the king returned from slaughtering the enemy, however, very few of his comrades were brought back together, and he turned aside to Jaffa with his fresh spoils, gold and silver, horses and mules, and very great riches. In truth and beyond dispute, when he took off his iron hauberk and purple clothing in that place it looked entirely saturated up to the neck with the blood and gore of the enemy. The king passed that night there in happiness and merriment and plentiful feasting. The townspeople got up and hurried onto the plains of Ascalon, and by way of donkey and camel transport they brought into the town of Jaffa tents, gold and silver, and much precious plunder from the slaughtered gentiles which the king and his very few men had been unable to carry away. Then, at dawn on the following day, the king went up to Jerusalem in great triumph. There he paid out one tenth of all the spoils and plunder from the enemy to the hospital and Christ's poor.

71. In the same year Wicher the Swabian, who had been taken ill with a severe fever a short while before this battle, died in the month of August and was buried in the town of Jaffa. This man would have been a great support to the king with the sword he used to cut the Turk in half through hauberk and clothing on the bridge at Antioch, had he not prematurely ended his life. This splendid knight, protected by a shield, one day attacked a great and horrible lion, which used often to devour men and cattle next to the mountains, in the region of Jaffa, just as it was wanting to pounce on a grazing horse. As it came to meet him face to face with a nimble leap and a bound, he struck the lion a blow from his very sharp sword, so hard that its skull was split in two, and he left the cruel and fearless animal dead on the plains.

## LIBER OCTAVVS

559 1. Eodem tempore quo bellum hoc mense Septembri actum est, et  
 cruenta uictoria a rege Baldwino habita, anno regni ipsius<sup>a</sup> primo,  
 gens Longobardorum<sup>b</sup> numero<sup>c</sup> incomputabilis de regno Italie, post  
 captionem Antiochie et Ierusalem, audita Christianorum insigni  
 uictoria, e diuersis regionibus Italie collecta per regnum Vngarie  
 prospero itinere transeuntes, profecti sunt usque in regnum Bulgar-  
 orum, uolentes confratribus Christianis auxilio augeri et prodesse.<sup>1</sup>  
 Affuerunt in eodem uoto et comitatu uiri nobilissimi, episcopus  
 Mediolanensis,<sup>2</sup> Albertus comes illustris de Blandraz,<sup>3</sup> Wido frater  
 ipsius, miles egregius, Hugo de Montbeel,<sup>4</sup> Otto filius sororis  
 predicti Alberti, cognomine Altaspata, Wibertus comes ciuitatis  
 Parme,<sup>5</sup> 'et ceteri'<sup>e</sup> comprimores Italie, uiri mire nobilitatis et<sup>f</sup>  
 ductores exercitus, qui circiter triginta milia conglobati, terram et  
 regnum Bulgarorum, ut prediximus, in manu forti ingressi sunt.

2. Ingressi autem direxerunt nuncia imperatori Constantinopolis,  
 quatenus eius gratia et dono in terra Bulgarorum que de eius erat  
 regno et potestate, uite necessaria precio mutuarent<sup>a</sup> et sic<sup>a</sup> pacifice  
 terram eius pertransirent. Accepta itaque tam egregii et catholici  
 exercitus legatione et petitione, rex Grecorum benigne omnia que  
 560 rogabant concessit, hac scilicet conditione interposita, ne | tanta  
 adunatio aliqua uiolentia ea loca que sui essent iuris deuastarent,<sup>b</sup> aut<sup>c</sup>  
 facta temere seditione conturbarent.<sup>d</sup> Hac igitur conditione contulit

1    <sup>a</sup> eius *H*    <sup>b</sup> Langobardorum *H* here and *C* later    <sup>c</sup> om. *H*    <sup>d</sup> Monte Beel *H*  
 'et ceterique' *ACHN*    <sup>e</sup> om. *ACHN*

2    <sup>a</sup> sicque *ACHN*    <sup>b</sup> uastarent *A*; uastaret *CHN*    <sup>c</sup> seu *ACHN*  
<sup>d</sup> perturbaret *A*; conturbaret *CHN*

<sup>1</sup> This expedition was one of several usually referred to collectively as the Crusade of 1101. All were a response to the capture of Jerusalem, and the crusade leaders' letters expressing the need for reinforcements. Primary evidence is relatively scant after the battle of Ascalon in 1099, and likewise there are few secondary works on the 1101 expeditions. See J. L. Cate, 'The crusade of 1101', in Setton, gen. ed., *History of the Crusades*, i. 343-67; A. Mulinder, 'The Crusading Expeditions of 1101-2', Ph.D. thesis (University of Wales, Swansea, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Anselm of Buis, archbishop of Milan (d. at Constantinople, 1101). See Landulphus de S. Paulo, *Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new edn.

## BOOK EIGHT

1. At the same time as this battle took place in September, and King Baldwin had a bloody victory, in the first year of his reign, a host of Lombards from the kingdom of Italy, countless in number, who had heard of the Christians' remarkable victory after Antioch and Jerusalem had been taken, gathered from different regions of Italy and travelled through the kingdom of Hungary, making good progress, then set out for the kingdom of the Bulgars, wanting to add reinforcements and to be of use to their Christian brothers.<sup>1</sup> Among the company who had taken this same vow were some very noble men: the bishop of Milan;<sup>2</sup> Albert, distinguished count of Biandrate;<sup>3</sup> Guido his brother, an outstanding knight; Hugo of Montbeel;<sup>4</sup> Otto, son of the sister of the aforementioned Albert, surnamed Altaspata; Guibert count of the city of Parma,<sup>5</sup> and the other Italian chiefs, men of wonderful nobility and leaders of the army, who had massed together around thirty thousand and, as we have said already, entered the land and kingdom of the Bulgars in strength.

2. When they entered, they sent messages to the emperor of Constantinople asking that by his favour and gift they might buy necessary provisions in the land of the Bulgars which belonged to his kingdom and dominion, and thus travel peacefully through his land. When he received the legation and request of such an outstanding and Christian army, the king of the Greeks graciously granted everything they asked, but on this condition, of course, that so great an assembly would not by the use of any violence destroy those places which were under his jurisdiction, nor make trouble by rashly stirring up sedition. Therefore on this condition he granted them licence to

by G. Carducci and V. Fiorini (Bologna, 1934), v. 3, p. 5; Caffaro, *Lib. Or.*, p. 112; Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 164; RC, p. 709; GN, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Albert of Biandrate (prov. Novara, Italy). His participation in the Lombard expedition is recorded by Anna Komnene, as well as Latin historians (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 36; trans. Sewter, p. 355; OV, v. 336; Caffaro, *Lib. Or.*, p. 112). Anna also mentions the count's brother, but his nephew Otto is not recorded other than by Albert.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Montebello (prov. Pavia, Italy).

<sup>5</sup> According to P. Riant, this was Albert, the brother (or nephew) of the antipope: 'Un dernier triomphe d'Urbain II', *Revue des questions historiques*, xxxiv (1883), 247-55, at pp. 252-4.

eis uendendi et emendi licentiam in eiusdem regni Bulgarorum castellis, pane, uino, carne et omni pinguedine opulentissimis, castello uidelicet Rossa,<sup>6</sup> Panedos,<sup>7</sup> Rostho,<sup>8</sup> et castello <sup>f</sup>de Damis,<sup>f9</sup> et castello cognomine de Natura,<sup>10</sup> et Salabriis, Antronopolim<sup>g</sup> et Phynepopolim, ut per hec hospitati, pacifice bonis terre uitam sustentarent.<sup>h</sup>

3. Hanc autem<sup>a</sup> in terram uenientes, mandatum regis transgressi sunt, nec audierunt ductores et principes exercitus, sed omnia sine modo, sine ratione depredati sunt, sine aliqua mutuatione Bulgaris et Grecis sua auferentes, pecora et uolatilia eorum diripientes, <sup>b</sup>et, quod<sup>b</sup> nefas est dicere de populo catholico, quadragesimali tempore et ieiunio ea deuorantes. Fregerunt etiam in predictis locis et ciuitatibus ipsius pii imperatoris oratoria, propter ambitionem rerum que in eis erant recondite a facie tante multitudinis. Et,<sup>c</sup> quod auditu horrendum est, mamillas cuiusdam mulieris sua defendentis quidam ex parasitis impie detruncavit. Audita hac infamia crudeli<sup>d</sup> et deuastatione intolerabili, que regno<sup>e</sup> Bulgarorum ab hiis inferebatur, et querimonia suorum, imperator ad primates et magistratus legionis nuncia direxit, quatenus non ultra in hiis morarentur regionibus, castellis et ciuitatibus, sed festinato ad se in ciuitatem Constantinopolis, que caput totius est Grecie, regia uia contenderent. Venerunt ergo ad eandem ciuitatem Constantinopolis, et ex ipsius regis ordinatione et decreto in litore maris, quod uocant Brachium Sancti Georgii, ex hac parte tabernacula sua locauerunt in crepidine aluei, spacio trium miliariorum. Duobus autem mensibus a ueris tempore illic consederunt, priusquam aliqua societas de regno Francie aut Alemannie illis iungeretur.<sup>11</sup> Vbi etiam plurimis iniuriis sicut erant soliti ipsum imperatorem ad odium et iram commouerunt.

561 4. Imperator uero, plurimis illorum iniuriis sepius concitatus, timens ne tot ac tantis copiis amplior uis diuersarum nationum augeretur, et sic audaciores facti, aut auaricia aut aliqua occasione assumpta

<sup>e</sup> Rosto *H*      <sup>ff</sup> Dedamis *AHN*      <sup>g</sup> Andronopolim *CH*      <sup>h</sup> *ACHN* add  
affluenter after sustentarent

3      <sup>a</sup> denique *ACHN*      <sup>b b</sup> quodque *ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> Item *ACHN*      <sup>d</sup> om. *A*      <sup>e</sup> *A*  
adds in before regno

<sup>6</sup> Modern Keşan (prov. Edirne, Turkey).

<sup>7</sup> Modern Barbaros (formerly Panizo) on the Sea of Marmara (prov. Tekirdağ, Turkey).

<sup>8</sup> Now Tekirdağ (provincial capital, Turkey).

sell and buy in the fortified towns of that same kingdom of the Bulgars, which were very rich in bread, wine, meat, and every abundance, namely the castle at Rossa,<sup>6</sup> Panedos,<sup>7</sup> Rostho,<sup>8</sup> and the castle de Damis,<sup>9</sup> and the castle nicknamed de Natura,<sup>10</sup> and Salabria, Adrianople, and Philippopolis, so that, being provisioned by these, they would peacefully sustain themselves by the fruits of the earth.

3. However, when they came into this land they disobeyed the king's orders and did not listen to the leaders and princes of the army, but plundered everything without restraint or reason, without offering anything of their own to the Bulgars and Greeks in exchange, ravaging their cattle and fowls and—a wicked thing to say of a Christian people—devouring them during the Lenten fast. They even violated chapels of the pious emperor himself in the aforesaid places and towns, on account of their desire for the things which had been hidden in them from the sight of so great a multitude. And—it makes you shudder to hear it—one of these parasites wickedly cut off the breasts a woman who was defending her own. When he heard of this cruel disgrace and intolerable devastation which was being inflicted on the kingdom of the Bulgars by these men, and the complaints of his own people, the emperor sent messages to the leaders and officers of the army, saying they should remain no longer in these regions, castles, and towns, but should make haste along the royal way to himself in the town of Constantinople, which is the chief city of all Greece. So they came to that same town of Constantinople, and on the order and decree of the king himself they pitched their tents on the seashore, which they call the straits of St George, on this side on the bank of the channel, three miles distant. They sat there for two months from the springtime, waiting for some allied group from France or Germany to join them.<sup>11</sup> Even there they provoked the emperor himself to hatred and anger by many injuries, as they had done all along.

4. The emperor, who was frequently annoyed by their many harmful deeds, was fearful lest the greater strength of different peoples should be added to their many and great forces, and in that way they would

<sup>9</sup> Modern Dimetoka (prov. Çanakkale, Turkey).

<sup>10</sup> Formerly Athyra, now Büyükçekmece (prov. İstanbul, Turkey).

<sup>11</sup> For the question of the nature of the 1101 expeditions—whether a concerted crusade was planned from the beginning—as for many matters of detail, I am grateful to A. Mulinder for access to his Ph.D. thesis: 'The crusading expeditions of 1101–2' (above, n. 1).

insurgentes ciuitatem Constantinopolis<sup>a</sup> debellarent, ammonuit eos ne ultra in locis hiis aut litore remanerent, sed quantocius abhinc migrantes, in terminis Cappadocie<sup>b</sup> et Romanie apud portum Ciuitoth<sup>c</sup> et Rufinel hospitati moram facerent, donec affuture legiones et copie cum eis simul in unum confluerent. Responderunt unanimiter se minime brachium maris transituros, donec ampliores uires tam Francorum quam Alemannorum obtinerent. Audita hac Longobardorum obstinata responsione, nolle ab statione occupati maris amoueri<sup>d</sup> ante aduentum future societatis, imperator illis uendendi et emendi licentiam interdixit, et statim penuria necessariorum uite per triduum in populo facta est. Videntes autem Longobardi regis iram et contradictionem<sup>e</sup> necessariorum uite, et sic famis angustiam fieri in populo, subito uniuersi, tam equites quam pedites, armis induuntur, ad portam et muros maioris palatii ciuitatis in ligonibus, uncis ferreis<sup>f</sup> et malleis<sup>g</sup> conferuntur, ad locum qui dicitur sanctum<sup>h</sup> Argentum. Vbi in duobus locis infringentes et intrantes, in primis iuuenem de sanguine ipsius imperatoris peremerunt, deinde leonem domitum qui erat gratus in palatio imperatoris<sup>h</sup> occiderunt.<sup>12</sup>

5. Episcopus uero Mediolanensium, et Albertus comes de Blandraz, et Hugo de Montbeel, et ceteri prudentiores "et primi" exercitus, cognoscentes seditionem hanc pessimam sibi suisque plus nocere quam prodesse, in medio populi exurgentes, hoc malum ultra fieri prohibuerunt. Et<sup>b</sup> tandem nunc minis nunc blanditiis populum compescentes, quemque in sua castra remiserunt. Sedata itaque hac lite grauissima, prefatus episcopus et comes nauigio uenerunt ad  
 562 ipsum | imperatorem per brachium eiusdem maris, eo quod miliario et eo<sup>c</sup> amplius a ciuitate et regis palatio hospitati essent. Qui confidenter ad eum ingressi, animum illius mitigare et ab ira indignationis sue<sup>d</sup> reuocare conabantur, cum iuramento affirmantes se ab hoc facto innoxios, et ab insensatis et<sup>e</sup> incorrigibilibus hominibus hec mala suscitata et orta fuisse. Econtra imperator preteritarum iniuriarum illis molestiam referebat,<sup>f</sup> dein<sup>g</sup> contumelias quas recenter nunc in eius presentia fecerant, scilicet in palatii sui destructione, in

4    <sup>a</sup> Constantinopolim ACHN    <sup>b</sup> Capadocie AN    <sup>c</sup> Ciuitot H    <sup>d</sup> amoueri N  
<sup>e</sup> interdictionem H    <sup>f</sup> malleisque ACHN    <sup>g</sup> ACHN add ad before sanctum  
<sup>h</sup> om. A

5    <sup>a</sup> primique ACHN    <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>e</sup> ac  
 CHN    <sup>f</sup> inferebat A    <sup>g</sup> deinde N

become bolder and either from greed or on some pretext they would attack and wage war on the city of Constantinople, so he warned them not to stay any longer in these places or on the shore, but to leave there, the sooner the better, and stay quartered in the territory of Cappadocia and Rûm at the port of Civitot and Rufinel, until the armies and forces which were coming were joined with them at the same time. They replied unanimously that they would not cross the sea straits until they received reinforcements of both French and Germans. When he heard this obstinate reply from the Lombards, that they would not move from their position by the sea before the arrival of their future allies, the emperor forbade them the licence to buy and sell, and at once there was a shortage of vital provisions for three days among the people. The Lombards saw the king's anger and his forbidding vital supplies, and that this was causing a problem of hunger among the people, and at once all of them, cavalry and infantry alike, armed themselves and gathered with mattocks, iron hooks, and hammers at the gate and walls of the greater palace in the town, at the place called St Argent. There they broke in and entered in two places and first they killed a young man of the emperor's own blood, and then they slaughtered a tame lion which was a pet in the emperor's palace.<sup>12</sup>

5. The bishop of Milan, and Albert count of Biandrate, and Hugo of Montbeel, and the rest of the more sensible men and leaders of the army, realizing that this dreadful insurrection was doing them and their men more harm than good, rose up in the midst of the army and forbade this evil to go on any longer. And eventually they restrained the people, now by threatening, now by coaxing, and sent each back to his camp. And so, once this very serious strife had been quietened, the aforesaid bishop and count came by ship to the emperor himself, by way of the straits of that same sea, because they had been quartered a mile or more from the city and the royal palace. They went in to him fearlessly and tried to soothe his temper and to talk him out of the anger of his displeasure, declaring on oath that they were innocent of this deed and that these evils were stirred up and instigated by foolish and incorrigible men. The emperor, for his part, reminded them in return of the trouble of past misdeeds, and then of the damage which they had just recently done in his presence, namely the destruction of his palace, the killing of his relative, and the

<sup>12</sup> Albert's account may throw some light on Orderic Vitalis's confused description of events: he depicts the emperor defending his palace with lions and leopards (OV, v. 330).

proximi sui mortificatione, in leonis sui occisione. Sed predicti principes astuti, et in responsis moderati ac disertī, molestiam animi imperatoris omnibus modis lenire temptabant, primum se cum iuramento excusantes, quod minime sua uoluntate aut consensu hec mala acta sint. Tandem imperator, humili illorum excusatione placatus, omnia que sibi fuerant illata, per intercessionem tantorum principum cum omni beniuolentia cordis peregrinis laxauit. Sed<sup>b</sup> sicut consilio suorum disposuerat, iterum eos de transitu brachii maris ammonēbat, adeo de regni sui inuasionē<sup>i</sup> sollicitus, ut magnis muneribus auri, argenti et ostri datis,<sup>j</sup> et maioribus<sup>j</sup> promissis, apud istos obtinere et impetrare conaretur quatenus multitudinem hanc redderent uoluntariam transeundi brachium maris. Hiis magnis donis et promissis imperatoris corruptus Albertus de Blandraz, et nimium imperatori<sup>k</sup> credens, decem equos cum aliis rebus preciosis suscepit. Sed episcopus sollerti prouidentia omnia hec sibi oblata refutat,<sup>l</sup> timens ne si exercitus transiret a Grecis molestatis<sup>m</sup> Turcorum armis occidendi traderentur. Videns autem imperator constantiam episcopi, omnibus modis cum eo redit<sup>n</sup> in concordiam, et eius petitioni adquiescens, iterato concessit peregrinis uendendi et emendi licentiam, firmato utrimque foedere pacis conseruande. Descenderat autem eodem tempore comes Reimundus a Laodicia in ciuitatem Constantinopolis,<sup>13</sup> qui multum peregrinis in reconcilia-tione imperatoris profuit, primus et collateralis illi in omni consilio et decreto factus <sup>o</sup>ante omnes<sup>o</sup> qui Ierosolimam ascenderunt. Tandem Pascha Domini celebrato,<sup>14</sup> post aliquot dies Longobardi brachium maris transeuntes ad ciuitatem Nicomediam<sup>p</sup> peruenerunt.<sup>15</sup>

6. Cunradus<sup>q</sup> similiter, stabularius Heinrici<sup>b</sup> tercii Romanorum imperatoris,<sup>16</sup> cum duobus milibus Theutonicorum Constantinopolim perueniens, imperatori Alexi notificatus, gratiam in oculis eius inuenit, pre  
563 omnibus<sup>c</sup> dilectus et magnificis donis | honoratus. Qui et ipse, brachio maris traiecto, Longobardorum principibus sociatur. Dehinc Stephanus comes Blesensium, penitentia ductus, Ierosolimam reditum

<sup>b</sup> Attamen ACHN <sup>i</sup> ACHN add et impedimento after inuasionē  
<sup>j j</sup> maioribusque ACHN <sup>k</sup> ei ACHN <sup>l</sup> refutauit A <sup>m</sup> molestatus H  
<sup>n</sup> rediit A <sup>o o</sup> pre omnibus ACHN <sup>p</sup> Nicomedie A

6 <sup>q</sup> Cūnradus CH, and A later. E has Cuonradus and N Conradus later <sup>b</sup> Henrici AN <sup>c</sup> cunctis ACHN

<sup>13</sup> This reads as though Albert thought Raymond had very recently arrived in Constantinople, but see above, vii. 27 and note. <sup>14</sup> 21 Apr. 1101.

slaughter of his lion. But the aforesaid princes, who were shrewd, and moderate and eloquent in their replies, tried in every way to soften the emperor's bad temper, first of all absolving themselves on oath, because these evils were not done by their wish or consent. At length the emperor, soothed by their humble plea, with all the graciousness of his heart forgave the pilgrims everything they had done to him, because of the intercession of such princes. But, just as had been decided by a council of his men, he warned them once again about crossing the sea straits, and he was so worried about an invasion of his kingdom that he tried, by giving great gifts of gold, silver, and purple, and making greater promises, to obtain and procure from them agreement that they would get this multitude to cross the sea straits of its own free will. Albert of Biandrate was bribed by these great gifts and promises from the emperor, and as he trusted the emperor utterly he received ten horses with other precious things. But with intelligent foresight the bishop refused all these things which were offered to him, being afraid that if the army crossed it would be betrayed by the annoyed Greeks to be killed by Turkish weapons. When the emperor saw the bishop's steadfastness he returned altogether to friendship with him, and, in accordance with his request, he once more granted the pilgrims licence to sell and buy, both sides making a treaty to keep the peace. Moreover, at that time Count Raymond had come down from Latakia into the city of Constantinople,<sup>13</sup> and he was very useful to the pilgrims in reconciling them with the emperor, since he had been made first and close councillor to him in every decision and decree before all those who went up to Jerusalem. At last, when Easter had been celebrated,<sup>14</sup> some days later the Lombards crossed the sea straits and arrived at the town of Nicomedia.<sup>15</sup>

6. Conrad, similarly, constable to Henry III emperor of the Romans,<sup>16</sup> arrived at Constantinople with two thousand Germans. He was introduced to Emperor Alexios and found favour in his eyes, being preferred to all others and honoured with splendid gifts. He too crossed the sea straits and joined the Lombard princes. Then Stephen count of Blois, brought here by penitence, was planning to return to

<sup>13</sup> Ekkehard of Aura had travelled with this expedition up to this point, but he explains how he decided to carry on by sea, reaching Jaffa after six weeks (Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 166). His tone is very anti-Byzantine—he says Alexios had even set ambushes for the crusader ships—and this also pervades his quite detailed description of the experiences of the main army in Asia Minor.

<sup>16</sup> Conrad's participation is recorded only by Albert, and nothing is known of his career in the western empire.

parans,<sup>d 17</sup> Stephanus quoque dux Burgundie,<sup>e 18</sup> Milo etiam de Braio,<sup>19</sup> Wido pariter rufus capite,<sup>20</sup> Hugo Bardolfus<sup>f</sup> de Breis,<sup>21</sup> Engelrandus<sup>g</sup> episcopus de monte Lauduni,<sup>h 22</sup> uiscomes<sup>i</sup> de Firmamento Reinoldus,<sup>23</sup> episcopus de Suessiones,<sup>j 24</sup> Baldwinus de Grantpreit<sup>k</sup> miles pulcherrimus,<sup>25</sup> Dodo<sup>l</sup> de Claromonte, Walbertus castellarius Lauduni,<sup>26</sup> hii omnes de regno occidentalis Francie cum omnibus copiis suis ibidem in ciuitate et regione Nicomedie Longobardis associati sunt,<sup>m</sup> et e diuersis terris<sup>n</sup> et regionibus profecti, in eandem ciuitatem conuenisse et in eius finibus moras fecisse referuntur.

7. Dehinc, appropinquante die sancti<sup>27</sup> Pentecostes, de diuersis mundi partibus congregati <sup>a</sup>in unum<sup>a</sup> circiter ducenta <sup>b</sup>sexaginta milia,<sup>b</sup> cum filiis et uxoribus plurimorum, cum clericis et monachis et plurima manu inertis uulgi conductum imperatoris Constantino-  
polis quesierunt, qui precibus eorum satisfaciens, comitem Sancti Egidii, quia eius erat priuatus, cum quingentis Turcopolorum equitibus<sup>c</sup> illis constituit, quatenus eius conductu et ordinatione iter suum continuarent<sup>d</sup> et<sup>e</sup> prouide agerent uniuersa. Hiis ita dispositis, et comite Reimundo consiliario et ductore exercitus facto, Stephanus Blesensis uiam qua dux Godefridus et Boemundus et<sup>f</sup> primus incessit exercitus, per terram Nicomedie et Romanie proficisci disposuit, quia sic tutum et prosperum iter illi<sup>g</sup> uidebatur et plurimis de societate. Sed Longobardi, in multitudine sua confidentes, per montana et regionem Flaganie se ituros <sup>h</sup>in magno<sup>h</sup> discidio firmauerunt, dicentes se etiam regnum Corruzana<sup>i</sup> ui intrare, ac Boemundum de captiuitate Turcorum aut extorquere et liberare, aut in uirtute sua ciuitatem Baldac,<sup>j 28</sup> que est caput regni Corruzana, obsidere et destruere, <sup>k</sup>et

<sup>d</sup> parat ACHN    <sup>e</sup> Borgundie E    <sup>f</sup> Bardulfus A later    <sup>g</sup> Engilrandus H here  
and later, C later. ACN have Engelradus later    <sup>h</sup> Laudimi N    <sup>i</sup> Wiscomes A  
<sup>j</sup> Suessionis C; Suessiones N later    <sup>k</sup> Grantpret A here, Granpreit AN later  
<sup>l</sup> Dúdo H later    <sup>m</sup> om. A    <sup>n</sup> regnis A

7    <sup>a</sup> om. H    <sup>b</sup> milia sexaginta A    <sup>c</sup> militibus A    <sup>d</sup> continuantes H  
<sup>e</sup> om. H    <sup>f</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>g</sup> om. A    <sup>h</sup> graui A    <sup>i</sup> Corrozana AC  
<sup>j</sup> Baldach A    <sup>k</sup> sicque ACHN

<sup>17</sup> Orderic tells how Stephen's wife Adela nagged him into returning to fulfil the vow he had broken when he deserted at Antioch: OV, v. 324.

<sup>18</sup> Stephen, son of Rainald I, count of Burgundy and Mâcon (FC, p. 430; OV, v. 324; GN, pp. 313, 316).

<sup>19</sup> Castellan of Bray and viscount of Troyes (dépt. Aube, France): OV, v. 30, 324, 326.

<sup>20</sup> Guy II 'the Red', count of Rochefort (Rochefort-en-Yvelines, dépt. Yvelines, France): see OV, v. 30, 324, 346; Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, ed. H. Waquet (Paris, 1929), pp. 38-40.

Jerusalem.<sup>17</sup> There were also: Stephen duke of Burgundy;<sup>18</sup> Miles of Bray too;<sup>19</sup> likewise Guy with the red hair;<sup>20</sup> Hugh Bardulf of Broyes;<sup>21</sup> Engelrand bishop of Mount Laon;<sup>22</sup> Reinold viscount of Firmamentum;<sup>23</sup> the bishop of Soissons;<sup>24</sup> Baldwin of Grandpré, a very handsome knight;<sup>25</sup> Dodo of Clermont; and Walbert castellan of Laon.<sup>26</sup> All these from the kingdom of western Francia, with all their troops, joined the Lombards there in the town and region of Nicomedia, and though they had set out from different lands and regions they are reported to have come together into that same town and to have stopped a while within its territory.

7. Then, when the day of holy Pentecost was approaching,<sup>27</sup> those who had gathered from different parts of the world—about two hundred and sixty thousand of them, with the sons and wives of many, with clerics and monks and a very great host of non-combatants—sought an escort from the emperor of Constantinople, who responded to their entreaties by appointing for them the count of Saint-Gilles, because he was in his confidence, with five hundred Turcopole cavalry, so that they would go on their way under his escort and orders and would do everything sensibly. With matters arranged in this way, and Count Raymond made adviser and leader of the army, Stephen of Blois decided to set out on the road by which Duke Godfrey and Bohemond and the first army had marched, through the land of Nicomedia and Rûm, because the route seemed safe and agreeable to him and to many of the company. But the Lombards, trusting in their great numbers, declared that they would go in a great, separate army through the mountains and region of Paphlagonia, saying they would also enter the kingdom of Khurasan forcibly, and they would either obtain by force the release of Bohemond from Turkish captivity, or would use their strength to besiege and destroy the city of Baldac,<sup>28</sup> which is the chief city in the

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Bardulf II, lord of Broyes (départ. Marne, France): see *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, ed. J. Laurent, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907–11), ii. 34–5, 111, 439, 521–2.

<sup>22</sup> Engelrand of Coucy, bishop of Laon 1098/9–1104. See also GN, p. 314; *Auctarium Laudunense*, MGH SS vi. 445 (records his death).

<sup>23</sup> Not identified.

<sup>24</sup> Hugh of Pierrefonds, bishop of Soissons 1093–1103 (GN, p. 313).

<sup>25</sup> Département Ardennes, France. See Laurentius de Leodio, *Ex Historia Episcoporum Virdunensium*, RHGF xiii. 628–39, at p. 632.

<sup>26</sup> Dodo is thought to have been lord of Clermont-en-Argonne (départ. Meuse, France). Walbert is almost certainly the 'Walbert of Laon' in viii. 15, but no more is known about him.

<sup>27</sup> 9 June 1101.

<sup>28</sup> Usually understood to be Baghdād, 'Irāq, but see Murray, 'Coroscane', p. 178.

564 sic<sup>b</sup> confratrem suum potenter a manicis eripere. Ste|phanus autem Blesensis et Reimundus ceterique comprimores intelligentes Longobardorum contentionem seuissimam et nimiam iactantiam liberationis Boemundi, non ualentes eos ab errore suo auertere, uia quam petebant profecti sunt, precedente ipso comite Reimundo, cum Turcopolis et magno imperatoris apparatu.<sup>29</sup>

8. Tribus dehinc septimanis euolutis, et adhuc in itinere suo prospere et habundanter peregrinis<sup>d</sup> epulantibus, et plurimis de populo illicite luxuriantibus et multum incestu commixtionis agentibus, in ipsa uigilia sancti Iohannis Baptiste ac precursoris Domini<sup>30</sup> uentum est ad montes ascensu difficiles et ualles profundissimas, deinde ad castellum quod dicitur Ancras,<sup>31</sup> ubi Turcos repertos fortiter assilientes, et in assultu usque in medium mane perdurantes, munitionem funditus diruerunt, ducentis ibidem Turcis detruncatis, ex quibus sex tantum capitales latitantes, in silentio noctis mortis periculum euaserunt. Hoc itaque castello<sup>b</sup> militibus imperatoris restituto,<sup>c</sup> eo quod de regno eius fuerit, et iniusta Turcorum inuasionem amiserit, profecti sunt ad presidium Gangara,<sup>32</sup> segetes et omnia sata regionis depopulantes, eo quod presidio nocere nequuerant, propter eius munitionem situ et natura locorum ualidam et insuperabilem. Hoc etenim presidio illeso et non superato, et ab uniuersa legione relicto, Turci uehementer letati sunt, quoniam munitio sua frustra a Christianis turbis uallata, nunc illesa et inuicta remanserat.<sup>d</sup> Ab ea die et deinceps exercitum persecuti, minus sequi ualentes pre lassitudine incursabant, et crebra cede sagittarum mortificabant.

9. Peruenerunt deinde Christianorum populi ad plurimas ciuitates et castella, quorum nomina latent. De quibus Turci dona et plurima<sup>a</sup> cibaria mittentes, comitem Reimundum precedentem<sup>b</sup> et milites imperatoris auertebant.<sup>33</sup> Et<sup>c</sup> sic corrupti per deserta et inuia et

8 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> castellum HN <sup>c</sup> restituentes H <sup>d</sup> remansit H

9 <sup>a</sup> multa ACHN <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>29</sup> Albert's account of events at this point agrees well enough with Anna Komnene's. She says that Alexios knew the crusaders' strategy was disastrous and sent Raymond and his own general Tzitas to try to mitigate the disaster (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 38; trans. Sewter, pp. 355-6).

<sup>30</sup> 23 June 1101.

<sup>31</sup> The modern Turkish capital.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Orderic Vitalis, whose editor identifies 'Gandras' as Çankırı, which lies about 60 miles north-east of Ankara (OV, v. 334 n. 5).

kingdom of Khurasan, and in this way snatch their brother powerfully from bondage. Moreover, Stephen of Blois and Raymond and the other leaders, who knew the Lombards' very fierce desire and excessive boasting about Bohemond's deliverance, were unable to turn them aside from their going astray, so they set out on the road they had chosen, Count Raymond himself going ahead with the Turcopoles and the emperor's impressive armament.<sup>29</sup>

8. When three weeks had passed after this, and the pilgrims on their journey were still feasting prosperously and plentifully, and many of the people were revelling in forbidden excesses and indulging much in unchaste liaisons, on the very vigil of St John the Baptist who was forerunner of the Lord<sup>30</sup> the army arrived at some mountains which were very difficult of ascent, and some very deep valleys, then at the castle which is called Ankara;<sup>31</sup> they attacked powerfully the Turks they found there, and in the course of an assault which lasted until the middle of the morning they utterly destroyed the defences; two hundred of the Turks were beheaded there, and only six of them, who hid in mortal fear, escaped the danger of death at dead of night. And so, after this castle had been restored to the emperor's soldiers, because it was part of his kingdom and he had lost it by the Turks' unlawful invasion, they set out to the fortress of Gangara,<sup>32</sup> laying waste all the cornfields and crops of the district because they were unable to harm the fortress on account of its strong and impregnable defensive position and the nature of the terrain. And indeed, because the fortress was unharmed and not conquered, and was left by all the great army, the Turks greatly rejoiced that their defences had been besieged by the Christian hordes in vain and now remained unharmed and unconquered. From that day on they pursued the army, attacking those who were less able to follow because of weariness, and killing with frequent arrow attacks.

9. The Christian peoples then came to many towns and castles, of which the names are unknown. The Turks sent gifts and many provisions from these places, and thus they turned aside Count Raymond and the imperial soldiers who were riding ahead.<sup>33</sup> And, being bought off in this way, they were leading the whole army

<sup>33</sup> Albert's tone is disapproving, but this policy made sense for both sides, since the crusaders could not afford to reduce the settlements one by one and were desperately in need of supplies. There was a precedent in the journey from Antioch to Jerusalem in 1099, when the coastal cities bought immunity from attack in a not dissimilar way.

565 solitudines locaque arida totum conducebant exercitum, ubi | assidue Turcorum insidie occurrentes eis, uniuersos de exercitu, negligentia aut lassitudine retardatos, trucidabant.<sup>34</sup> Perceptis igitur hiis<sup>d</sup> insidiis, et grauissima insecutione et populi contritione, primores exercitus decreuerunt retro et ante sue gentis custodiam fieri, ac Francigenas<sup>e</sup> milites circiter septingentos semper in fronte preire et precauere, Longobardos similiter ad<sup>f</sup> septingentos a tergo lassos et subsequentes fratres tueri et expectare. Turci uero, comperta Longobardorum custodia post tergum sui exercitus, supra quingentos in arcu et equis conglobati, subito clamore intonantes, eos a tergo incurrerunt, sagittarum grandine uelociter eos<sup>g</sup> uexantes et uulnerantes, dum<sup>h</sup> tandem terrore mortis attoniti Longobardi celeritate equorum in fugam conuersi sunt, miseros pedites et itinere fessos deserentes, quos Turci graui occisione circiter mille in hac prima custodia peremerunt. Crastina autem die illucescente<sup>i</sup> et crudeli fama attrite gentis perlata in castris<sup>j</sup> conturbati sunt omnes primores exercitus, multum Longobardis impropere, eo quod mollicie et pigricia eorum contritus et imminutus fuerit exercitus. Vnde alios decreuerunt statuere custodes fessi et a longe subsequentis populi, sed nemo se obtulit ad custodiam preter Stephanum<sup>k</sup> ducem Burgundie, qui cum quingentis loricatis equitibus sic tuebatur exercitum, ut nec unus in custodia sue diei de populo periret.

10. Sequenti uero die post Stephani custodiam, comes Reimundus sui<sup>a</sup> diei egit custodiam, quem Turci,<sup>b</sup> ad septingentos in unum collati,<sup>c</sup> nona diei hora in locis artissimis fortiter incurrentes, cum eo graue prelium sagittis<sup>d</sup> commiserunt. Sed comes uiriliter resistens non amplius quam tres suorum amisit, preter aliquos graui sagittarum infixione ibidem uulneratos. Comes igitur Reimundus, uidens quia bellum difficile <sup>e</sup>sibi suisque<sup>e</sup> ingruerat, et Turcorum copie accrescentes sibi uim inferebant, septem equites ueloci cursu remisit ad exercitum, qui iam spacio septem miliariorum precesserat, quatenus sibi aliqua manus quantocius mitteretur, que sibi suisque nimium et

<sup>d</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>e</sup> Francigenis A    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> exorta H    <sup>j</sup> castra ACHN    <sup>k</sup> om. H

10    <sup>a</sup> suc N    <sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> collecti A    <sup>d</sup> A adds in before sagittis    <sup>e</sup> e suisque sibi N

<sup>34</sup> Matthew of Edessa is outspoken in his condemnation of the Byzantines. He says that the officers had been commanded to lead the Franks through desolate regions and had even mixed lime into the bread rations (ME, p. 186).

through deserts and out-of-the-way places and wildernesses and dry places, where constant Turkish ambushes opposed them and slaughtered all those in the army who lagged behind through carelessness or weariness.<sup>34</sup> When they realized about these ambushes, and the very grave persecution and destruction of the army, the army leaders decreed that a guard should be placed before and behind their peoples, and around seven hundred Frankish soldiers should always go in front and be on watch, while similarly some seven hundred Lombards should protect and wait for their tired brothers following at the rear. The Turks saw the Lombards guarding the rear of their army and more than five hundred of them gathered with bows on horseback; they shouted with a sudden noise and bore down on them from behind, quickly attacking and wounding them with a hail of arrows, until at length the Lombards, struck by mortal fear, turned and fled at a gallop, deserting the wretched and travel-weary infantry, whom the Turks killed in a great slaughter, around a thousand in this first guard. When the following day dawned and the cruel news of the people's destruction was announced in the camp, all the army leaders were thrown into confusion and they greatly reproached the Lombards, because their weakness and sloth had permitted the destruction and ruin of the army. And so they decreed that others should stand guard over the weary people who were being pursued from afar, but no one offered to be a guard except Stephen duke of Burgundy, who with five hundred armoured cavalry protected the army in such a way that not a single person died on the day of his watch duty.

10. On the day following Stephen's watch it was Count Raymond's turn for guard duty and at the ninth hour of the day the Turks, who had assembled seven hundred together, charged him fiercely in very confined terrain and joined intense battle with him by shooting arrows. But the count fought back valiantly and lost no more than three of his men, not counting some who were wounded there by serious arrow strikes. Therefore Count Raymond, seeing that the battle was difficult for him and his men, and that the Turkish forces were increasing in number and prevailing against him, sent seven horsemen at a gallop back to the army, which had already moved on a distance of seven miles, to ask for any reinforcements to be sent to him as quickly as possible, to assist him and his men in the very pressing and long-drawn-out difficulties caused by the enemy's

diu angustiat<sup>f</sup> ab hostium<sup>g</sup> inpugnatione subueniret. Audita hac comitis legatione decem milia equitum ab exercitu in momento sequestrati, lorice induti, galeis operti, clipeis pectori obductis, eadem die uiam remensi sunt ad ferendum comiti auxilium, estimantes omnes Turcorum copias illuc<sup>h</sup> conuenisse. Turci ad hec septingenti, uisa comitis constantia et reuerse multitudinis audaci succursu, fugam uelociter arripuerunt in montanis abscondentes se. Ab illa denique die commixtis copiis, comes Reimundus et uniuersi ductores<sup>b</sup> et capitanei decem milium, cum omni manu equitum et  
 566 comitatu fatigatorum peditum, ad multitudinem exercitus redientes<sup>i</sup> conuenerunt, qui deinceps nullatenus diuidi, aut aliquibus in locis spaciari ulla fiducia presumpserunt, propter assiduos Turcorum assultus, et nimias illorum copias.

11. Dehinc per quindecim continuos dies uiam suam continuantes, amplius in solitudines et loca inhabitabilia et horroris, per montana asperissima incedebant, ubi nihil reperientes,<sup>a</sup> non hominem, non pecudem, graui fame ceperunt coartari, quin aurum<sup>b</sup> et argentum nemini prodesse poterat,<sup>b</sup> quia nullius generis esca reperiabatur, que precio mutuari posset. Si qui uero de Prouincialibus precurrebant quingenti seu ducenti uel trecenti ad inuestigandos cibos circumuenti a Turcis in momento occidebantur, quos subsequens exercitus cotidie detruncatos reperisse<sup>c</sup> perhibetur. Hec enim gens amplius prede et rapinis inhiabat pre omnibus et ideo ampliori casu ceteris periclitabatur. Tantum diuitibus et magnificis uiris qui uehiculis a portu Ciuitoth et a ciuitate Nicomedia farinam, panes, carnes siccas uel baccones<sup>d</sup> attulerant, sustentatio uite erat, ceteros<sup>e</sup> grauis inopia frondes, cortices arborum ac radices herbarum corrodere et sic uentrem implere cogebat.

12. Hac equidem artati inopia, mille pedites de exercitu in confinio ciuitatis Constamnes nomine,<sup>35</sup> explorato nouello ordeo sed nondum maturo,<sup>a</sup> eadem tamen onusti annonae, in quandam uallem descendentes, de arbustis et miricis ignem suscitauerunt, ipsa grana immaturi ordeis flammis exusta et torrida de culmis excutere ad implendos uentres statuentes. Similiter pomula cuiusdam miri et

<sup>f</sup> hostuum A      <sup>g</sup> illi H      <sup>h</sup> A adds exercitus after ductores      <sup>i</sup> redeuntes H

11      <sup>a</sup> repperientes C      <sup>b b</sup> nulli prodesse poterat, nec argentum ACHN  
<sup>c</sup> repperisse H      <sup>d</sup> baccones A      <sup>e</sup> ceteris H

12      <sup>a</sup> maturato A

attack. When they heard the count's message ten thousand cavalry separated from the army at once, put on hauberks, donned helmets, drew shields across their chests, and retraced their journey that same day to bring help to the count, thinking all the forces of the Turks had come together there. At this point the seven hundred Turks, who saw the count's steadfastness and the courageous assistance of the great number who turned back, swiftly took flight, concealing themselves in the mountains. With their forces mingled from that day onwards, Count Raymond and all the leaders and captains of the ten thousand, with all the strength of the cavalry and the company of tired infantry, turned back and rejoined the main body of the army, which from then on, they decided, would not be divided for any reason, or spread out in any terrain on any assurance, because of the Turks' constant attacks and their exceedingly large forces.

11. Then for fifteen successive days they continued their journey, going further into the deserts and inhospitable and dreadful places, through very rough mountainous regions where they found nothing, not a man, not a beast. They began to suffer keenly from hunger, and gold and silver were no good to anyone, because there was no food of any kind to be found which could be purchased. If any of the Provençals went on ahead—five hundred or two hundred or three hundred—to search for food, they were surrounded by Turks and killed instantly, and the army following is said daily to have found them beheaded. For this race longs more for plunder and pillage than any other and accordingly ran a greater risk than the rest. There was sustenance only for the wealthy and splendid men who had brought flour, bread, dried meat or flitches of bacon on carts from the port of Civitot and from the town of Nicomedia; the severe shortage forced the rest to gnaw branches, the bark of trees, and roots of plants, and so to fill their stomachs.

12. Constrained, to be sure, by this famine, a thousand foot soldiers from the army had discovered within the territory of the town called Kastamonu<sup>35</sup> new barley, but not yet ripe, and, laden nevertheless with this same corn, they went down into a certain valley and lit a fire from trees and shrubs, planning to shake from the stems these same grains of unripe barley, when it was burned by the flames and parched, to fill their stomachs. Likewise to appease their hunger

<sup>35</sup> Provincial capital, Turkey.

inauditi generis, fructum amarum quorundam fructectorum, ibidem in desertis reperta et collecta, ad mitigandam famem coquere didicerunt, sed propalati a crudelibus Turcis coronati sunt. Ad quos pre difficultate locorum,<sup>b</sup> montium et uallium cum nullus hostibus<sup>c</sup> pateret accessus, nec ulla esset facultas aut ars in sagittis nocendi, copioso igne ex ramis fructectorum et arida materie herbarum |  
 567 suscitato, uallem circumquaque impleuerunt, ex quo mille homines perusti sunt. Tam atroci fama combustionis et perditionis<sup>d</sup> catholice legionis in castris diuulgata, exterriti sunt uniuersi principes Christianorum, unde ab illo die sex diebus continuis semper<sup>e</sup> in unum conglobati sic<sup>f</sup> iter suum<sup>g</sup> moderati sunt,<sup>g</sup> ut pedites inter equites ad omne periculum et defensionem pariter adesse uiderentur.

13. Igitur uix sex<sup>a</sup> dies expleti sunt<sup>a</sup> et<sup>b</sup> ecce Turci Donimannus, Solimannus, Carageth,<sup>c</sup> Brodohan<sup>d</sup> de Halapia,<sup>e</sup> et a montanis Flaganie et omni regno Antiochie, cum uiginti milibus uiris sagittariis in arcu corneo et osseo, obuam Christianorum turmis affuerunt, qui omnem rem et angustias illorum explorantes, <sup>f</sup>in die Veneris<sup>f</sup> eos<sup>g</sup> bello aggredi statuerunt. Superauit namque eadem die exercitus fidelium Christi angustas et laboriosas fauces Flaganie, et in planicie campestri applicantes, eiusdem diei Veneris,<sup>h</sup> hora nona ad quiescendum castra posuerunt. Et ecce Turci propinquantes,<sup>i</sup> more<sup>j</sup> suo altis uocibus inclamantes, subito<sup>k</sup> totum coronauerunt exercitum, et utrimque graue prelium<sup>l</sup> commissum est.<sup>l</sup> Interdum Turci in castra repentino impetu aduolantes, Christianos milites lacescentes sagittis confgebant, interdum Galli et Longobardi, licet fessi et itinere grauati, exurgentes aduersus tot creberrimos assultus indignati, frequenter eos in fugam remittebant, quousque septingenti Turcorum corruerunt. Christianorum uero nulli<sup>m</sup> percussi sunt, nam in unum conglobatos, nequaquam irrumpere et dispergere<sup>n</sup> ea die Turci potuerunt. Turci autem uidentes se nihil hac die in cede Christianorum proficere, sed plurimos suorum cecidisse, tristes ac dolentes in castra sua, uespere terras operiente, regressi sunt. Similiter et Christianus exercitus<sup>o</sup> hac nocte<sup>o</sup> statutis uigiliis<sup>p</sup> et custodia<sup>p</sup> in circuitu castrorum, omni bellorum turbine sedato, requieuit.

<sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> hostium ACHN      <sup>d</sup> perditiones E      <sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> om. A  
<sup>g</sup> moderabantur A

13      <sup>a</sup> diebus expletis A; dies completi sunt H      <sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>c</sup> Karageth C  
<sup>d</sup> Brodoan AH      <sup>e</sup> Alapia AH      <sup>f</sup> sexta feria ACHN      <sup>g</sup> illos A      <sup>h</sup> ACHN  
 add scilicet ferie sexte after diei Veneris      <sup>i</sup> appropinquantes A      <sup>j</sup> ACHN add et before more      <sup>k</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>l</sup> commiserunt H      <sup>m</sup> nonnulli N      <sup>n</sup> disperdere A  
<sup>o</sup> om. A      <sup>p</sup> om. A

they learned to cook little fruit of a remarkable and unknown species, the bitter fruit of certain bushes, which were found and picked there in the deserts, but when they came into the open they were encircled by cruel Turks. Since the enemy found no way clear to get at the foot soldiers, on account of the difficulty of the terrain, the mountains and valleys, and did not have the opportunity or skill to harm them with arrows, they lit a great fire from branches of the bushes and dry plant material and filled the valley all around, and the thousand men were consumed by it. When the dreadful news of the burning and destruction of the Christian army became known in the camp, all the Christian princes were terrified, and so from that day for the six subsequent days they kept everyone always gathered together and regulated their journey so that the infantry were among the cavalry and were seen to be equally ready for any danger and defence.

13. The six days were only just over, when in the way of the Christian hordes stood the Turks Danishmend, Suleyman, Karageth, Ridwan of Aleppo, and men from the mountains of Paphlagonia and all the kingdom of Antioch, with twenty thousand archers armed with bows of horn and bone. They discovered how things stood with the Christians, and what their problems were, and they decided to join battle with them on the Friday. For on that same day the army of Christ's faithful had passed over the narrow and difficult passes of Paphlagonia and, making for the level plain, at the ninth hour of that very Friday they pitched camp to rest. And all at once the Turks were upon them, shouting at the tops of their voices in their usual way, and they suddenly encircled the entire army, and fierce battle was joined on both sides. Now the Turks, as they charged into the camp with a sudden rush, transfixing with arrows the Christian soldiers who challenged them; now the Gauls and Lombards, though tired and wearied by the journey, rose in indignation against so many continuous assaults, and often turned them back in flight, until seven hundred Turks had fallen. None of the Christians, indeed, was struck, for they had gathered together and the Turks were not able at all that day to break into and scatter them. When the Turks saw that they were getting nowhere that day in their slaughter of the Christians, but that very many of their own side had fallen, they returned sorrowing and grieving to their camp as evening covered the lands. Likewise the Christian army also, having posted guards and a watch around the camp, rested that night when all the storm of battle had subsided.

14. Sequenti uero die Sabbati, tria milia exercitus Christianorum, et  
 568 principes eo|rum Cunradus et<sup>a</sup> Bruno filius sororis eius,<sup>36</sup> <sup>b</sup>et ceteri<sup>b</sup>  
 uiri fortissimi a castris et a<sup>c</sup> planicie exeuntes, et in regionem ciuitatis  
 Maresch<sup>37</sup> applicantes, iam sui itineris miliariis duobus peractis,  
 presidium quoddam Turcorum assilierunt. Quod frustra a Turcis  
 defensum, sine aliqua mora comminuentes, omnia uite necessaria que  
 in eo erant diripuerunt, Turcos uero inibi repertos in ore gladii  
 percusserunt. Hoc prospero successu Christiani gaudentes, et spolia  
 Turcorum grandia et multa secum ad tentoria deferentes, per  
 quasdam<sup>d</sup> montium fauces asperrimas et scopulosas descenderunt.  
 Vbi ab<sup>e</sup> insidiis Turcorum circumuenti et sagittis lacesiti et<sup>f</sup> confixi,  
 parum repugnantes pre lassitudine et onere predarum angustiaque  
 locorum, ad septingentos perierunt, spolia omnia et predas Turcorum  
 licet inuiti illic relinquentes. Hii uero qui ab eorum manu euaserunt  
 singillatim et sparsim, sicut uicti<sup>g</sup> et attriti,<sup>g</sup> uespere ad castra relati  
 sunt tristes et dolentes, et ea die ultra<sup>h</sup> ab omni assultu exercitus  
 quietus<sup>i</sup> et lugens de casu sociorum<sup>j</sup> in tentoriis requieuit. Dominica  
 similiter die tam Turci quam Christiani ab omni infestatione et belli  
 turbine cessauerunt.

15. <sup>a</sup>Die autem lune<sup>a</sup> iam primo mane<sup>b</sup> radiante, episcopus Mediola-  
 nensium in medio exercitus exurgens, diuino tactus spiritu, hac die  
 bellum affuturum predixit, et sermonem ad populum Dei uiuentis  
 faciens, omnes ad confessionem delictorum uenire ammonuit, quos in  
 nomine Iesu apostolica potestate<sup>c</sup> a peccatorum nexibus absoluit,  
 uniuersos post datam indulgentiam brachio beati Ambrosii Mediola-  
 nensium<sup>d</sup> episcopi sanctificans et benedicens, quin lancea dominica  
 quam Reimundus secum attulerat aucta est ad sanctificandum et  
 benedicendum populum.<sup>38</sup> Post hanc benedictionem et sue confes-  
 sionis puritatem, Stephanus dux Burgundie, miles clarissimus, ex suo  
 populo sibi aciem constituit, Reimundus Turcopolos<sup>e</sup> et Prouinciales  
 in sua acie retinuit, Cunradus uero, stabularius imperatoris tercii  
 Heinrici, Alemannos, Saxones, Bawarios, Lotharingios et uniuersos

14    <sup>a</sup> om. N    <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> ceterique ACHN    <sup>c</sup> om. AH    <sup>d</sup> quasdas N    <sup>e</sup> om.  
 ACHN    <sup>f</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>g</sup> fuerant A    <sup>h</sup> om. A    <sup>i</sup> om. H    <sup>j</sup> suorum  
 ACHN

15    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> Secunda autem feria ACHN    <sup>b</sup> om. CEHN    <sup>c</sup> auctoritate A  
<sup>d</sup> Mediolanensis ACHN    <sup>e</sup> Turcopoleos ACHN

<sup>36</sup> Nothing else is known about Bruno.

<sup>37</sup> Merzifon, prov. Samsun, Turkey.

14. On the following day, the Sabbath, three thousand of the Christians' army, and their princes Conrad and Bruno his sister's son,<sup>36</sup> and the rest of the strongest men went out from the camp and from the plain and made for the district belonging to the town of Mersivan,<sup>37</sup> and once they had completed two miles of their journey they attacked a certain Turkish fortress. The Turks tried in vain to defend it: they quickly broke it down, seized all the vital provisions which were inside and put to the sword the Turks they found within. Rejoicing at this happy outcome, and carrying off with them to the tents many and great Turkish spoils, the Christians went down through certain very rugged and rocky mountain passes. There they were surrounded by Turkish ambushes and provoked and transfixd by arrows; they put up little resistance on account of their weariness and the burden of booty and the difficulty of terrain; some seven hundred died, leaving all the Turkish spoils and booty there, albeit involuntarily. Those who escaped from Turkish hands were few and far between and, as if beaten and destroyed, they returned sorrowing and grieving to the camp in the evening, and from that day on the army abstained from any further attack and stayed quietly in the tents, lamenting their comrades' fate. Likewise on the Sunday Turks and Christians alike refrained from any attack and tumult of battle.

15. As first light dawned on the Monday, the bishop of Milan rose up in the middle of the army, touched by the Holy Spirit, and foretold that there would be a battle on this day and, preaching a sermon to the people of the living God, he urged them all to come to the confession of their faults, and by his apostolic power he freed them from the bonds of sin in the name of Jesus, and after granting indulgence he sanctified and blessed them all with the arm of blessed Ambrose bishop of Milan, which was added to the Holy Lance which Raymond had brought with him to sanctify and bless the people.<sup>38</sup> After this benediction and the purity of his confession Stephen duke of Burgundy, very famous knight, formed a division from his own people; Raymond kept the Turcoples and the Provençals in his division; Conrad, indeed, Emperor Henry III's constable, appropriated Swabians, Saxons, Bavarians, Lotharingians, and all Germans

<sup>36</sup> Matthew of Edessa says that after the capture of Jerusalem Raymond had taken the Lance and departed. Caffaro attests its presence—and loss—in the battle of Eraclea: 'pro sulticia eorum . . . et campum et lanceam Christi amiserunt'. See ME, p. 184; Caffaro, *Lib. Or.*, p. 112.

Theutonicos in aciem sibi asciiuit. Episcopus Lauduni, Engelrandus, Milo, Wido, Hugo Bardolfus de Breis, Walbertus de ciuitate Lauduni, omnes hii ex manu Francigenarum aciem ordinarunt.<sup>f</sup> Episcopus uero Mediolanensium,<sup>g</sup> Albertus de Blandraz, Wido frater illius, Otto Altaspata, Hugo de Montbeel, Wibertus de Parma, et uniuersi Longobardi equites et pedites densissimam sibi aciem composuerunt. Hiis  
 569 quinque aciebus sic ordinatis, Longobardi in fronte constituti sunt, eo quod illorum copie intolerabiles haberentur, ut aduersus Turcorum acies que illis uicine erant fixe et inpenetrabiles facie ad faciem obstantes, eas obpugnarent. Deinde singule acies Christianorum usquequaque a dextris et sinistris posite, singulis gentilium aciebus obstabant, sepius eos in fugam remittentes, et sepius aduersum<sup>h</sup> eos bellum iterantes. Sed Turci callide<sup>i</sup> et prelio docti post<sup>j</sup> aliquantulum fuge<sup>k</sup> subito frena reicientes,<sup>l</sup> ac sagittarum grandine remordentes, graui uulnere tam equos quam homines perimebant.

16. Longobardi igitur, qui in prima fronte constituti sunt, grauiter et diu cum Turcis commiserere prelium. Sed Albertus ductor eorum post nimiam et longam reluctance[m] pondus belli sufferre non ualens, et precipue equorum defectione qui fame attenuati nil poterant, cum signo belli quod dextra<sup>a</sup> ferebat fugam iniiit, et sic tota illa adunatio Longobardorum cum ducibus et principibus suis in fugam usque in tentoria remissa est. Cunradus uero miles inperterritus, uidens bellum ingrauescere, Longobardos deficere et fugam inire, repente aduolans cum sua acie irrupit, Turcos expugnans et dissipans a prima hora diei usque post meridiem, dum tandem uictus pre nimia iaculorum assiduitate fugam arripuit, cum manu diu fame<sup>b</sup> macerata et uiribus exhausta, et ipse in tentoria reuersus est. Stephanus ad hec dux cum Burgundiensibus uolens subuenire attritis et fugitiuis sociis<sup>c</sup> cum sua acie irruens, uehementer hostes expugnabat, sed ad ultimum post longam contentionem cum omnibus suis terga uertit, innumerabili multitudine suorum ibidem cecis<sup>d</sup> Turcorum armis extincta, et simili fuga ad tentoria repedauit. Stephanus uero Blesensis respiciens omnia, tam Longobardis quam Gallis, uerti in malum, cum omnibus Francigenis qui in sua erant acie ad subueniendum fratribus et Turcos reprimendos aduolat, ac bellum committere usque ad uesperum non abstinuit. Tandem Turcorum manu intolerabili

<sup>f</sup> ordinauerunt *A*      <sup>g</sup> Mediolanensis *ACHN*      <sup>h</sup> aduersus *ACHN*      <sup>i</sup> callidi *H*  
<sup>j</sup> om. *A*      <sup>k</sup> fugientes *A*      <sup>l</sup> reiciebant *A*

16      <sup>a</sup> dextera *AN*      <sup>b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> fratribus *H*      <sup>d</sup> cesis *N*

into his division. The bishop of Laon, Engelrand, Miles, Guy, Hugh Bardulf of Broyes, Walbert from the city of Laon: all of these organized a battle division from the host of Frankish soldiers. The bishop of Milan, Albert of Biandrate, Guido his brother, Otto Altaspata, Hugo of Montbeel, Guibert of Parma, and all the Lombard cavalry and infantry made up a very numerous division. With these five divisions thus appointed, the Lombards were positioned in the van, because their great numbers were irresistible, so that they would stand face to face, fixed and impenetrable, against the Turks' formations which were in their vicinity, and would fight them. Then each battle division of Christians was placed round about to right and left and opposed each division of gentiles, often putting them to flight and often renewing battle against them. But the Turks, cunningly and from their experience in battle, suddenly reined in their horses after a short flight and renewed the hail of arrows, and they destroyed horses and men alike with severe wounds.

16. The Lombards, who were placed in the vanguard, joined battle long and hard with the Turks. But after great and long resistance, Albert their leader was unable to sustain the weight of war, especially when the horses failed, being unable to do anything because they were weakened by hunger, and he took flight with the battle standard which he was carrying in his right hand, and so all that assembly of Lombards with their leaders and princes was put to flight right back to their tents. Conrad, fearless knight, seeing the battle intensifying and the Lombards deserting and taking flight, suddenly charged swiftly with his division, conquering and scattering the Turks from the first hour of the day until the afternoon when, defeated at last by the unrelenting bombardment, he fled with his army, which was wasted by the long famine and its strength exhausted, and he too returned to the tents. At this point Duke Stephen, wishing to assist his defeated and escaping comrades with his Burgundians, charged with his division and fought the enemy fiercely, but in the end, after a long struggle, he turned tail with all his troops, the countless horde of his men defeated there by the Turks' random weapons, and he made his way back to the tents in similar flight. Stephen of Blois, seeing everything going wrong for Lombards and Gauls alike, rode swiftly with all the Franks who were in his division to help their brothers and to force back the Turks, and he did not desist from waging war until the evening. At length, as the insufferable host of Turks prevailed

sagittis et arcu osseo inualescente, comes Blesensis, uictus et attritus, simili fuga qua et socii in castra relatus est, multis nobilibus uiris de comitatu eius uictis et extinctis. Ceciderunt in eius acie uiri illustrissimi Baldewinus de Grantpreit, Dodo de Claro Monte, Wibertus de Monte Lauduni,<sup>39</sup> custos et defensor eiusdem ciuitatis, Dei amicus, miles ferocissimus corpore altus, et plurimi potentes<sup>c</sup> primi exercitus, quorum nomina omnia scire et inuestigare nequimus.<sup>f</sup> Comes uero Reimundus cum militibus imperatoris Turcopolis, una cum suis Prouincialibus cuneis, socios releuare in eodem certamine festinans, multos Turcorum repente<sup>g</sup> prostrauit. Sed dehinc, nimium casu aduersante, <sup>h</sup>multi suorum sunt prostrati ac sagittis imminuti, bellumque<sup>h</sup> Turcorum nimis inualuit, donec tota  
 570 manus Turcopolorum | exterrita, fuga<sup>i</sup> delapsa,<sup>j</sup> ad loca tabernaculorum diuertit, comitem mediis periculis deserens, cuius Prouinciales milites<sup>k</sup> fere omnes detruncati sunt.

17. Videns ergo comes fugam Turcopolorum et casum irrecuperabilem<sup>a</sup> suorum, non ultra in mortis periculo sibi imminenti remanens, sed uix ab armis effugiens,<sup>b</sup> uersus montana et per angusta loca declinans, in summitate cuiusdam precelse silicis ascensu difficili astitit, cum decem tantum sociis, de qua quantum poterat Turcis insequentibus et eum obsidentibus resistere cum suis conabatur. Regressis itaque omnibus ad tentoria qui Turcorum arma effugerant, Stephanus comes Blesensis de omnibus primoribus requisiiuit, qui aut a<sup>c</sup> bello redissent, aut armis occubuissent. Cui statim innotuit comitem Reimundum in summitate silicis diffugium fecisse, et nisi sibi subueniretur, numquam eum manus Turcorum posse euadere. Ad hec Stephanus comes, ducentis sociis in lorica et galea readunatis, Reimundum ab inuasionem Turcorum liberare festinans, Turcis fugatis qui eum insecuti fuerant, et ad triginta<sup>d</sup> repente attritis, comitem saluum de silice recepit, et incolumem ad tentoria reduxit. Victis et attritis Christianorum fortissimis aciebus et usque ad tentoria de crudeli prelio effugatis, Turci uictores cum spoliis Gallorum et Longobardorum pariter in sua castra sunt regressi, uix duobus

<sup>c</sup> *A* adds et after potentes      <sup>f</sup> nequiuimus *A*      <sup>g</sup> reperente *N*      <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> multis suorum prostratis ac sagittis imminutis bellum *ACHN*      <sup>i</sup> *H* adds et before fuga  
<sup>j</sup> dilapsa *H*      <sup>k</sup> om. *A*

17      <sup>a</sup> irreparabilem *CH*      <sup>b</sup> fugiens *N*      <sup>c</sup> om. *ACHN*      <sup>d</sup> *ACHN* add viros after triginta

<sup>39</sup> Presumably the same as in AA viii. 6. The edition in *RHC Occ* has 'Ponte Lauduni', for which there is no manuscript authority.

with its arrows and the bone bow, the count of Blois, defeated and destroyed, was borne back to the camp in a similar flight to that of his comrades, leaving many noble men of his company defeated and dead. These very famous men fell in his division: Baldwin of Grandpré; Dodo of Clermont; Wibert of Mount Laon,<sup>39</sup> guardian and defender of that same town, friend of God, boldest of knights, tall in stature, and many important people from the first army, all of whose names we are unable to know or find out. Count Raymond, with the emperor's Turcopole soldiers as well as his own ranks of Provençals, was making haste to relieve his comrades in that same struggle, and he suddenly brought down many of the Turks. But then events turned very much against him and very many of his men were brought down and defeated by arrows, and the Turks' attack grew much stronger, until all the Turcopole army was terrified and fled away back to the place of the tents, deserting the count in the midst of dangers, and almost all of his Provençal soldiers were cut to pieces.

17. When the count saw the flight of the Turcoples and the irreversible defeat of his own men, he stayed no longer where he was in imminent danger of his own death, but narrowly managed to escape the weapons and, turning aside towards the mountains and by way of narrow places, he reached the top of a certain steep crag, difficult to climb, with only ten comrades, from where he tried as hard as he could to resist with his men the Turks who pursued and besieged him. When all who had fled the Turkish weapons had returned to the tents, therefore, Count Stephen of Blois made enquiries concerning all the leaders: who had come back from the battle and who had succumbed to weapons. He was told at once that Count Raymond had made his escape to the top of the crag, and unless he received assistance he would never be able to escape the hands of the Turks. At this Count Stephen assembled two hundred comrades in hauberks and helmets and made haste to deliver Raymond from the Turks' attack, and when the Turks who had pursued him had fled, and some thirty had been swiftly destroyed, he took the count safe from the rock and brought him back unharmed to the tents. When the strongest battle divisions of the Christians had been defeated and destroyed, and had fled away from the cruel battle to their tents, the victorious Turks likewise returned with Gaulish and Lombard plunder to their camp, scarcely two miles from the

miliariis a mansione Christianorum, satis tamen luctuosam <sup>e</sup>et cruentam<sup>f</sup> uictoriam hac die obtinentes. Ceciderunt enim eorum societatis tria milia uirorum pugnatorum in eodem prelio, quo Christiani milites, delictorum suorum pondere impediti, diuino iudicio traditi sunt incredulis uiris et impiis ad puniendum. Eadem uero nocte qua comes Reimundus a cacumine silicis et Turcorum obsidione, subueniente Stephano Blesensis<sup>f</sup> ac Cunrado Stabulario, liberatus et reductus est ad confratres in castra, ceperunt focos et uictus necessarios uniuersi parare qui a cede et bello in tabernacula confugerant, ligna quoque et sarmenta ad coquendos cibos comportare, quibus fessa et ieiuna corpora recrearent. Et ecce, uix<sup>g</sup> primo noctis facto silentio, idem comes Reimundus, nescio qua formidine correptus et uite diffusus,<sup>h</sup> cum omnibus suis et cunctis Turcopolis<sup>i</sup> imperatoris, equos frenis et sellis strauit, fugamque iniit, ac tota nocte illa fugiendo iter per montana et inuia loca accelerans, ad castellum imperatoris Pulual nominaline uenisse perhibetur.<sup>40</sup>

571 18. Igitur hac illius fuga cognita ac<sup>a</sup> diuulgata in castris,<sup>b</sup> uniuersos tantus metus inuasit, ut nec unus de principibus remaneret qui non uite diffidentes diffugium maturarent, magni et parui, nobiles et ignobiles, usque ad Synoplum presidium imperatoris,<sup>41</sup> ignorantes quoniam<sup>c</sup> Turcorum corda non minus formido fugiendi sollicitabat. Tentoria autem et omnem apparatus suum Christiani cum omnibus uehiculis, cum uxoribus teneris et karissimis reliquerunt, cum omni suppellectili quo tot nobiles et tam magnus indigebat exercitus. Nec mora per exploratores fama tam subite fuge ad aures Turcorum peruenit, qui non longe post contritionem Christianorum et acceptam uictoriam sua etiam in castra recesserant, ut et ipsi ea nocte cibis et somno sua<sup>d</sup> membra refouerent, in cede catholicorum militum fessa et grauata.

19. Turci quidem hec audientes et continuo exurgentes, omnibus suis in tubis et bucinis expergefatis et conuocatis, sicut uiri semper uigiles in cede inimicorum, primo diluculo affuerunt in tentoriis Christianorum. Vbi mulieres nobilissimas et matronas egregias, tam Gallorum quam Longobardorum, crudeliter aggressi, impie raptas et uinculatas tenuerunt, in barbaras nationes et ignotam linguam supra

<sup>e</sup> *om. A*      <sup>f</sup> Blesense *A*      <sup>g</sup> uiri *H*      <sup>h</sup> diffusus *N*      <sup>i</sup> Turcopulis *E*

18    <sup>a</sup> et *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> populo *ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> *ACHN add et after quoniam*      <sup>d</sup> *om. N*

Christians' position, yet they won this day rather a sorrowful and blood-stained victory. For three thousand warlike men from their company fell in that same battle, in which Christian soldiers, hampered by the weight of their sins, were handed over by divine justice for punishment by unbelieving and wicked men. On that same night when Count Raymond was delivered and brought down to his brothers in the camp from the top of the crag and the Turkish siege with the aid of Stephen of Blois and Conrad the constable, everyone who had fled from the slaughter and battle into the tents began to prepare fires and necessary victuals, and also to bring wood and brushwood to cook food in order to refresh their weary and famished bodies. And scarcely had the first silence of night fallen when that same Count Raymond—I do not know what dread seized him and made him despair of life—and all his men and all the emperor's Turcoples, saddled and bridled their horses and took flight, and, speeding his escape all that night through the mountains and out-of-the-way places, he is reported to have come to the emperor's castle called Pulveral.<sup>40</sup>

18. When news of his flight was made known and spread abroad in the camp, so great a fear took possession of them all that not one of the princes remained, great or small, noble or lesser man, who was not despairing of life and planning escape right to the emperor's fort at Sinope,<sup>41</sup> not realizing that just as great a fear of flight was worrying Turkish hearts. Moreover, the Christians left their tents and all their equipment, and all their waggons, with their delicate and beloved wives, and with all the goods necessary to so many nobles and so great an army. Immediately the news of so sudden flight came by way of spies to the ears of the Turks, who had also withdrawn to their camp not long after the destruction of the Christians and their own victory, so that that night they too might refresh with food and sleep their limbs, which were tired and weary from the slaughter of the Christian troops.

19. Indeed, when the Turks heard this they got up at once, waking up and calling together all their men with trumpets and bugles, like men always watchful in the slaughter of the enemy, and at very first light they arrived among the Christians' tents. There they cruelly attacked the noble women and eminent matrons, as many Gauls as Lombards, and they seized them wickedly and held them in fetters, sending over a thousand into barbarous lands where the language was unknown;

<sup>40</sup> Modern Bafra (prov. Samsun, Turkey). Cf. AC, ed. Leib, iii. 38; trans. Sewter, p. 357.

<sup>41</sup> Sinop, provincial capital, Turkey.

mille transmittentes, acsi pecora muta depredati, ac perpetuo exilio in terram Corruzana quasi in conclauis et carcere eas constituentes, ceteras aliquantulum prouecte etatis gladio interemerunt. Terra autem et regnum Corruzana sic montanis et aquarum paludibus undique clausum est, ut quicumque captiui semel illuc intrauerint, non ultra hinc magis quam pecus a cauea exire ualeant, nisi licentia et permissione Turcorum. Ah<sup>a</sup> quantus dolor, quante illic uideri potuerunt<sup>b</sup> miserie, ubi tam tenerrime et nobiles matrone ab impiis et horridis hominibus in predam rapte et abducte sunt, quorum capita ante et retro, a dextris et a sinistris in modum colli rasa sunt, et quorum rari capilli ab hiis quatuor collis<sup>42</sup> dependentes intonsa coma horrescunt, cum barba etiam intonsa et proluxa, et qui solum tetrus et immundis spiritibus similes esse in suo habitu referuntur. Vere non modicus dolor illic erat, non paruus timor delicatas matronas inuaserat, non parui feminei<sup>c</sup> ululatus<sup>43</sup> auditi sunt in castris, ubi dulces<sup>d</sup> earum mariti alii occisi, alii fugitiui, ultima necessitate compulsi, miseras ac desolatas inter manus percussorum reliquerunt. Alię illicita et feda commixtione uicissim uexate, et post plurimam uexationem decollate sunt, alie hilari uultu et decora facie oculis eorum placentes in barbaras, ut diximus, nationes transmissę sunt.

20. Repertis itaque et captis tam honestis tot mulieribus in tentoriis fugientium Christianorum, Turci celeritate<sup>a</sup> equorum insecuti sunt tam equites quam pedites, tam clericos quam monachos, et totum sexum femineum qui fuga euaserant a<sup>b</sup> castris, quas non aliter gladio metebant quam messor qui falce maturas segetes metere solet. Nulli etati aut ordini parcebant, solos iuuenes inberbes, uiros militaris officii, captiuabant, quos etiam in exilio cum matronis honorificis Corruzana abduci destinabant. Pecuniam quidem<sup>c</sup> inauditam a fugitiuis et lassis medio itinere relictam sustulerunt, quin molles uestes, pellicios uarios, grisios, harmelinos, mardrinos, ostra innumerabilia auro texta miri<sup>d</sup> decoris, operis et coloris, equos quoque et mulos, plus quam numero uel littera alicuius referri possit. Quę omnia tandem illis tedio fuere<sup>e</sup> asportare.

19    <sup>a</sup> Ach A    <sup>b</sup> potuerunt ACHN    <sup>c</sup> A adds sexus after feminei    <sup>d</sup> duces A

20    <sup>a</sup> uelocitate A    <sup>b</sup> de ACHN    <sup>c</sup> om. N    <sup>d</sup> mirifici A    <sup>e</sup> fuerunt ACHN

<sup>42</sup> It is suggested in the *RHC Occ* edition that this should read 'costis', but in context 'collis' does make sense (*RHC Occ* iv. 571, note b).

they plundered them like dumb animals and sent them into perpetual exile into the land of Khurasan as if they were in a cage or prison; the rest, who were somewhat more advanced in years, they put to the sword. Moreover, the land and kingdom of Khurasan is so enclosed by mountains and watery marshes on all sides that anyone who is once captured and enters there is unable to come out again, any more than a beast out of a stall, unless with the licence and permission of the Turks. Ah, how much grief, how many miseries could be seen there when such very delicate and noble women were seized as plunder and carried off by the wicked and dreadful men, whose heads were shaved in front and behind, on right and left sides in the manner of a neck, and whose sparse hairs hanging down from these four necks<sup>42</sup> bristled as an uncut crest, with also untrimmed and flowing beards, and who are reported to resemble in their appearance nothing so much as ugly and filthy spirits. Truly there was no small grief in that place, no little dread seized the delicate women, no slight howling of women<sup>43</sup> was heard in the camp, where their beloved husbands—some killed, some fled, driven by utmost necessity—left them wretched and desolate in the hands of murderers. Some were violated in turn by unlawful and wicked coupling, and after great persecution were beheaded; others who pleased the Turks' eyes by their cheerful appearance and handsome looks were sent, as we have said, into barbarous lands.

20. And so, after finding and taking captive so many women of such high birth in the tents of the fleeing Christians, the Turks rode swiftly after cavalry and infantry, clerks and monks, and the entire feminine sex who had escaped by fleeing from the camp, whom they mowed down with the sword in exactly the same way as the reaper who is accustomed to mow down ripe corn with his scythe. They spared none for age or rank, taking prisoner only beardless youths and men of military office, whom they also marked to be carried off into exile in Khurasan with the honourable matrons. They took an unbelievable amount of money, too, left behind in mid-journey by the fleeing and exhausted Christians; also soft garments and different skins—mini-ver, ermine, marten, countless purple-dyed fabrics woven with gold of wonderful ornament, workmanship, and colour; horses too, and mules, more than anyone can record by number or letter. At length all of these things became a nuisance for them to carry away.

<sup>43</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid* iv. 667; ix. 477.

21. Terra autem et montana, ut aiunt pro uero qui hec oculis uiderunt et uix illic<sup>a</sup> iudicium mortis effugerant,<sup>b</sup> bysantiis, auro incomputabili, argento inestimabili, denariorum dispersione, sic operta erant in contritione et fuga tam magni exercitus, ut amplius tribus miliaris super aurum, gemmas, uasa argentea, ostra mirifica et preciosa, uestesque subtiles ac sericas incedere fugientes et persequentes uiderentur. Sanguine uero occisorum tota uia fugientium defluebat. Nec mirum quoniam supra centum sexaginta milia illic in gladio et sagitta ferocium Turcorum ceciderunt, facile ab hostibus superati ac  
 573 detruncati, pre | fame diuturna, qua nimium afflicti et uiribus exhausti, nulla uirtute resistere potuerunt. Tanta namque illis fames in desertis Flaganie incubuit, ut corium bouis uiginti solidis uenderetur,<sup>c</sup> paniculus qui palmo concludi poterat tribus solidis Lucensis<sup>d</sup> monete uenderetur, cadauer equi, muli<sup>e</sup> et asini sex marcis appreciaretur. In hac fuga seuissima duo probi equites de populo Stephani Blesensis dum uiam maturarent a facie Turcorum insequentium, quidam ex aduerso ceruus de montanis clamore et tumultu Turcorum et Christianorum attonitus hiis duobus occurrit, impedimentum illis uie factus. Trans quem ambo casu corruentes, in momento ab hostibus decollati sunt.

22. Igitur sic exercitus attritus et profugus equo uel mulo euadere festinans, ad ciuitatem Synoplum, quam milites imperatoris tuebantur, sparsim fugiendo peruenit, et sic semper fugiens usque ad regiam urbem Constantinopolis<sup>a</sup> partim reuersus est. Stephanus autem dux Burgundie, Stephanus Blesensis, Cunradus stabularius imperatoris Romanorum, episcopus Mediolanensium, episcopus Lauduni, episcopus de Suessones, Wido Rufus, Hugo, Bardolfus, et ceteri comprimores et uniuersi qui grauissima Turcorum arma poterant effugere, Constantinopolim per montana et inuia fugientes regressi sunt. Comes uero Reimundus per abrupta montium<sup>b</sup> Synoplum cum Turcopolis imperatoris Grecie omnibus sociis et principibus pretermisiss ingrediens pernoctauit, et crastina die nauim ascendens, per mare Constantinopolim aduectus est.

23. Interea tantillum exercitus quod remanserat, disperse uidelicet Christianorum reliquie, dum uestigia comitis Reimundi et ceterorum

21 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> effugerunt ACHN <sup>c</sup> emeretur ACHN <sup>d</sup> Luculensis AN  
<sup>e</sup> A adds et before muli

22 <sup>a</sup> Constantinopolim A <sup>b</sup> ACHN add et ima conuallium after montium

21. The land and mountainous terrain—so they aver who saw this with their own eyes and only just escaped the sentence of death in that place—were so covered with bezants, incalculable gold, inestimable silver, a scattering of pennies, during the destruction and flight of so great an army, that for more than three miles those fleeing and those in pursuit seemed to be treading on gold, jewels, silver vessels, wonderful and precious purple fabrics, fine garments, and silks. The entire road was flowing with the blood of those killed in flight. No wonder, for over a hundred and sixty thousand fell in that place to the swords and arrows of the fierce Turks, easily overwhelmed and cut to pieces by the enemy, because of the long famine, by which they were so much affected and their strength exhausted that they were unable to fight back with any force. For so great a famine afflicted them in the deserts of Paphlagonia that the skin of an ox would be sold for twenty shillings; a small loaf which could be held in the palm of the hand would be sold for three shillings of Luccan money; the corpse of a horse, mule, or donkey would be valued at six marks. In this most cruel flight, while two experienced knights from Stephen of Blois's people were making their escape before the pursuing Turks, a certain deer from the mountains, frightened by the noise and tumult of the Turks and Christians, ran into these two knights from the opposite direction, becoming an obstacle in their path. They both accidentally fell over the deer, and in an instant they were beheaded by the enemy.

22. And so the army, destroyed and put to flight in this way and hastening to escape on horse or mule, arrived in scattered flight at the town of Sinope, which the emperor's soldiers guarded, and, still fleeing thus, a part returned all the way to the imperial city of Constantinople. Moreover, Stephen duke of Burgundy, Stephen of Blois, Conrad the Roman emperor's constable, the bishop of Milan, the bishop of Laon, the bishop of Soissons, Guy the Red, Hugh Bardulf, and the rest of the leaders, and all who had been able to evade the most harsh weapons of the Turks, fled through the mountains and out-of-the-way places and made their way back to Constantinople. Count Raymond, with the Greek emperor's Turcopoles, passing by all these comrades and princes, entered Sinope through the steep slopes of the mountains, spent the night there, and the next day embarked on a ship and sailed by sea to Constantinople.

23. Meanwhile, while the trifling part of the army which had remained, that is to say the scattered remnants of the Christians,

eadem uia tenerent, et ad quadringentos a diuersa fuga in unum colligerentur,<sup>a</sup> Solimannus, Donnimannus, Balas de Sororgia, non adhuc cede satiati, a <sup>b</sup>die Martis<sup>b</sup> usque <sup>c</sup>ad diem Mercurii<sup>c</sup> eos persecuti sunt, eodem tramite quo tendebant post principes fugitiuos ad Synoplum ut eos detruncarent et captiuarent. Sed nimium  
 574 prolongatos | ultra persequi non audentes propter uires et ciuitatem imperatoris reuersi sunt. Reuertentes uero de dispersis et retardatis qui eis obuiam fuere eadem die mille, amputatis collis, sparsim peremerunt. Ibi impiis tyrannis uir nobilis Eraldus<sup>d</sup> obuiam factus sagitta illorum occubuit, ortus de ciuitate Cadelun.<sup>e 44</sup> Engelrandus pariter de eadem patria, Dodo miles egregius, Arnolfus<sup>f</sup> filius uillici,<sup>45</sup> Waltherus<sup>g</sup> de Castelens,<sup>h 46</sup> et plurimi potentissimi milites,<sup>i</sup> quibus equorum cursus minime prodesse poterat, eisdem carnificibus obuiam facti, sagittis occisi sunt.

24. Comes uero <sup>a</sup>de Sancto Egidio<sup>a</sup> et ceteri comprimores Constantinopolim ingressi a domno imperatore benigne suscepti sunt. Sed aduersus Reimundum cepit aliquantulum indignari, eo quod a ceteris sociis Stephano, Cunrado fugiendo subtractus et alienatus sit. Qui, occasione assumpta, respondit hec ideo se fecisse <sup>b</sup>quoniam timuisset<sup>b</sup> ne in eum insurgerent, eo quod primus fugam cum Turcopolis a castris inierit, et quia eum in dolo et ex consilio ipsius imperatoris fugisse<sup>c</sup> estimassent. Dehinc in breui imperatoris indignatione cessante, misertus est uniuersis, et cunctis<sup>d</sup> opibus spoliatos et uacuos magnificis donis in auro, argento,<sup>e</sup> armis, equis,<sup>f</sup> mulis et uestibus releuauit, et toto autumnii et hiemis tempore uniuersos secum habitare et refocillari concessit, in omni opulencia<sup>g</sup> et largitate rerum uite<sup>h</sup> necessariarum.<sup>47</sup> Hiis itaque moram illic facientibus, episcopus Mediolanensis uita decessit, cui episcopi et uniuersi fideles catholicas exequias exhibuerunt.

23 <sup>a</sup> colligerentur *A* <sup>b b</sup> tertia feria *ACHN* <sup>c c</sup> in quartam feriam *AH*; quartam feriam *G*; ad quartam feriam *N* <sup>d</sup> Craldus *A* <sup>e</sup> Cadulun *A*; Cadelini *N* <sup>f</sup> Arnulfus *A*; Arnoldus *CHN* <sup>g</sup> Waltherus *A*; Waltcherus *E* <sup>h</sup> Castellens *A* <sup>i</sup> uiri *A*

24 <sup>a a</sup> Reimundus *A* <sup>b b</sup> om. *A* <sup>c</sup> *E* adds eum before fugisse <sup>d</sup> cunctos *H* <sup>e</sup> *ACHN* add et before argento <sup>f</sup> *A* adds et before equis <sup>g</sup> affluentia *H* <sup>h</sup> om. *H*

took the same route in the footsteps of Count Raymond and the rest, and some four hundred were reunited from flight in different directions, Suleyman, Danishmend, and Balas of Sororgia, who had not yet had enough of slaughter, pursued them from the Tuesday to the Wednesday on that same byway they were taking after the fugitive princes to Sinope, in order to cut them down and take them prisoner. But the Christians were too spread out and they dared pursue them no longer on account of the emperor's strength and his city, so they turned back. As they returned, here and there they killed by beheading them a thousand of the scattered and lagging Christians who met them that day. There the noble man Erald met the wicked tyrants and died by their arrow; he was born in the town of Châlons.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, Engelrand from the same country; Dodo, an outstanding soldier; Arnolf the son of a bailiff;<sup>45</sup> Walter of Châtillon,<sup>46</sup> and many very powerful knights, the speed of whose horses could not help them, met those same butchers and were killed by their arrows.

24. The count of Saint-Gilles and the other leaders entered Constantinople and were graciously received by the lord emperor. But he began to be somewhat displeased with Raymond, because he had fled stealthily and been separated from the rest of the allies, Stephen and Conrad. Raymond took an opportunity to reply that he had done it for this reason: because he had been afraid that they would rise against him since he was the first to take flight with his Turcoples from the camp, and since they believed he had fled as a trick and on the advice of the emperor himself. Then the emperor's displeasure quickly gave way, he took pity on all, and those who had been plundered and were empty-handed of all riches he relieved with splendid gifts in gold, silver, weapons, horses, mules, and garments, and he permitted them all to live with him and refresh themselves the entire autumn and wintertime, in all wealth and abundance of supplies necessary for life.<sup>47</sup> While they were staying there the bishop of Milan departed this life, and the bishops and all the faithful performed Christian funeral rites for him.

<sup>44</sup> Probably Châlons-en-Champagne (département de Marne, France).

<sup>45</sup> Engelrand, Dodo, and Arnolf have not been identified.

<sup>46</sup> Probably Gaucher of Châtillon-sur-Marne (département de Marne, France); see Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 229.

<sup>47</sup> Anna Komnene does not report the emperor's initial disapproval, only that he presented them with generous gifts of money, allowed them to rest, and then provided them with a well-found ship to travel to Jerusalem (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 38; trans. Sewter, p. 357).

25. Eodem quoque tempore et anno primo regis<sup>a</sup> Baldwini, comes et princeps potentissimus de ciuitate Niniue, quod uulgo dicitur Nauers,<sup>48</sup> Willelmus<sup>b</sup> | nomine, de terra et regno occidentalis Francie egrediens, et iter per Italiam faciens, ad portum qui<sup>c</sup> uocatur Brandiz<sup>49</sup> nauigio alto mari inuectus est cum quindecim milibus<sup>d</sup> equitum et peditum<sup>d</sup> uirorum pugnatorum absque sexu femineo innumerabili, et ad ciuitatem nomine Vallonam secessit. Vbi in arido restitutus, ad ciuitatem Salanicam,<sup>e</sup> sitam in regione Macedonie et terra Bulgarorum,<sup>50</sup> descendit, pacifice hospitio susceptus ab incolis in omni iusticia et benignitate, furto, raptione,<sup>f</sup> preda, et iniusta contentione sub iudicio mortis interdicta, ne imperatoris Constantinopolis iram aliqua iniuria exercitus, sicut paulo ante Longobardi, suscitarent.

26. Deinde, post plurimum itineris et diuersa hospitia, idem egregius miles, cum omni manu et apparatu suo Constantinopolim profectus, ab imperatore benigne et honorifice susceptus, in litore brachii maris Sancti Georgii tentoria sua ponere ad hospitandum<sup>a</sup> extra muros ciuitatis<sup>a</sup> iussus est. Post tres deinde dies ex precepto imperatoris comes et totus exercitus brachium maris traiecit, et ad columnam marmoream que in summitate arietem obtinet deauratum, non longe a brachio maris tentoriis fixis, per quatuordecim dies qui sunt circa natale<sup>b</sup> beati Iohannis Baptiste illic moram fecit,<sup>51</sup> et per singulos dies imperatori nauigio presentatus, non paucis muneribus ab eo honoratus ac commendatus redibat. Peregrinis uero et humili populo<sup>c</sup> cuiusdam generis monetam quam uocant tartaron ad sustentationem uite sepius idem imperator mittebat.<sup>d</sup>

27. Denique post beati Iohannis<sup>a</sup> natiuitatem Ciuitoth profecti sunt, ubi non diu moram facientes, relicto itinere quo ducis Godefridi et Boemundi prior incessit exercitus, saltus densissimos itinere dierum duorum perambulantes Ancras peruenerunt,<sup>52</sup> ad eandem ciuitatem

25 <sup>a</sup> ACHN add regni before regis <sup>b</sup> Wilhelmus CHN <sup>c</sup> que AEN  
<sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> Salanicam A; Salonicam H <sup>f</sup> rapina ACHN

26 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> natalem H <sup>c</sup> uulgo A <sup>d</sup> trans mittebat A

27 <sup>a</sup> N adds Baptiste after Iohannis

<sup>48</sup> William II, count of Nevers (dép. Nièvre, France), Auxerre, and Tonnerre 1089–1147: see *Cartulaires de l'abbaye de Molesme*, ed. Laurent, ii. 42. Albert is the only contemporary to record William of Nevers's expedition: J. L. Cate points out that his account 'is not substantiated by other sources and the chronology of its march is hard to fit

25. Also at that time and in King Baldwin's first year, the very powerful count and prince of the state of Nineva, which is commonly called Nevers,<sup>48</sup> William by name, set out from the land and kingdom of eastern Francia and travelled through Italy, and he sailed on the high seas to the port which is called Brindisi<sup>49</sup> with fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry, warriors, not to mention countless of the female sex, and he put in to the town called Avlona. There he was restored to dry land and he went down to the town called Thessaloniki, which is situated in the region of Macedonia and the land of the Bulgars,<sup>50</sup> where he was peacefully received and given lodging by the inhabitants with all justice and favour; theft, looting, plundering, and unlawful fighting were forbidden on pain of death, lest the army arouse the anger of the emperor of Constantinople by any wicked deed, as the Lombards had done a short while before.

26. Then, after much journeying and different quarters, that same outstanding knight set out with all his army and equipment for Constantinople, where he was graciously and honourably received by the emperor and ordered to pitch his tents for quarters outside the town walls on the shores of the straits of St George. Then, after three days, on the emperor's orders the count and the entire army crossed the straits; they pitched the tents by a marble column which had on its top a gilded ram, not far from the straits, and they stayed there for the fourteen days which are around the birthday of blessed John the Baptist,<sup>51</sup> and every day the count sailed to see the emperor and came back honoured and favoured with no few gifts. The same emperor used often to send to the pilgrims and humble people, to support life, money of a certain kind which they call a tetartaron.

27. Then after the birthday of blessed John they set out for Civitot, where they did not stay long, and, having left the route which the army of Duke Godfrey and Bohemond had earlier taken, they marched through very thick woodland on a two-day journey and arrived at Ankara,<sup>52</sup> that is to say at the same town which Count

into the general picture, but the story is very circumstantial, and [he is] inclined to credit it in a general way' (J. L. Cate, 'A gay crusader', *Byzantion*, xvi (1944), 503-26, at p. 516).

<sup>49</sup> Ancient Brundisium (prov. Brindisi, Italy).

<sup>50</sup> In modern Greece.

<sup>51</sup> 24 June 1101.

<sup>52</sup> As part of a critical examination of Albert's *Historia*, Sybel pointed out that the same journey took three weeks for Anselm of Milan in viii. 8. He was inclined to reject the whole of Albert's report of the 1101 crusades because of such chronological and topographical inconsistencies: *History and Literature*, pp. 168-70.

uidelicet quam comes Reimundus et manus Longobardorum recenter expugnauerant, Turcis in ea repertis decollatis, uolentes exercitui Longobardorum modico interuallo premissis admixtis armis et copiis | sociari. Per diem autem unum illic in predictae ciuitatis loco moram facientes, et nequaquam Longobardorum societatem assequi ualentes, qui per Flaganiam iter continuabant, a sinistris illos relinquentes, a dextris uiam arripuerunt, quae ducit ad ciuitatem Stancona, in ea aliquam<sup>b</sup> moram habituri, et de euentu Longobardorum aliquid<sup>c</sup> audituri.

28. Ad hec, cum nondum ciuitati appropinquassent, Solimannus, Donimannus,<sup>a</sup> cum copiis et armis Turcorum a recenti cede Longobardorum, uix diebus octo peractis, reuersi, et comitis de Nauers subsecutione comperta, festinato per notas semitas collium et uallium accelerantes, illis occurrerunt, ac sagittis crudeliter eos<sup>b</sup> assilientes, triduo<sup>c</sup> exercitum, ante et retro positis insidiis, bello grauissimo et acerbis plagis fatigabant. Sed non in hiis locis adhuc uictoriam obtinere, licet plurime copie peregrinorum incaute et lento gressu pre lassitudine subsequentes, creberrimo assultu ceciderunt, et quidam Henricus, genere Longobardus, comes sua in terra magnificus,<sup>53</sup> inter socios sagitta transfixus obierit.<sup>d</sup>

29. Nam<sup>a</sup> Christiani milites adhuc uiriliter Turcis resistentes plurimos perimebant, alios in fugam sepius remittebant. Et facile quidem remittere poterant, cum nondum illis aque penuria fuisset,<sup>b</sup> nec equorum uirtus defecisset. Sic tandem Christiani milites in itinere a plurima Turcorum infestatione defensi Stanconam descenderunt,<sup>c</sup> ubi Turcorum custodiam et uires in presidio reperientes, menia fortiter assiliunt, hostes abintus pro anima eis resistunt, dum utrimque plurimi occisi sunt. Die autem hac in presidii expugnatione expleta,<sup>d</sup> et nihil<sup>d</sup> in captione illius proficientes, castra hinc amouentes ad ciuitatem Reiclei<sup>e</sup> applicuerunt. Vbi triduo siti intolerabili adeo oppressus elanguit exercitus, ut | supra trecentos extincti morte grauissima illic periclitarentur, et ceteri uiuentes, uiribus exhausti et necessariorum defectione infirmati, parum ad resistendum ualerent. Hac sitis intolerantia anxii, quidam ex sociis super cacumen precelse

<sup>b</sup> aliquandiu ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. A

28    <sup>a</sup> Danimannus E      <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> triduum H      <sup>d</sup> occubuerit A

29    <sup>a</sup> Iam N      <sup>b</sup> fuerit A      <sup>c</sup> peruenerunt H      <sup>d</sup> nilque ACHN      <sup>e</sup> Reiclei A

Raymond and the Lombard army had recently overcome—they found Turks beheaded there—wishing to join forces and mingle weapons with the Lombard army which had gone ahead a short while before. However, they stayed for one day there in the aforesaid town, and they were completely unable to overtake the company of Lombards, who were continuing their journey through Paphlagonia, so they left them to the left and took the road to the right, which leads to the town of Iconium, planning to stay there for some while and hear something about the Lombards' fate.

28. At this point, when they had not yet approached the town, Suleyman and Danishmend, who had returned scarcely a week before with their Turkish forces and weapons from the recent slaughter of the Lombards, and who had heard about the count of Nevers' following them, moved swiftly along known paths in the hills and valleys and met them, and, attacking them cruelly with arrows, they wore out the army in three days by setting ambushes before and behind, by intense battle and bitter wounds. But they still did not gain victory in these places, although very many pilgrim troops were following carelessly and at a slow pace because of weariness; they fell on them in a very hard attack, and one Henry, a Lombard by race, a splendid count in his own land,<sup>53</sup> was pierced by an arrow among his comrades, and he died.

29. The Christian soldiers were still fighting back courageously against the Turks, and they killed many and frequently put others to flight. And indeed they had been able to do this easily, since there had not yet been a shortage of water for them, nor had the strength of their horses faltered. So at last the Christian soldiers, warding off many Turkish attacks on the way, came down to Iconium, where they found a Turkish garrison and forces in the fortress. They attacked the ramparts strongly; the enemy inside fought back for their lives, until very many were killed on both sides. Moreover, this day was taken up with the attack on the fortress, and they were getting nowhere towards capturing it, so they moved their camp away from here and went on to the town of Heraclea. There the army grew so feeble, oppressed by an intolerable three-day thirst, that more than three hundred were imperilled and died a very painful death there, and the rest who lived, their strength drained and weakened by the lack of provisions, could do very little to resist. Tormented by this intolerable thirst, some

<sup>53</sup> Not otherwise known.

rupis gradientes constiterunt, si forte alicubi aquam specularentur. Sed tantum ab hac ciuitatem dirutam et habitatoribus uacuum prospexerunt,<sup>f</sup> aquam in ea estimantes, que minime reperta est. Nam cisterne et putei ipsius a Turcis recenter subuersi<sup>g</sup> sunt et obruti.<sup>h</sup>

30. Turci autem post paululum temporis comperientes exercitum iam sitis graui passione defectum, et parum posse resistere, extemplo eos insecuti, sagittis aggressi sunt, per diem integram prelium graue hinc et hinc committentes, et utrimque in gladio, arcu et lancea corruentes, totam latissimam uallem sanguine suo repleuerunt, ac densis corporibus occisorum uirorum ac mulierum terra regionis huius occupata est. Tandem hoc seuissimo bello ingruente, et Christianorum uirtute siti debilitata, et ideo minus ualente et resistente, Turcorum ferocitas exaltata cepit inualescere, Christianos uictos atrociter in fugam cogere, comitem uero iam uictum ac de bello fugientem usque ad ciuitatem Germanicoplā<sup>54</sup> insecuti sunt. Robertus<sup>g</sup> uero, frater eiusdem comitis, et Willelmus de ciuitate Nonanta,<sup>55</sup> qui signifer<sup>h</sup> exercitus primus terga uertit, una cum omnibus equitibus a Turcorum armis elapsis, ad predictam ciuitatem Germanicoplā fugam facientes peruenerunt, miseros pedites inter manus ferocium hostium relinquentes.

31. Turci autem, fugam gentis Christiane et suorum principum uidentes, crudeli cede furescunt in populo et toto Christianorum comitatu, quorum solummodo septingenti per abrupta montium et siluarum densitatem fugientes uite reseruati sunt. Post hanc Turcorum uictoriam et Christianorum stragem luctuosam, uxores militum Christi ad mille captiuae et ab horridis hostibus abducte sunt in terram alienam et ignotam. Equi uero et muli, aurum et argentum eorum, |  
578 uestes etiam cuiusque generis preciosissime direpte et asportate, opes inaudite et innumerabiles, terram et regnum Corruzana diuitiis nimis et spoliis auxerunt et impleuerunt. Acta sunt hec crudelia certamina<sup>a</sup> et seuissime strages Christianorum in mense Augusto, quando calore solis estas grauior et sitis intolerantia fieri solet.

<sup>f</sup> perspexerunt *A*      <sup>g</sup> submersi *A*      <sup>h</sup> *E* adds sunt after obruti

30      <sup>a</sup> Rūbertus *C*; Rūpertus *H*      <sup>b</sup> *ACHN* add erat after signifer

31      <sup>a</sup> bella *ACHN*

<sup>54</sup> Modern Ermenek (prov. Konya, Turkey).

<sup>55</sup> Neither Robert, nor his brother the count, nor William is otherwise known.

of the comrades climbed to the top of a steep cliff and stood there to see if by any chance they could see water anywhere. But from here they overlooked only the town, ruined and empty of inhabitants; they thought there was water in the town, but there was none to be found. For its cisterns and wells had recently been destroyed and filled in by the Turks.

30. When, after a very short while, the Turks realized that the army was now weakened by the severe thirst it was suffering and could put up very little resistance, they pursued the Christians immediately and attacked them with arrows, joining intense battle on this side and that throughout the whole day, and bringing them down from both sides with sword, bow, and lance. They filled up the entire, very wide valley with their blood, and the ground of this region was thickly strewn with the corpses of killed men and women. At length, as this savage battle raged, and the Christians' strength was weakened by thirst, and so they were less able to fight back, the ferocity aroused in the Turks began to prevail and cruelly to force the defeated Christians to flee; they pursued the count, who was already defeated and fleeing from the battle, all the way to the town of Germanicople.<sup>54</sup> Robert, brother of the same count, and William from the city of Nonanta,<sup>55</sup> who as standard-bearer of the army had been the first to turn tail, made their escape and arrived at the aforesaid town of Germanicople, together with all the cavalry who had evaded the Turks' weapons, leaving the wretched infantry in the hands of the fierce enemy.

31. When the Turks saw the flight of the Christian army and its princes they raged through the people and the entire company of Christians, slaughtering cruelly, and only seven hundred of them, who fled through the steep slopes of the mountains and the thickness of the forests, were saved alive. After this Turkish victory and lamentable massacre of Christians, some thousand wives of Christian soldiers were taken prisoner and led off by the loathsome enemy into a strange and distant land. Their horses and mules, gold and silver, even their garments of every precious kind, were seized and carried off; incredible and uncountable riches increased and filled the land and kingdom of Khurasan with very great wealth and plunder. These cruel battles and savage massacres of Christians were carried out in the month of August, when summer always becomes more intense with the heat of the sun and unendurable thirst.

32. Comes igitur de Nauers qui uix periculum mortis euaserat, et uix adhuc aliquid de opibus et stipendiis suis<sup>a</sup> a manibus Turcorum fugiendo retinuerat,<sup>b</sup> et uix ad ciuitatem Germanicoplam declinauerat, duodecim Turcopolos, milites imperatoris, inibi ad tuenda menia constitutos, multa prece et plurima mercede collata, ductores uie sibi adquisiuit eius que ducit ad castellum sancti Andree ex hac parte ciuitatis Antiochie,<sup>56</sup> uidelicet ut sic per Antiochiam transiens, iter suum continuaret in Ierusalem. Verum Turcopoli, uiri perfidi, minime illi fidem seruauerunt, sed auaricia excecati, comitem et socios eius rebus suis<sup>c</sup> exspoliauerunt, nudos et pedites eos relinquentes in loco deserto et inuio, et acceptis spoliis Germanicoplam per notas semitas repedantes. Comes uero tristis et dolens, et precipue contritione Christiani exercitus, uiam sicut deuouerat sub paupere et uili tegmine patienter omnia aduersa accipiens perfecit, et in diuersis angustiis tandem Antiochiam peruenit.

33. Tancradus autem, post captiuitatem Boemundi princeps factus Antiochie,<sup>57</sup> eundem comitem, uirum nobilissimum, sic ab impiis Turcis attritum et rebus destitutum ingemiscens,<sup>a</sup> optimis et honorificis renouauit uestibus, et magnificis cum in equis et mulis ditauit muneribus, per aliquot dies secum retinens, dum menbra, siti, ieiunio, uigiliis, lassitudine uiarum, squalida et exhausta bonis terre in uino, oleo, et carniū dulcedine habundanter refoueret,<sup>b</sup> et post hec alleuiata molestia et amaritudine anime et corporis, uiam in<sup>c</sup> Ierusalem sicut deuouit,<sup>d</sup> expectatis ibidem et relectis aliquibus de dispersis sodalibus, tempore ueris inchoante<sup>e</sup> insisteret.

579 34. Modico dehinc interuallo, dierum scilicet octo, post hanc recentem stragem, Willelmus comes et princeps Pictauiensium,<sup>58</sup> de sanguine et origine Heinrici tercii imperatoris Romanorum, pacifice transito regno Vngarorum cum duce Bawariorum Welfone<sup>a</sup> 59 et cum

32 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> retinuit A <sup>c</sup> om. H

33 <sup>a</sup> agnoscens A <sup>b</sup> recrearet A <sup>c</sup> om. A <sup>d</sup> deuouerat H <sup>e</sup> om. H

34 <sup>a</sup> Welfone EHN

<sup>56</sup> The castle of St Andrew, and hence the route, has not been identified.

<sup>57</sup> See above, vii. 45.

<sup>58</sup> William IX, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou 1087-1127. William was a first cousin of Emperor Henry IV. His second marriage in 1094 had been to a daughter of Raymond of Toulouse's brother, and he had laid claim in Raymond's absence to Toulouse, which may have affected their relations on this expedition. He was evidently a personality

32. The count of Nevers, who had only just escaped the peril of death, and was only just still holding onto some of his riches and revenues in his flight from Turkish hands, and had only just managed to turn aside to the town of Germanicople, secured twelve Turcoples, imperial soldiers who had been stationed in the town to guard the ramparts, in return for much goodwill and a very high fee, as his guides on the route which led to the castle of St Andrew from this part of the state of Antioch,<sup>56</sup> that is to say, so that he might pass through Antioch in this way and continue his journey to Jerusalem. Truly the Turcoples, treacherous men, did not keep faith with him, but, blinded by greed, they plundered the count and his comrades of their possessions and left them as defenceless foot soldiers in a desert and out-of-the-way place, and with the spoils they received they retraced their steps to Germanicople along paths familiar to them. The count, sad and sorrowing, above all because of the destruction of the Christian army, completed the journey as he had vowed, wearing poor and wretched clothes, accepting all adversity longsufferingly, and at last after different hardships he arrived at Antioch.

33. Tancred, who had become prince of Antioch after Bohemond was taken prisoner,<sup>57</sup> sighed over this same count, a most noble man, thus destroyed by the wicked Turks and destitute of possessions, and he restored him with very good and honourable clothing, and bestowed on him magnificent gifts of horses and mules, keeping him with him for some days, to give him time abundantly to refresh his limbs, which were neglected and weary from thirst, hunger, sleepless nights, and the exhaustion of travelling, with the fruits of the earth—wine, oil, and the wholesomeness of meat—and after this, when his trouble and his bitterness of soul and body had been relieved, he might continue his way to Jerusalem at the beginning of spring, as he vowed, having waited there and gathered again some of his scattered comrades.

34. A short time after this, eight days in fact after this fresh slaughter, William, count and prince of Poitiers,<sup>58</sup> of the blood and lineage of Henry III the emperor of the Romans, who had travelled peacefully through the kingdom of the Hungarians with Duke Welf of Bavaria<sup>59</sup>

who provoked strong reactions: see FC, pp. 429, 432–3, 436–7; Frutolf and Ekkehard, pp. 164–170; OV, v, 280; GN, p. 313; RC, p. 709; ME, pp. 185–7; WM, i. 610, 680–2, 698, 782–4.

<sup>59</sup> Welf IV in usual numbering of family; Welf I as duke of Bavaria. See Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 170; *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, MGH SS xxi. 462; *Passiones Beati Thiemonis*, RHC Occ v. 208, 217.

comitissa nobili, nomine Ida,<sup>60</sup> de marchia Hoisterrich,<sup>b</sup> in ingenti manu et<sup>c</sup> equitum et peditum et feminei sexus, supra centum sexaginta milia, in apparatu copioso terram Bulgarorum est ingressus. Vbi, sicut<sup>d</sup> facile fit ab indomito et incorrigibili populo discordia exorta, et duce Bulgarorum, Guzh<sup>e</sup><sup>61</sup> nomine, uariis iniuriis molestato, ad urbem Andronopolim inexpugnatus in uirtute suorum descendit. Sed eis pons qui ducit in ciuitatem a duce preoccupatus et interdictus est.

35. Quapropter hinc Pincenariis et ceteris militibus Comanitis de regno imperatoris grauiter pontem in arcu et sagitta<sup>a</sup> prohibentibus, Christianis uero per pontem transire non minus contendentibus, adeo crudele utrimque commissum est prelium, ut Rodulfus,<sup>b</sup> uir magne nobilitatis de Scegonges<sup>62</sup> ortus, cognatus ipsius Willelmi principis, illic sagitta percussus interiret,<sup>c</sup> Harduinus<sup>d</sup> quoque de sancto Medardo<sup>e</sup><sup>63</sup> captus teneretur, et plurimi quos singillatim longum est enarrare. Illic siquidem in eodem prelio, dum hinc et hinc uaria et ingenti contentione diuersus fieret euentus, contigit ipsum ducem Bulgarorum in manus Willelmi et suorum incidere et teneri captiuum, donec ipsa die hinc et hinc habitis consiliis, in concordiam uniuersi redierunt,<sup>f</sup> captiui quique<sup>g</sup> restituti, Pincenarii et Comanite<sup>h</sup> sedati sunt.

580 36. Post hec concordia placato duce et suis, in tantum processit, ut non solum dux Christianis peregrinis per pontem pacifice transitum concederet, licentiam emendi necessaria non negaret, sed etiam conductum omnibus usque Constantinopolim<sup>a</sup> attribueret, sine dolo et aliquo impedimento. In hac ciuitate idem princeps Willelmus, Welfo dux, Ida comitissa quinque ebdomadaram curriculo commorantes, domno Alexi imperatori innotuerunt cum omni uoto quod deuouerant in Ierusalem, et idcirco fidei sacramento sibi astricti, plurima necessariarum rerum dona, et licentiam emendi necessaria suscipere meruerunt.

<sup>b</sup> Osterrich *A*; Hosterrich *CN*    <sup>c</sup> *om. AH*    <sup>d</sup> *om. N*    <sup>e</sup> Guz *A*; Guch *N*

35    <sup>a</sup> sagittis *A*    <sup>b</sup> Rudolfus *CH*; Rodulphus *N*    <sup>c</sup> interierit *A*    <sup>d</sup> Hardewinus *A*; Hardwinus *CN*    <sup>e</sup> *A* adds illic after Medardo    <sup>f</sup> redierent *C*    <sup>g</sup> quoque *N*  
<sup>h</sup> Comanite *A*

36    <sup>a</sup> *ACHN* add ad before Constantinopolim

<sup>60</sup> Ida of Cham, widow of Margrave Leopold II of Austria (*Historia Welforum*, p. 462).

<sup>61</sup> Probably not to be confused with Guzh in AA i. 7.

and with a noble countess, called Ida,<sup>60</sup> from the Austrian borderlands, along with an enormous army of cavalry and infantry and of the female sex, over a hundred and sixty thousand, entered the land of the Bulgars with a great deal of equipment. There, inasmuch as it is easy for discord to arise from a wild and incorrigible people, and after the duke of the Bulgars, called Guzh,<sup>61</sup> had been vexed by various injuries, William descended undefeated on the city of Adrianople with the strength of his troops. But the bridge which leads into the town was already occupied by Guzh and was barred to them.

35. For this reason, because the Pechenegs and the other Cuman soldiers from the empire were defending the bridge strongly with bow and arrow, while the Christians were striving no less intensely to cross the bridge, such a cruel battle was waged on both sides that Rodulf, a man of great nobility who originated from Scegonges,<sup>62</sup> a relative of Prince William himself, was struck there by an arrow and died; also Ardouin of Saint-Médard<sup>63</sup> was taken prisoner, as were very many of whom it would take too long to give details individually. There, indeed, in that same battle, while there were different outcomes on this side and that in the huge and diverse conflict, it happened that the duke of Bulgars himself fell into the hands of William and his men and was held captive until that same day both sides took counsel, and everyone returned to friendship, everyone who had been taken prisoner was restored, and the Pechenegs and Cumans were pacified.

36. After this, when the duke and his men had been placated by a truce, this much progress was made: that the duke would not only grant the Christian pilgrims peaceful passage across the bridge and would not deny them a licence to buy necessary provisions, but he would even give them all a safe conduct to Constantinople, without trickery or any hindrance. During the period of five weeks that the same Prince William, Duke Welf, and Countess Ida were staying in this town, they made known to the emperor Lord Alexios all the longing they had devoted towards Jerusalem, and on that account they became bound to him by an oath of loyalty and they were rewarded by very many gifts of necessary provisions and the licence to buy supplies.

<sup>62</sup> The identity of Ralph, or Raoul, has not been established.

<sup>63</sup> Dép. Aisne, France: see the notice in *Chartes de Saint-Julien de Tours*, ed. L. J. Denis (Le Mans, 1912), p. 82.

37. Post hec, messis tempore imminente, brachium maris sancti Georgii ex iussione et suasionē imperatoris nauigio superantes, in terram ciuitatis Nicomedie descenderunt, et inde<sup>a</sup> iter suum continuantes, et ad urbem Niceam peruenientes, per amena prata,<sup>b</sup> quibus hec habundat regio, tentoria locauerunt, duobus ibi diebus moram facientes. Inde uero profecti, Stanconam secesserunt,<sup>c</sup> ubi ex longo itinere necessariis uite consumptis, graui inedia affecti sunt, quin siti<sup>d</sup> intolerabili<sup>e</sup> uniuersi, tam homines quam iumenta, infirmati sunt. Nec mirum, nam uniuersas segetes a facie huius multitudinis Turci, uia anticipata, combusserant; puteos, cisternas, fontes obstruxerant, ut sic ultima necessitate famis et sitis attenuati facili bello superarentur.

38. Videntes itaque Willelmus et Welfo et sui consodales has Turcorum nequitias et dolos, urbes que de eorum erant potestate, 581 scilicet Phyniminim<sup>a</sup> et Sa|limiam,<sup>64</sup> assilientes plurimo conatu stragis diruerunt, sed et omnia loca circumquaque illis subdita uastare minime pepercerunt. Abhinc ad ciuitatem Relei, ubi fluuius torrens diu et longo desiderio optatus cunctis sufficeret, descenderunt. Sed Solimannus, Donimannus,<sup>b</sup> Caratyx, Agymith,<sup>c 65</sup> principes Turcorum, cum infinitis copiis et armis in occursum ex improviso peregrinis hiis incautis affuerunt, altero ex litore, homines, equos et omnia iumenta adaquari in arcu et sagittarum grandine prohibentes, dum a longo<sup>d</sup> fatigati et siti exhausti Christiani non ultra uim sufferre potuerunt. Vnde unanimiter post plurimam et diutinam contentionem seuissimam,<sup>e</sup> que ex utroque litore palustri et profundo fiebat, uniuersi Christiani fugam arripientes, strage inaudita ab impiis insecutoribus attriti sunt. Quidam autem, estimantes tam crudele martyrium euadere, diuisi a multitudine quoddam in pratum contententes, feno latere et abscondi querebant. Sed nequaquam sic uite reseruati, ad trecentos ibidem sagittis confixi interierunt.<sup>f</sup>

37    <sup>a</sup> om. H    <sup>b</sup> loca H    <sup>c</sup> descenderunt A    <sup>d</sup> sitis AN    <sup>e</sup> A adds ardore after intolerabile

38    <sup>a</sup> Phiniminum AHN; Finiminum C    <sup>b</sup> N adds et before Donimannus    <sup>c</sup> N adds et before Agymith    <sup>d</sup> longe ACHN    <sup>e</sup> seuissimamque AC    <sup>f</sup> sunt A

37. After this, at the beginning of harvest time, they crossed the straits of St George by boat on the orders of the emperor and at his urging, and they went down into the territory of the city of Nicomedia, and, continuing their journey from there and arriving at the city of Nicaea, they pitched their tents in pleasant meadows, with which this region abounds, stopping there for two days. They set out from there and withdrew to Iconium where, having eaten up all their vital supplies on the long journey, they were afflicted by a severe famine, and indeed all—men as well as pack animals—were weakened by unbearable thirst. No wonder, for the Turks had been that way before them and had burnt all the crops in front of this multitude; they had blocked wells, cisterns, and springs so that in this way the Christians would be destroyed by the utmost exigency of hunger and thirst and would easily be conquered in battle.

38. When, therefore, William and Welf and their fellows saw these villainies and deceits of the Turks they overthrew the cities which were in their power, namely Philomelium and Salimia,<sup>64</sup> attacking them and inflicting very great slaughter, and also they did not forbear to lay waste all the places round about which were subject to them. From here they went down to the town of Heraclea where a rushing river, wished for with a long and lasting desire, could satisfy all of them. But Suleyman, Danishmend, Caratyx, and Agymith,<sup>65</sup> princes of the Turks, approached from the other bank with countless troops and weapons to meet these heedless pilgrims unexpectedly, using bows and arrows to prevent the men, horses, and all the pack animals from watering, until the Christians, wearied from the long journey and worn out by thirst, could no longer withstand their strength. And so after a very great and long and cruel conflict, which took place on both of the deep, marshy banks, all the Christians took flight together and were destroyed in an incredible slaughter by the wicked pursuers. Some, moreover, who thought to escape so cruel a martyrdom, separated from the crowd and made for a certain meadow where they sought to hide and lie concealed in the hay. But there was no way they could save their lives: in that place some three hundred of them were pierced with arrows and died.

<sup>64</sup> Not identified.

<sup>65</sup> Caratyx and Agymith do not seem to correspond to known Turkish leaders.

39. Episcopus uero de Aluernis<sup>66</sup> et uniuersi<sup>a</sup> comitatus illius, uidentes populum Christi sic fuga dilapsam et ab impiis carnificibus attritum, ad radicem<sup>b</sup> montis ubi fluuius Reclei oritur, et ipsi fugam inierunt, equos et omnia relinquentes, et tamen pauci euadentes. Similiter etiam dux Welfo, lorica et omnibus armis exutus et per montana fugiens, uix ab hostili manu ereptus est. Plurima autem milia Alemannorum, Francorum, Wasconum<sup>c</sup> qui procul erant a montanis illic<sup>d</sup> extincta fuisse referuntur. Comitissa uero Ida utrum capta et abducta, an pedibus tot milium equorum menbratim discerpta fuerit, usque in hodiernum diem ignoratur, nisi quod aiunt<sup>e</sup> eam inter tot milia matronarum in terram Corruzana eterno exilio deportatam.<sup>67</sup>

582 40. Comes autem, cum solo armigero per montana et ignotas uias arma inimicorum aufugiens,<sup>a</sup> ad urbem nomine Longinath,<sup>68</sup> iuxta Tursolt ciuitatem, | quam Bernardus<sup>b</sup> cognomine Extraneus<sup>69</sup> regebat, tandem peruenit, benigne ab eo susceptus, omnibus uite necessariis sibi amministratis. Paucis deinde transactis diebus, audiens Tancradus princeps Antiochie tam egregium principem illic<sup>c</sup> spoliis et omnibus rebus omissis<sup>d</sup> pauperem uitam ducere, et nimis humiliatum, misertus est conchristiani fratris et principis, et idcirco accepto consilio militibus ab Antiochia in occursum eius missis,<sup>e</sup> honorifice eum suscepit, et preciosis uestibus per aliquot dies secum commorantem et bonis terre conuiuantem renouauit.

41. Post contritionem Longobardorum et Willelmi principis de Nauers, Willelmi quoque comitis Pictauiensium,<sup>a</sup> Welphonis ducis Bawariorum, quicumque dispersi fuerant aut Constantinopolim seu alibi hiemauerant, e cunctis locis singillatim quique Christiani principes, relectis suis reliquiis, Antiochiam mense Martio inchoante conuenerunt, Albertus scilicet de Blandraz, Cunradus stabularius, Stephanus Blesensis, item Stephanus dux Burgundie, Reimundus

39 <sup>a</sup> uniuersus *A* <sup>b</sup> radices *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> Wasconum *A* <sup>d</sup> illinc *H* <sup>e</sup> om. *N*

40 <sup>a</sup> effugiens *A* <sup>b</sup> Bernhardus *ACH* <sup>c</sup> illis *A* <sup>d</sup> amissis *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> directis *A*

41 <sup>a</sup> Pictauiensis *H*

<sup>66</sup> William of Baffie, bishop of Clermont (now Clermont-Ferrand) 1096–1104 (*Chronica prioratus de casa Vicecomitis*, ed. P. Marchegay and E. Mabille, in *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou* (Paris, 1869), p. 340).

<sup>67</sup> Ekkehard describes the battle, although he was not a participant, and records 'marchisiam N. trucidatam', which, as the editors say, evidently refers to Ida, but in the

39. The bishop of Auvergne<sup>66</sup> and all his company, seeing Christ's people had fled in this way and been destroyed by the wicked butchers, themselves took flight to the foot of the mountain where the river of Heraclea rises, leaving behind horses and everything, and yet very few of them escaped. In the same way Duke Welf, discarding hauberk and all his weapons and fleeing through mountainous terrain, only just evaded enemy hands. Very many thousands of Swabians, Franks, and Gascons who were far from the mountains are reported to have died there. Countess Ida was either captured and taken away, or was torn limb from limb by the hooves of so many thousand horses: to this very day her fate is not known, except that they say she was carried off among the many thousands of women into the land of Khurasan in eternal exile.<sup>67</sup>

40. The count, however, running away with a single squire from the enemy's weapons through the mountains and remote ways, at last arrived at a city called Longinath,<sup>68</sup> next to the town of Tarsus, which was governed by Bernard, nicknamed the Foreigner,<sup>69</sup> and he was kindly received by him and supplied with all the necessities of life. Then after a few days Tancred, prince of Antioch, hearing that such an eminent prince was leading the life of a pauper there, having lost his plunder and all his possessions, and was brought very low, took pity on his fellow Christian brother and prince, and, after taking advice on the matter and sending soldiers from Antioch to meet him, he received him with honour and he restored him with precious clothes during the number of days he stayed with him, and feasted with him on the fruits of the earth.

41. After the defeat of the Lombards and William prince of Nevers, also William count of Poitiers and Welf duke of Bavaria, all those Christian princes who had dispersed and had wintered either in Constantinople or elsewhere, leaving behind the rest of their men, came together from all the places one by one at Antioch at the beginning of March, namely Albert of Biandrate, Conrad the constable, Stephen of Blois, the other Stephen duke of Burgundy,

*Historia Welforum Weingartensis* it records that she was seized by one of the Saracen princes and from their union, 'illum sceleratissimum, ut aiunt, progenuit'. The wicked offspring was Zangī, who captured Edessa in 1144 (Frutolf and Ekkehard, p. 170; *Historia Welforum*, p. 462). Thiemo, archbishop of Salzburg, was martyred following the battle and his sufferings are recorded in three *Passiones* (*RHC Occ* v. 199–223).

<sup>68</sup> Anna Komnene calls the town Longinias; it has not been identified.

comes, <sup>b</sup>Willelmus de Navers, <sup>b</sup>Willelmus Pictauiensis<sup>c</sup> comes, Welfo dux Bawariorum. Episcopi Engelrandus de Lauduno, Manasses<sup>d</sup> de Barzenona, <sup>e</sup>70 alii quoque episcopi Italie nauigio ad portum Symeonis<sup>f</sup> heremite pariter conuenientes Antiochie aliquanto tempore remorati sunt.

42. Bernardus autem Extraneus eo tempore comitem Reimundum apud eundem<sup>a</sup> portum in<sup>b</sup> captium tenuit, eo quod imputabatur ei traditio necis Longobardorum et ceterorum qui in eadem<sup>c</sup> fuerant expeditione, <sup>d</sup>quem Tancradus, Antiochie sibi traditum, reposuit in custodia. <sup>e</sup>71 Principes igitur<sup>f</sup> Christianorum qui conuenerant, post dies paucos recordati confratris et principis Christiani sic indiscussum a Tancrado in uinculis teneri, obnixè precati sunt ut in nomine Christi tam magnificum principem solueret ac suis restitueret. Tancradus uero, satisfaciens precibus confratrum peregrinorum, hac apposita conditione a carcere eductum restituit, ne quicquam terre hac ex  
583 parte ciuitatis Acre inuaderet,<sup>72</sup> et id, sa|cramento obligatus, obseruaret. Post hec recepto eodem principe Reimundo, unanimiter salutato Tancrado, ab Antiochia regressi<sup>g</sup> sunt usque ad ciuitatem nomine<sup>h</sup> Tortosam. Quam obsidentes et expugnantes subdiderunt, in qua ipse Reimundus ex communi consilio ad tuenda ipsius menia remansit, eo quod uir cautus et doctus ad resistendum hostibus uideretur.<sup>73</sup> Ceteri uiam Ierusalem continuare decreuerunt.

43. Welfo autem dux, obsidionem hanc deuitans, Ierusalem ad adorandum descendit, una cum Reinoldo duce Burgundie,<sup>74</sup> fratre Stephani, uice<sup>a</sup> ipsius Burgundiam regentis, <sup>b</sup>qui semianno ante expeditionem Longobardorum Ierusalem tendens, Antiochie usque nunc hiemauerat. Sed infirmitate correptus, in uia<sup>c</sup> mortuus est idem Reinoldus et sepultus. Welfo igitur Ierusalem perueniens, adorato

<sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> om. N      <sup>d</sup> N adds et before Manasses; Manasses ACH  
<sup>e</sup> Barzenona AN. H has Barcinona later      <sup>f</sup> A adds sancti before Symeonis

42    <sup>a</sup> eandem CEN      <sup>b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> eandem A      <sup>d</sup> expeditionem A  
<sup>e</sup> custodiam A      <sup>f</sup> ergo A      <sup>g</sup> egressi A      <sup>h</sup> om. A

43    <sup>a</sup> A adds qui before uice      <sup>b</sup> rexit A      <sup>c</sup> ACHN add hac after uia

<sup>69</sup> Bernard the Foreigner, or Stranger, is not known from other sources.

<sup>70</sup> Bishop Manasses has not been identified. 'Barzenona' is not Barcelona in Catalonia: the bishop there was Berengar II, 'an aged man who never left his diocese': Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, i. 35, note 1.

<sup>71</sup> Matthew of Edessa says Raymond and his men were held in 'Saruandawi', which has been identified as Sarvantikar on the Pyramus river: see ME, p. 185 and n. on p. 335.

Count Raymond, William of Nevers, William count of Poitiers, Welf duke of Bavaria. Bishops Engelrand of Laon, Manasses of Barzenna,<sup>70</sup> also other bishops from Italy, likewise arrived by ship at the port of Symeon the Hermit and stayed in Antioch for some time.

42. Bernard the Foreigner was at that time holding Count Raymond captive in that same port, because he was thought to be guilty of handing over to be slaughtered the Lombards and the others who had been part of the same expedition; Tancred put him in prison when he was handed over to him in Antioch.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, the princes of the Christians who had assembled, recollecting after a few days their brother and Christian prince who was thus held disregarded in chains by Tancred, pleaded with all their might that in the name of Christ he should set free so magnificent a prince and restore him to his people. Tancred met the wishes of his brother pilgrims and brought Raymond out of prison and restored him, on condition that he would not seize any land whatsoever on this side of the town of Acre,<sup>72</sup> and, having taken a binding oath, he would keep it. After this, that same Prince Raymond was received, Tancred was cheered by all, and they went back from Antioch to the town called Tortosa. They besieged and conquered it and subdued it and by common agreement Raymond himself remained in the town to defend its ramparts, because he seemed to be a careful and experienced man for the task of resisting the enemy.<sup>73</sup> The rest decided to continue the journey to Jerusalem.

43. Duke Welf, however, avoided this siege and went on to Jerusalem to worship, together with Rainald duke of Burgundy,<sup>74</sup> Stephen's brother who ruled Burgundy in his place; Rainald was making for Jerusalem six months before the Lombard expedition and had wintered at Antioch until now. But this same Rainald was attacked by illness, died on the journey, and was buried. Welf arrived at Jerusalem, worshipped Lord Jesus and his sepulchre, then after some

<sup>72</sup> The precise wording of the undertaking has been much discussed. It did not stop Raymond attacking Tortosa and Tripoli, though he did leave Tancred alone in possession of Antioch. Somewhat later the frontier was established at Marqab.

<sup>73</sup> Albert deals rather summarily with the siege of Tortosa: a fuller account is to be found in Caffaro, since the Genoese took an important part in the siege (*Lib. Or.*, pp. 118–19). The choice of Raymond as ruler of the captured town was disputed; see FC, p. 434; BN, p. 533.

<sup>74</sup> Rainald II of Burgundy may have travelled with the First Crusade: see Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 94, 158, 218, 247.

Domino Iesu et eius sepulchro, post aliquot dies nauigio usque ad insulam Cyprum reuersus est, ubi et ipse infirmitate detentus, mortuus et sepultus est.

44. Ceteri autem principes prefati<sup>a</sup> post captionem ciuitatis Tortose recto itinere usque ad ciuitatem Baurim cum decem milibus profecti sunt, ubi regem Baldwinum, ex premissa legatione ammonitum, in occursum sibi in ingenti manu reppererunt,<sup>b</sup> quia transire regiones et ciuitates gentilium absque tam nominati et potentis noui regis conductu dubitabant. Deinde, habita per noctis spacium cum eo requie, crastino ammixtis copiis profecti sunt, et quindecim<sup>c</sup> dies ante sanctum<sup>d</sup> Pascha<sup>75</sup> Ioppen uenientes, per dies octo et ipsa sollempni die Palmarum illic morati sunt. Postera autem die Palmarum ab Ioppe egressi, Ierosolimam ascenderunt. In qua septem dies commorantes, et sabbato sancti Pasche ignem de celo operientes, sanctam ciuitatem in orationibus et elemosynis perlustrauerunt.<sup>76</sup> Cunradus quoque Stabularius et Engelrandus episcopus Lauduni, paulo<sup>e</sup> retardati, subsecuti sunt confratres usque Iafeth, qui et ipsi in Pascha Domini ceteris adiuncti sunt.

584 45. Conuenientes igitur de omnibus locis in Ierusalem hac sancta ebdomada Paschali, et gloriose ac iocunde sanctam sollempnitatem cum rege peragentes, mala et pericula peregrinorum rememorantes, consilium regi Baldwino dederunt, quatenus in humilitate ampliori qua posset et precibus mansuetis imperatorem Constantinopolis compellaret <sup>a</sup>super miseriis Christianorum, uidelicet ut a perditione et a<sup>b</sup> traditione Christianorum cessaret, et ecclesie Ierosolimitane subueniret, Turcos et Sarracenos non audiret, sed pleniter et<sup>c</sup> fideliter omnem mutationem necessariorum ab insulis et locis regni sui fieri usque in Ierusalem non negaret.

46. Fuit enim fama in populo catholico, quod ipsius imperatoris occultis et perfidis consiliis a comite Reimundo et militibus<sup>a</sup> Turcopolis conductus sit exercitus Longobardorum per deserta<sup>b</sup> et inuia et solitudines Flaganie ut illic a Turcis facile pre fame et siti exhaustus superatus occideretur. Verum, ut a ueridicis et nobilibus uiris relatum est, nequaquam hoc nefando scelere culpandus erat, nam sepius

44 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> reppererunt C <sup>c</sup> ACHN add per before quindecim <sup>d</sup> sanctam ACH <sup>e</sup> paululum H

45 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> om. AH <sup>c</sup> ac ACHN

46 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> A adds loca before deserta

days he sailed back to the island of Cyprus, where he too fell ill, died, and was buried.

44. After the capture of Tortosa the rest of the aforementioned princes set out with ten thousand men on the direct route to the town of Beirut where they found King Baldwin who, forewarned by a legation, met them with a huge army, because they hesitated to cross the regions and states of the gentiles without an escort provided by this renowned and powerful new king. Then, having rested one night with him, the following day they joined forces and set out and, arriving at Jaffa fifteen days before holy Easter,<sup>75</sup> they stopped there for eight days and for the feast of Palm Sunday itself. However, on the day after Palm Sunday they left Jaffa and went up to Jerusalem. There they spent seven days and on holy Easter Sunday waited for the heavenly fire, travelling all over the holy city with prayers and alms.<sup>76</sup> Conrad the constable, as well, and Engelrand bishop of Laon, who were somewhat delayed, followed their brothers as far as Jaffa, and they too joined the rest on Easter Day.

45. As they came together from all parts to Jerusalem for this holy Easter Week, and celebrated the holy feast gloriously and happily with the king, they recalled the evils and dangers befalling the pilgrims and they gave advice to King Baldwin that in the most humble way he could, and with mild entreaties, he should appeal to the emperor of Constantinople about the Christians' miseries, that is to say, the emperor should stop ruining and betraying Christians, should assist the church in Jerusalem, should not listen to Turks and Saracens, and should not refuse to allow fully and faithfully all the trade in provisions from the islands and districts of his kingdom to Jerusalem.

46. For there was a rumour among the Christian people that on the secret and treacherous advice of the emperor himself the army of Lombards had been led by Count Raymond and the Turcopole soldiers through the deserts and out-of-the-way places and wastelands of Paphlagonia so that they could easily be overcome by the Turks there, worn out as they were by hunger and thirst, and killed. In truth, as is reported by truthful and distinguished men, he was not to be blamed for this crime at all, for he frequently warned and

<sup>75</sup> Easter Day was 6 Apr. 1102.

<sup>76</sup> The legend of the Holy Fire was well known all over Christendom. There is a good description of it by Guibert of Nogent, and Caffaro witnessed the ceremony in 1101 (GN, pp. 340-3; Caffaro, *Ann. Ian.*, pp. 7-9).

exercitum premonuit et edocuit<sup>c</sup> solitudines et defectiones<sup>d</sup> et Turcorum insidias in inuiis Flaganie, et ideo eos non secure et tutos<sup>e</sup> per hanc uiam posse incedere.<sup>77</sup>

47. Adquieuit benigne rex Baldwinus consiliis uniuersorum, ac leones duos domitos<sup>a</sup> et sibi<sup>a</sup> gratissimos imperatori pro munere misit,<sup>b</sup> per Gerardum archiepiscopum<sup>78</sup> et episcopum de Barzenona, ad confirmandum foedus et amicitiam. Imperator uero<sup>c</sup> uniuersam petitionem regis cum muneribus sibi presentatis in bono accepit, et de omni suspicione necis Longobardorum quam aduersus eum Christiani habebant, iusiurandum in Dei nomine faciens, se excusauit, promittens se deinceps omnibus misericordiam fieri; regem Baldwinum se uelle | honorare et amare. In hac eadem legatione ab imperatore  
585 decretum est, ut episcopus de Barzenona eum apud Romanum pontificem Paschalem<sup>d</sup> de traditione sibi imposita excusaret.

48. Engelbertus<sup>a</sup><sup>79</sup> autem miles quidam in Ierusalem repedans muneribus magnis ab imperatore honoratus, bona nuncia reportauit, et amicitiam et fidem regi Baldwino imperatorem uelle obseruare, et peregrinos non ultra offendere.<sup>b</sup> Sed episcopus aliquantulum<sup>c</sup> renisis est imperatori, propter infidelitatem erga Gallos quam ab eo extorsit. Quapropter in amaritudine animi<sup>80</sup> Romam tendens, ipsum imperatorem criminatus est in ecclesia Beneuentana,<sup>81</sup> et ideo, assumptis literis ipsius apostolici, querimonia grauis apud omnes principes Gallie super ipso imperatore facta est.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>c</sup> *N* adds et after edocuit

<sup>d</sup> defensiones *N*

<sup>e</sup> tute *A*

47    <sup>a</sup> *a* sibi que *A*    <sup>b</sup> direxit *A*    <sup>c</sup> om. *H*    <sup>d</sup> Pascasium *E*

48    <sup>a</sup> Engilbertus *AH*

<sup>b</sup> *C* adds uelle before offendere

<sup>c</sup> aliquantum *A*

<sup>d</sup> After factus est, *C* adds Finit liber octauus; *H* adds Explicit liber octauus

<sup>77</sup> It should be noted that Albert exonerates the Byzantines, and his attitude may be contrasted with that expressed by Matthew of Edessa and the anonymous Syriac author, who accuses Alexios of sending men to lead the crusaders 'into a desert where there was neither water nor fodder and he told the Turks of those parts so that they could surround them' (ME, p. 186; Anon. Syriac, p. 74). The fullest analysis of this question is Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium*, pp. 84-8.

informed the army about the wastelands and shortages and Turkish ambushes in the out-of-the-way places of Paphlagonia, and he told them that for these reasons they could not march securely and safely along this route.<sup>77</sup>

47. King Baldwin graciously agreed to everyone's advice, and he sent two lions which were tame and great pets of his to the emperor as a gift, by way of Archbishop Gerard<sup>78</sup> and the bishop of Barzenona, to confirm their treaty and friendship. The emperor received the king's entire petition and the gifts offered to him with goodwill, and, making a solemn oath in God's name, he absolved himself from all suspicion which the Christians held against him with regard to the death of the Lombards, promising that he would show mercy to all from then on, and that he wanted to honour and love King Baldwin. In this same legation it was decreed by the emperor that the bishop of Barzenona would absolve him with the Roman pope Paschal of the betrayal of which he was accused.

48. Engelbert,<sup>79</sup> a certain knight, retracing his steps to Jerusalem bearing great gifts bestowed on him by the emperor, brought back the good news, that the emperor wanted to preserve both friendship and faith with King Baldwin and to upset the pilgrims no longer. But the bishop was somewhat resistant to the emperor, because of the inconstancy towards the Gauls which he perceived in him. On this account, when he was making for Rome in a mood of bitterness<sup>80</sup> he denounced the emperor in the church at Benevento,<sup>81</sup> and in the same way, taking with him letters from the pope himself, he stirred up a great complaint about the emperor himself among all the princes of Gaul.

<sup>78</sup> Possibly Gerard mentioned in AA vii. 66.

<sup>79</sup> Possibly Engilbert of Tournai; see AA vi. 11.

<sup>80</sup> Esther 4: 1; Job 3: 20; 10: 1; 21: 25.

<sup>81</sup> It is known that the pope was in Benevento (prov. Benevento, Italy) at this time, which lends some likelihood to Albert's account; however, Krey suggested that Albert confused the mission of Bishop Manasses in 1102 with Pope Paschal's commission to Bishop Bruno of Segni in 1106: Krey, 'A neglected passage', p. 68.

## LIBER NONVS

591 1. Plurimis deinde diebus euolutis et conuentu Christianorum de die in diem comminuto, aliis redeuntibus nauigio, aliis per diuersas regiones in reditu suo dispersis, Cunradus stabularius imperatoris Romanorum, Albertus<sup>a</sup> de Blandraz, Stephanus Blesensis, Stephanus princeps<sup>b</sup> Burgundie, Otto cognomine Altaspata, Arpinus de Bodorgis,<sup>c</sup> Hugo de Falkenberch,<sup>d</sup> Hugo de Lezenays,<sup>1</sup> Baldwinus de Hestrut,<sup>2</sup> Gutmannus<sup>e</sup> de Brussella,<sup>f</sup> Rodolfus<sup>g</sup> de castello Alos, quod est in Flandria,<sup>4</sup> Hugo Botuns,<sup>h</sup> Gerbodo de castello Winthinc,<sup>i</sup> Rotgerus<sup>j</sup> de Roseit et ceteri quamplurimi nobiles et egregii milites<sup>k</sup> qui ad sanctum Pascha celebrandum tunc de uniueris locis conuenerant, et in<sup>l</sup> omni deuotione karitatis et<sup>m</sup> plenitudine feliciter sanctum tempus celebrauerant, in ciuitate Ierusalem cum rege remanserunt.

2. Appropriante<sup>a</sup> dehinc festo sancti Pentecostes,<sup>7</sup> et collectione Christianorum nimium attenuata, aliis nauigio, aliis per siccum regressis, exercitus Babylonie innumerabilis et numquam ante copiosior factus, ab Ascalona alii nauigio, alii per aridam in equis et copioso apparatu armorum descendentes, templum sancti Georgii, distans miliario a ciuitate Ramnes,<sup>8</sup> combusserunt, cum uniueris quos in eo reppererunt<sup>b</sup> fugientes a facie eorum cum armentis et gregibus; quin omnia<sup>c</sup> sata regionis depopulati sunt, nouum laborem peregrinorum et spem totius anni.<sup>9</sup> Ad hec Robertus eius<sup>d</sup> ciuitatis episcopus, uir  
592 Christianissimus, uidens tam copiosum exercitum tam repentinis

1 <sup>a</sup> Adelberti *EN* later <sup>b</sup> dux *C* <sup>c</sup> Bogordis *A* <sup>d</sup> Falkenberc *A*; Falkenberg *CH* <sup>e</sup> Gütmanus *H* and *C* later <sup>f</sup> Brusella *A*; Brussela *C*; Brüsela *H*; Brusela *N*  
<sup>g</sup> Rodulfus *A*; Rudolfus *CH* <sup>h</sup> *H* adds *de before* Botuns <sup>i</sup> Wintinc *AH*  
<sup>j</sup> Rütgerus *H*; Rutgerus *N* <sup>k</sup> uiri *ACHN* <sup>l</sup> *om. A* <sup>m</sup> *om. H*

2 <sup>a</sup> Appropinquante *A* <sup>b</sup> reppererunt *C* <sup>c</sup> *H* adds *et before* omnia  
<sup>d</sup> eiusdem *A*

<sup>1</sup> Hugh VI of Lusignan (dép. Vienne, France), half-brother of Raymond of Saint-Gilles: see also *FC*, p. 438; *WM*, i. 680, 684; *WT*, p. 476; *BN*, pp. 532–4; Anon. Rhenani, *Historia Gotfridi*, *RHC Occ* v. 511; *Li Estoire de Jerusalem et d'Antioche*, *RHC Occ* v. 642–4.

<sup>2</sup> Heestert (French Hestrud) near Kortrijk (West-Vlaanderen, Belgium). This Baldwin is mentioned only by Albert, but Murray has suggested that he is the same as is later to be found in charge of the defences of Ramla (see below, x. 10; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 187).

## BOOK NINE

1. Then, after many days had passed and the company of Christians had lessened day by day, some going back by ship, others scattering through different regions on their return journey, there remained in the state of Jerusalem with the king: Conrad the Roman emperor's constable; Albert of Biandrate; Stephen of Blois; Stephen, prince of Burgundy; Otto surnamed Altaspata; Arpin of Bourges; Hugh of Fauquemberges; Hugh of Lusignan;<sup>1</sup> Baldwin of Heestert;<sup>2</sup> Gutmann of Brussels;<sup>3</sup> Rodolf of the castle at Aalst, which is in Flanders;<sup>4</sup> Hugh Botuns;<sup>5</sup> Gerbod of the castle of Windeke;<sup>6</sup> Roger of Rozoy, and very many other nobles and outstanding knights who had come together from all parts at that time to celebrate the feast of Easter, and had joyfully and lavishly celebrated the holy time with all loving devotion.

2. Then, when the holy feast of Whitsuntide was approaching,<sup>7</sup> and the assembly of Christians was greatly diminished, with some travelling back by ship and some by land, an Egyptian army, countless in number and greater than any before, which came down from Ascalon, some by ship, others by land on horseback and plentifully equipped with weapons, burnt down the chapel of St George, a mile away from the town of Ramla,<sup>8</sup> with everyone whom they found in it fleeing before them with herds and flocks; indeed they laid waste all the crops of the region, the pilgrims' recent labour and their hope for the whole year.<sup>9</sup> At this Robert, bishop of the town and a most Christian man, seeing so numerous an army oppressing the region

<sup>1</sup> Gutmann is also found in early charters of the kingdom of Jerusalem: see RR, nos. 43, 52, 56a, 57, 76a, 76b, 80.

<sup>2</sup> Second son of Ralph, Advocate of St Peter's Abbey at Ghent, and Gisela of Luxembourg, sister-in-law of Count Baldwin IV of Flanders. His elder brother Baldwin was lord of Aalst (French Alost; Oost-Vlaanderen, Belgium), Waas, and Drongen. See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Not otherwise known.

<sup>4</sup> Gerbod III, lord of Scheldewindeke (Oost-Vlaanderen, Belgium), younger son of Gerbod II, lord of Oosterzele and advocate of the abbey of Saint-Bertin, Gent. See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 200-1.

<sup>5</sup> 25 May 1102.

<sup>6</sup> The church was at Lydda, about 4 km from Ramla. The attack is also mentioned by Fulcher (FC, pp. 426-7). For a description of the church and a full discussion of this incident, see Pringle, *Churches*, ii. 9-27.

<sup>9</sup> Vergil, *Georgics* 1. 224.

flammis et predis regioni incumbere, et post captam urbem Ramnes in ciuitatem<sup>c</sup> Ierusalem uelle descendere ad expugnanda eius menia et obsidendum regem cum populo Christiano, subito equum ascendens et ab hostium incursu elapsus, precucurrit Ierusalem ut nunciaret regi quantus exercitus descendisset a Babylonia, et quoniam omnia sata<sup>f</sup> et uicina loca ciuitatis Ramnes iam<sup>g</sup> flamma et preda consumpsisset.<sup>h</sup>

3. Rex itaque et uniuersa domus ducis Godefridi fratris ipsius et ceteri nobiles qui adhuc cum illo remanserant, audientes superuenisse tot milia aduersariorum ad delendos catholicos populos, sine mora ad arma festinant, et iam ad septingentos adunati et loricati cum rege uersus hostiles impetus in tubis et cornibus et uexillis ostreis regia uia ferebantur.<sup>10</sup> Vix a montanis Ierusalem rex et sui egressi sunt, et ecce in ualle et amplissima planicie Ramnes inimica agmina Sarracenorum Arabitarumque et gentes Azopart appropriabant<sup>a</sup> cum infinitis milibus equitum et peditum, uolentes Ierusalem in uirtute hac recuperare, regem et fideles Christi expugnare.

4. Rex igitur et omnis comitatus illius uidentes tam propinquas<sup>a</sup> acies inimicorum astitisse, omni timore mortis deposito et anime sue parcere non curantes, atrociter et unanimiter per medios hostes et eorum milia irruunt, acies penetrantes in uirtute militari, et nimiam cedem suis armis multiplicantes. Dum uero hii solummodo septingenti, pauca quidem manus, sed milites egregii et fortissimi, sic cedendo et hostium muros diruendo penetrare conarentur, gens intolerabilis Azopart, que mediis milibus gentilium constituta erat, cum fustibus in modum malleorum ferro et plumbo compositis occurrerunt regi et suis, et non solum milites sed etiam equos illorum in fronte et ceteris menbris fortiter ferientes, graui ictu eos a prelio absterrebant. Alii uero sagittis et fundibulis<sup>b</sup> uiros egregios coronantes incessanter affligebant, tamquam grando indeficiens que de celo cadit, quousque uim ultra sufferre non ualentes rex et uni|uersi in fugam conuersi sunt. Rodolfus de Alos, Gerbodo de Winthinc, Gerardus de

<sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> A adds regionis after sata      <sup>g</sup> in A      <sup>h</sup> consumpsissent A

3    <sup>a</sup> appropinquabant H

4    <sup>a</sup> propinquant A      <sup>b</sup> fundibalis A

<sup>10</sup> Both Fulcher of Chartres and Bartolf of Nangis say there were two hundred cavalry in this engagement, but this number may only refer to knights ('milites'). Ibn al-Qalanisi supports this supposition, for he says the force of Franks consisted of about seven hundred knights and footmen (FC, p. 440; BN, p. 534; IQ, p. 55).

with sudden fires and looting, realized that after the city of Ramla was taken the Egyptians would descend on the city of Jerusalem to attack its walls and besiege the king and the Christian people, so he mounted a horse at once and evaded the enemy attack, and he hurried on ahead to Jerusalem to announce to the king the size of the army that had come down from Egypt, and to warn that it had already destroyed with fire and looting all the crops and places neighbouring the town of Ramla.

3. When the king and the entire household of his own brother Duke Godfrey and the rest of the nobles who still stayed with him heard that so many thousands of the enemy had come upon them to wipe out the Christian peoples, they hastened to arm at once, and directly some seven hundred assembled and put on armour and with the king they moved against the enemy advances, following the royal road with trumpets and bugles and purple banners.<sup>10</sup> The king and his men had only just come out of the mountains of Jerusalem when suddenly the hostile battle lines of the Saracens and Arabs and the people of Ethiopia were approaching in the valley and on the spacious plain of Ramla with infinite thousands of cavalry and infantry, wanting to recover Jerusalem with this force and to conquer the king and Christ's faithful.

4. The king, therefore, and all his company, seeing that the enemy lines were so close at hand, laid aside all fear of death and paid no heed to saving their own lives, and they charged violently together through the midst of the enemy and their thousands, penetrating their lines with their military might and spreading much slaughter with their weapons. While this band of only seven hundred—a small force indeed but outstanding and very valiant warriors—were thus trying to break through by cutting down and destroying the walls of enemy soldiers, the unbearable people of Ethiopia, who were stationed in the middle of the thousands of gentiles, attacked the king and his men with cudgels made in the manner of hammers from iron and lead, and they hit not only the knights but also their horses hard on the forehead and their other limbs, driving them away from the battle by their severe blows. Others were surrounding the admirable men and ceaselessly striking them with arrows and sling-stones, like a relentless hail falling from the sky, until, no longer able to bear the assault, the king and all his men were put to flight. Rodolf of Aalst, Gerbod of Windeke, Gerard of Avesnes, Geoffrey who was

Auennis, Gosfridus<sup>c</sup> brevis in<sup>d</sup> statura,<sup>11</sup> Stabelo camerarius ducis Godefridi, comes Host de castello Riura,<sup>12</sup> Hugo de Almaz<sup>e</sup> de terra Pictauiensi,<sup>f</sup> Hugo Botuns, Gerardus Barson et ceteri omnes mediis hostibus interierunt. Ex hiis quinquaginta uersus Ramnes fugam arripientes porte urbis inmissi sunt. Lithardus<sup>g</sup> uero Cameracensis,<sup>13</sup> Rotgerus de Roseit, Philippus de Bulon,<sup>14</sup> Baldwinus de Hestrut,<sup>h</sup> Waltherus<sup>i</sup> de Berga,<sup>15</sup> Hugo de Burg,<sup>j</sup> Addo<sup>k</sup> de Keresi<sup>17</sup> uersus Iafeth fugam inierunt. Vbi decem milia Christianorum<sup>l</sup> illis occurrerunt, qui regi ad auxilium festinabant. Sed ab hiis audito regis infortunio et suorum<sup>m</sup> interitu, ad eandem ciuitatem Iafeth<sup>n</sup> fuga reuersi sunt.

5. Hiis itaque ciuitati cum fugitiuis militibus inmissis, et portis clausis, Sarraceni qui eos insequabantur ad societatem reuersi sunt, et urbem Ramnes undique positis castris obsederunt. Rex autem, uite diffusus propter urbis infirmitatem, per quamdam muri fracturam cum solo Hugone de Brulis,<sup>18</sup> in Gazela<sup>a</sup> residens, cum armigero suo uersus montana Ierusalem diffugium fecit, ac tota die errans et nocte, frustra iter peregit, donec maxima pars Sarracenorum erranti et Ierusalem tendenti occurrit, a quibus illi per montana fuga interdicta, grauiter insecutione illorum oppressus,<sup>b</sup> nescius quo uagari cepit. Rex itaque, intelligens se per montana non posse euadere, iam crastino mane orto, et uia aliquantulum<sup>c</sup> recognita, uersus Assur<sup>d</sup> ciuitatem Christianorum secessit, licet sagittis insequentium trans loricam paulisper sauciatus.<sup>e</sup> Qui per diem et noctem in montanis et deuiis multum laborauit,<sup>f</sup> dum tandem in campi planicie sine requie et cibo et<sup>g</sup> equi pabulo assistens, regionis et uiarum cepit reminisci.<sup>19</sup> Mane

<sup>c</sup> Goffridus A; Godefridus N <sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> Almas N <sup>f</sup> Pictauiensi AH  
<sup>g</sup> All MSS Lithard- here, but AN have Litard- later <sup>h</sup> Hestruth A <sup>i</sup> Waltherus CH <sup>j</sup> Burch A <sup>k</sup> Hadho N <sup>l</sup> Christianorum om. H <sup>m</sup> suo H <sup>n</sup> om. H

5 <sup>a</sup> Gazella CEN <sup>b</sup> pressus A; ACHN add est after (op)pressus <sup>c</sup> aliquantum A  
<sup>d</sup> E adds uel Arsit over Assur <sup>e</sup> uulneratus A <sup>f</sup> laborauerat A <sup>g</sup> uel ACHN

<sup>11</sup> Probably Geoffrey I Jordan of Vendôme. See also FC, p. 437; WM, i. 684; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 207.

<sup>12</sup> Count Hosto, Hugh of Almaz, and Gerard of Barson are not otherwise known.

<sup>13</sup> Lithard is later found commanding the garrison of Jaffa in 1105; see below ix. 48; BN, p. 534; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 216.

<sup>14</sup> Not otherwise known. His name suggests a vassal of Godfrey: Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 220.

<sup>15</sup> Not otherwise known.

<sup>16</sup> Presumably a follower of Baldwin of Bourcq (Ardennes, France); see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 210.

short in stature,<sup>11</sup> Stabelo chamberlain to Duke Godfrey, Count Hosto of the castle at Rivira,<sup>12</sup> Hugh of Almaz in the land of Poitou, Hugh Botuns, Gerard of Barson, and all the rest perished in the midst of the enemy. Fifty of them who were making a hurried escape towards Ramla were let in by the city gate. Lithard of Cambrai,<sup>13</sup> Roger of Rozoy, Philip of Bouillon,<sup>14</sup> Baldwin of Heestert, Walter of Berga,<sup>15</sup> Hugh of Bourcq,<sup>16</sup> and Addo of Quierzy<sup>17</sup> fled towards Jaffa. There ten thousand Christians met them, who were hastening to assist the king. But when they heard from these men of the king's ill-fortune and the slaughter of his men they fled back to that same town of Jaffa.

5. When these men were let into the town with the escaping soldiers, and the gates were shut, the Saracens who were pursuing them returned to their company, and they blockaded the city of Ramla with camps sited on all sides. But the king, despairing of his life on account of the city's weakness, made his escape with his squire in the direction of the Jerusalem mountains through a certain breach in the wall; mounted on Gazela and accompanied only by Hugh of Brulis,<sup>18</sup> he wandered for a whole day and night, journeying to no purpose, until the greatest part of the Saracens met him as he wandered in the direction of Jerusalem; he was barred by them from taking refuge in the mountains and seriously harried by their pursuit, and so he began to roam aimlessly. And so the king, realizing that he could not escape through the mountains, and with the following day already dawning, as he slightly recognized the road, withdrew towards the town of Arsuf, which was in Christian hands, although he was wounded by arrows from the pursuers which had penetrated his hauberk a little way. He struggled greatly in the mountains and out-of-the-way places for a day and a night, until at last he found himself on a level plain without rest or food or fodder for his horse, and he began to remember the terrain and the roads.<sup>19</sup> When dawn arrived he entered

<sup>17</sup> Addo is known to have been in the kingdom 1102–15. He was probably originally a vassal or relative of Gerard of Quierzy (Aisne, France), and his name is found in charters. See RR, nos. 56a, 79, 80, 81a; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 180.

<sup>18</sup> Hugh of Brulis is named only in Albert. Fulcher says Baldwin escaped with one knight and his squire, while according to William of Tyre Baldwin had two companions whom he chanced to meet, and according to Ibn al-Qalanisi he had three followers (FC, p. 445; WT, p. 479; IQ, p. 56).

<sup>19</sup> Albert's account of Baldwin's escape, which is less than heroic, should be contrasted with the romantic stories told by Fulcher and his copyists: FC, pp. 441–6; BN, p. 534; WT, pp. 478–9.

autem sic<sup>b</sup> facto, Assur intrauit. Vbi Rorgus,<sup>i 20</sup> qui ciuitatem Cayphas in beneficio obtinebat,<sup>j</sup> in leticia magna illum suscepit, estimabat enim cum ceteris eum cecidisse.<sup>k</sup> Sic rex ab obsidione Ramnes et manu Sarracenorum elapsus, uenit Assur.<sup>l</sup> Ceteri uero, Cunradus,<sup>m</sup> Arpinus,<sup>n</sup> Stephanus Blesensis, item<sup>o</sup> Stephanus de Burgundia et alii egregii milites turrim quandam ciuitatis<sup>p</sup> eiusdem causa protectionis ingressi sunt.

- 594 6. Altera autem die Sarraceni, necnon Azopart, ruptis muris ciuitatis, in uirtute magna ipsam turrim infringere et expugnare fortiter ceperunt ferreis et uncis ligonibus, dum tandem turri cauata, ignem et fumum in ea suscitauerunt ut sic calore et fumo artati et suffocati milites aut perirent<sup>a</sup> aut prodirent. Sed egregii milites, eligentes potius <sup>b</sup>honesta defensione consumi<sup>b</sup> quam misera morte suffocari et extingui, tertia die, inuocato nomine Iesu et<sup>c</sup> eius gratia, egressi sunt, et plurimum cum Sarracenis facie ad faciem dimicantes plurimo sanguine et strage illorum animas suas ulti sunt. Cunradus uero, audacia et uiribus incomparabilis, gladio precipuas Sarracenorum strages<sup>d</sup> exercuit, dum omnes ammirati qui aderant et exterriti, procul ab eo absistentes continuerunt manus suas, rogantes eum ut cessaret a cede horribili et eorum dextras susciperet 'pro uiuendi' gratia, et sic in regis Babylonie deditionem redderetur,<sup>f</sup> quousque, placata regis ira, tam famosus et mirabilis miles in oculis eius gratiam inueniret,<sup>g</sup> et post uincula premia mereretur. Quod et actum est. Arpinus<sup>h</sup> pariter captus et uite reseruatus est, eo quod miles imperatoris Grecorum fuisse a ueridicis testibus illic innotuisset.<sup>21</sup> Ceteri uero omnes cum Stephano itemque Stephano summis principibus ibidem decollati sunt.<sup>22</sup>

7. Interea rex Baldwinus hoc triduo Assur resedit ut audiret euentum rei. Sed fama hec crudelis Ierusalem transuolans omnes <sup>a</sup>eam inhabitantes<sup>a</sup> uehementer perterruit, et in luctum et<sup>b</sup> plorationem tota ciuitas conuersa est. Ceperunt namque adeo omnium corda metu

<sup>b</sup> om. A      <sup>i</sup> Rorgius H      <sup>j</sup> ACHN add acceperat et before obtinebat  
<sup>k</sup> corruisse ACHN      <sup>l</sup> E adds uel Arsit over Assur      <sup>m</sup> AH add id est; CN add idem  
before Cunradus      <sup>n</sup> C adds et before Arpinus      <sup>o</sup> itemque ACHN      <sup>p</sup> om. N

6      <sup>a</sup> aperirent A      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> mori honesta defensione A      <sup>c</sup> confisi ACHN      <sup>d</sup> cedes A  
<sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> providendi A      <sup>f</sup> reciperetur A      <sup>g</sup> inuenisset A      <sup>h</sup> A adds autem after Arpinus

7      <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> habitantes in ea A      <sup>b</sup> ac ACHN

Arsuf. There Rorgus,<sup>20</sup> who held the town of Haifa as a fief, welcomed him with great joy, for he thought he had died with the rest. In this way the king escaped from the siege of Ramla and the hands of the Saracens and came to Arsuf. The rest—Conrad, Arpin, Stephen of Blois, and the other Stephen, of Burgundy, and all the eminent knights—occupied a certain tower in Ramla for the sake of its protection.

6. On the second day the Saracens, and also those from Ethiopia, broke down the walls of the town and in great strength began powerfully to strike and attack that same tower with hooked mattocks made of iron, until at length the tower was undermined, and they kindled fire and smoke in it so that the knights, confined and choked by the heat and smoke, would either die or come out. But on the third day the eminent knights, choosing rather to be destroyed while defending honourably than to choke and die a wretched death, came out, having invoked the name of Jesus and his favour, and they fought fiercely face to face with the Saracens and avenged their own lives with much bloodshed and slaughter of the enemy. Conrad, indeed, peerless in courage and strength, inflicted extraordinary slaughter on the Saracens with his sword, until all who were there marvelled and feared; they kept well away from him and held back their hands, asking him to desist from the horrible massacre and to clasp their right hands in return for his life, and then he would be surrendered to the king of Egypt, for they felt sure that once the king's anger had been appeased so famous and wonderful a knight would find favour in his eyes and after a period in fetters he would be awarded prizes. This was done. Arpin likewise was captured and his life was saved, because it was made known there by truthful witnesses that he had been a knight of the Greek emperor.<sup>21</sup> But all the rest, including the noble princes Stephen and the other Stephen, were beheaded in that place.<sup>22</sup>

7. Meanwhile King Baldwin remained in Arsuf for these three days to hear the outcome. But this cruel news sped to Jerusalem and struck great fear into all who lived there, and the entire city was plunged into grief and lamentation. For the hearts of all were weakened by dread

<sup>20</sup> Not otherwise known; d. 1107 (see AA x. 17).

<sup>21</sup> Guibert of Nogent records a bitter little exchange between King Baldwin and Arpin of Bourges ('Harpinus Bituricensis'): the king told him to go home to Bourges if he was afraid. After his release from captivity in Egypt Arpin became a monk in France (GN, p. 316; OV v. 350-2). See also below, x. 39.

<sup>22</sup> Guibert says it is known only that Stephen of Blois died there (GN, p. 316).

fluxa<sup>c</sup> deficere ut noctu et in tenebris a ciuitate recedere pararent, nisi Gutmannus quidam, ortus de Brussella, qui uix euaserat, plurimum consolationis eis contulisset, et sepius ammonuisset, ne facile a ciuitate recederent donec intelligerent si Baldwinus rex adhuc superesset. Tandem post paululum fama allata est regem adhuc esse incolumem. Quod et<sup>d</sup> audientes uniuersi letati et confortati sunt.<sup>23</sup> Et ideo abhinc singulis diebus per menia diffusi urbem defensabant  
 595 ab assultibus Sarracenorum, qui huc in 'super|bia uictorie<sup>e</sup> sue per turmas ad lacescendos ciues<sup>f</sup> Christianos assidue descendebant.

8. Hiis itaque decollatis, sed Cunrado et Arpino in dextris eorum susceptis et in urbem Ascalona<sup>a</sup> in carcerem transmissis, Meraius et cuncti potentes Babylonie in uirtute magna<sup>b</sup> et manu robusta ad ciuitatem Iafeth profecti sunt, ac plurimo<sup>c</sup> instrumento<sup>d</sup> et tormentis lapidum ac bellico impetu<sup>e</sup> uiros in ea repertos uexauerunt. Caput uero Gerbodonis et eius crura precioso ostro calciata et induta amputantes, defensoribus urbis ostenderunt, asserentes regis esse Baldwini, eo quod similis eius esset. Et ideo eos ab urbe exire et in potestatem regis Babylonie sanis menbris et uita incolumi uenire plurimum<sup>f</sup> hortabantur. Christiani uero, arbitantes uerum et regis caput et crura procul ostentari, nimia desperatione correpti sunt, cum omnibus rebus suis egredi sibi inuicem consulentes et sic nauigio liberari. Erat hiis diebus regina et uxor regis Baldwini in ipsa ciuitate Iafeth, que etiam terroribus attonita et dolore mortis dilectissimi regis, pariter fugam cum ceteris meditabatur.<sup>g</sup> <sup>24</sup>

9. Verum, septem dehinc<sup>a</sup> euolutis diebus, rex ab Assur exiens, nauem que uulgo dicitur buza<sup>25</sup> ascendit, et cum eo Gudericus pirata de regno Anglie,<sup>26</sup> ac uexillo haste prefixo et elato in aere ad

<sup>c</sup> fluxu *H*      <sup>d</sup> om. *ACHN*      <sup>e</sup> uictoria superbie *A*      <sup>f</sup> om. *A*

8      <sup>a</sup> Ascalonam *H*      <sup>b</sup> om. *N*      <sup>c</sup> *ACHN* add assultu after plurimo  
<sup>d</sup> instrumentis *A*      <sup>e</sup> *ACHN* add apparatu et before impetu      <sup>f</sup> plurimi *N*  
<sup>g</sup> *ACHN* add inire after meditabatur

9      <sup>a</sup> abhinc *A*

<sup>23</sup> Fulcher's version is that a humble Syrian took the news from Jaffa to Jerusalem (FC, pp. 449-50).

<sup>24</sup> According to William of Tyre the Egyptians used the arms and armour of the Christians to the same demoralizing effect (WT, p. 474).

<sup>25</sup> Albert is careful to distinguish one type of ship from another. In Godric's case, credibly enough, he stipulates a buss, which was not a Mediterranean ship but a type which developed in the North Sea and English Channel in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, from the Norse knorr. A merchant ship, it may have had some oars for manoeuvring in and

and they began to falter to the point that they would have prepared to leave the town by night and under the cover of darkness, had not one Gutmann, a native of Brussels, who had only just escaped, brought a great deal of comfort to them, and repeatedly advised them that they should not give up and leave the town until they heard if King Baldwin was still alive. At length, after a short while, the news was brought that the king was still safe. And when they heard this, everyone rejoiced and was heartened.<sup>23</sup> And so from then on, day after day, they spread out along the walls to defend the city from the Saracens' assaults, who came down upon it in hordes, arrogantly confident of victory, to provoke the Christian citizens constantly.

8. After the knights were beheaded, but Conrad and Arpin taken on the pledge of their right hands and sent into captivity in the town of Ascalon, Meraius and all the mighty of Egypt set out for the town of Jaffa in great strength and with a powerful army, and in a warlike attack they harassed the men they found in the town with a great apparatus of war and hurling of stones. They cut the head and legs off Gerbod, having shod them and dressed them in precious purple, and showed them to the city's defenders, claiming they belonged to King Baldwin, because Gerbod looked like him. And for this reason they urged them strongly to come out of the city and submit to the power of the king of Egypt safe and sound with limbs intact. The Christians indeed, thinking from afar they were truly being shown both the king's head and his legs, despaired totally, advising one another to leave with all their possessions and thus to be rescued by ship. In those days King Baldwin's wife and queen was in that very town of Jaffa, and she was also confounded by fear and by grief at the death of the beloved king and was likewise considering flight with the rest.<sup>24</sup>

9. However, after a further seven days had passed, the king left Arsuf and embarked on a ship which is commonly called a buss,<sup>25</sup> and with him Godric, a pirate from the kingdom of England,<sup>26</sup> and he sailed

out of harbour and for emergencies, but was primarily a sailing vessel. I am grateful to John Pryor for advice on this; for Mediterranean vessels mentioned by Albert, see J. H. Pryor, 'From dromon to galea: Mediterranean bireme galleys AD 500-1300', in J. Morrison, ed., *The Age of the Galley* (London, 1995), pp. 101-16.

<sup>26</sup> It is tempting to identify Godric as St Godric of Finchale, who is known to have been captain of a trading vessel and to have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1101, but this claim has been disputed. See Reginald of Durham, *Vita S. Godrici* (Surtees Society, 1838), pp. 33-4; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades* (Chicago, 1988), pp. 26-7.

radios solis usque Iafeth cum paucis nauigauit, ut hoc signo eius ciues<sup>b</sup> Christiani recognito fiduciam uite regis haberent, et non facile hostium minis pauefacti turpiter diffugium facerent, aut urbem reddere cogerentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de uita et salute eius desperasse. Sarraceni autem, uiso eius signo et cognito, ea pars que nauigio urbem cingebant, illi in galidis uiginti et carinis tredecim, quas uulgo appellant cazh,<sup>c</sup> 27 occurrerunt, uolentes buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio undis maris illis ex aduerso tumescentibus<sup>d</sup> ac reluctantibus, buza autem regis facili et agili cursu inter procellas labente ac uolitante, in portum Ioppe, que nunc dicitur Iafeth, |  
 596 delusis hostibus subito affuit, sex<sup>e</sup> ex Sarracenis in arcu suo e nauicula<sup>f</sup> percussis ac uulneratis. Intrans itaque ciuitatem, dum incolumis omnium pateret oculis, reuixit spiritus cunctorum gementium, et eius<sup>g</sup> morte hactenus dolentium, nunc pre gaudio lacrimantium, eo quod caput et rex Christianorum et princeps Ierusalem adhuc uiuus et incolumis receptus sit.

10. Iam dies media flagrabat, et rex mox equum ascendens portas ciuitatis cum sex tantum illustrissimis militibus egressus est ut lacesceret Sarracenos circumsedentes<sup>a</sup> et pateret omnium aspectui quoniam adhuc uiuus et sospes haberetur. Cognito igitur<sup>b</sup> rege uiuo et saluo, uniuersa multitudo gentilium ablatis tentoriis ab Ioppe in campos Ascalonis<sup>c</sup> descenderunt, illic per tres septimanas commorantes, donec intelligerent si aliqua uirtus regi Baldwino ad subueniendum augeretur. Legatio enim regis ad uniuersos confratres per castella et ciuitates ac regiones propter auxilium directa est. Sed minime hoc tempore auxilium ferentibus Tancrado, Reimundo, Baldwino de Burg, eo quod nimium remoti essent, Sarraceni ab Ascalona uenientes obsidionem circa Iafeth iterauerunt,<sup>d</sup> dum quindecim dies euoluti sunt.

11. Interea dum hec obsidio ageretur, ducente naues Christianorum nauigio Ioppe appulse sunt ut adorarent in Ierusalem.<sup>28</sup> Horum

<sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> caz A; chaz N    <sup>d</sup> intumescentibus A    <sup>e</sup> sed A    <sup>f</sup> C adds sua after nauicula    <sup>g</sup> ACHN add de before eius

10    <sup>a</sup> circumsidentes H    <sup>b</sup> om. ACN; autem H    <sup>c</sup> Ascalone ACHN  
<sup>d</sup> reiterauerunt A

<sup>27</sup> According to Pryor this was a galley of rather mysterious characteristics, found in Latin sources in the first part of the 12th c. and deriving its name from the Arabic 'qit'a'—a large type of warship. It was evidently larger than the conventional galea of the same period. Fulcher says that cats might also be called triremes, as later does Albert (FC, p. 804; AA xi. 27). See Pryor, 'Dromon to galea', p. 109.

with a few men to Jaffa, his banner fixed to a spear and raised in the air to catch the sun's rays, so that this sign of his would be recognized by the Christian citizens and they would have confidence in the king's survival, and would not easily be alarmed by the enemy's threats into making a cowardly getaway, or be forced to surrender the city. For he knew they were in great despair of his life and safety. The Saracens, however, saw and recognized his sign and they met him at that place where the city was surrounded by sea, they met him in twenty galleys and thirteen of the ships which they commonly call cats,<sup>27</sup> wanting to encircle the king's buss. But with God's help the waves of the sea in front of them were swelling and resisting, while the king's buss was sliding and flying on an easy and fleet course among the stormy waters, and he suddenly arrived in the harbour of Joppe, now called Jaffa, his buss having given the enemy the slip, and the king having shot and wounded six of the Saracens with his bow from the little vessel. And so when he entered the town, as it was evident to the eyes of all that he was unharmed, he revived the spirits of all the mourners, and those who were up to then grieving at his death were now weeping for joy, because the chief and king of the Christians and the prince of Jerusalem was brought back still alive and unharmed.

10. Already it was high noon, and the king straight away mounted his horse and went out of the gates of the town with only six of the most eminent knights to provoke the blockading Saracens and so that it might become clear to everyone that he was still alive and safe. When the king was known to be alive and well, the whole horde of gentiles struck camp at Jaffa and went down onto the plains of Ascalon, staying there for three weeks, until they might learn if any reinforcements were coming to King Baldwin's assistance. For the king had sent a legation to all his brother Christians throughout the castles and towns and regions to ask for assistance. But Tancred, Raymond, and Baldwin of Bourcq brought no assistance at this time, because they were too far away, and the Saracens came from Ascalon and besieged Jaffa a second time, until a further fifteen days had passed.

11. Meanwhile, while this siege was going on, two hundred Christian ships sailed into Jaffa to worship in Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> Their chiefs and leaders are reported to have been Bernard Witarzh from the land of

<sup>28</sup> According to Ibn al-Qalanisi there were forty ships (IQ, p. 56).



Galacia,<sup>29</sup> Hardin from England, Otto of Roges, Hadewerk of the Westphalian nobility.<sup>30</sup> Saracens, indeed, who had blockaded the city opposite by sea on the upper side, saw how many Christian ships had arrived and decided to join battle with them by a naval attack. But the Christians' ships, prevailing by God's mercy with the aid of sails and oars and a favourable wind, resisted the gentiles' forces strongly and made it to dry land, and, their numbers augmented by the citizens and by the king himself, they entered the city to give him their assistance. The greater part pitched their tents and made their quarters on the open plain opposite. Now it was a Tuesday in July when these Christian forces, by God's providence, were brought together here by sea to strengthen those in difficulty and under siege. The swarms of Saracens, seeing that the strength of the Christians was boldly united close to them, face to face in a neighbouring camp, moved their tents away in the middle of the night as the moon was setting, withdrawing for over a mile before repositioning, and when dawn came they took counsel whether they should return to Ascalon or harass the citizens of Jaffa with repeated attacks.

12. From this very Tuesday the Saracens thus stood firm in the arrogance and pride of their superior numbers, and they wore out the Christian people with many fearful armed attacks; then when Friday, which is the sixth day, was approaching, King Baldwin came out of Jaffa with trumpets and bugles, and he attacked their strength in a cruel battle with a strong army of cavalry and infantry, sounding great blasts here and there. The Christians also, who had arrived by sea, making a din with loud blasts of trumpets which was as dreadful as King Baldwin's, attacked the Egyptians in a fierce fight, inflicting very grave and fatal wounds on them until, battle-weary and no longer able to withstand their strength, they took flight towards Ascalon. Some, indeed, thought to escape the pursuers and entrusted themselves to the sea, where they were swallowed by the over-

confirmation dated 1109. An even more tenuous identification was made by P. Riant, who proposed that he was Harding Eadnotsson, that is, Harding son of Eadnoth 'the staller' to Edward the Confessor. William of Malmesbury records Eadnoth's death in 1067 and that Harding his son was still alive at the time of writing (c.1125). However, he goes on to describe the son as 'readier to sharpen his tongue in litigation than to wield arms in battle' ('magis consuetus linguam in lites acuere, quam arma in bello concutere'), which does not suggest a crusading career. See *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907-8), i. 37; WM, i. 470; Riant, *Expéditions et pèlerinages*, p. 139; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 24-5.

procellarum fluctuatione absorpti sunt, et sic ciuitas Ioppe cum habitatoribus suis liberata est. Ceciderunt hac die tria milia Sarracenorum, Christianorum uero pauci perisse inuenti sunt.

13. Rex igitur Baldwinus, triumphum de inimicis gloriose adeptus, noctem hanc in Ioppe in leticia magna exegit, cum uniuersis peregrinis qui conuenerant habentes<sup>a</sup> spolia multa. Altera<sup>b</sup> uero die clarescente, Ierusalem cum omnibus peregrinis profectus est, pacifice et potenter omnia disponens, peregrinisque<sup>c</sup> ad adorandum Christum et uota sua reddenda in Ierusalem templum dominici sepulchri aperiri iubens. Ante hec autem,<sup>d</sup> cum nondum auxilium noui<sup>e</sup> et peregrini<sup>f</sup> exercitus nauigio affuisset, Baldwinus rex anxius et nimium desperatus ob interitum suorum, legationem Antiochiam<sup>f</sup> Tancrado, Baldwinino de Burg | in ciuitatem Rohas misit, quatenus festinanter sibi auxilio adessent, aut totam regionem Syrie et regnum Ierusalem in breui amitteret, Sarracenorum audaciam et contumacem uictoriam annuncians, et quantum casum suorum egregiorum<sup>g</sup> militum nuper ab hostibus passus sit. Qui statim, collecto exercitu, Tancradus in circuitu Antiochie, Baldwinus Rohas, ad quingentos equites, pedites mille, die statuto unanimiter ad ipsam Antiochiam conuenerunt, Wilhelmo Pictauiense principe in eodem<sup>h</sup> comitatu assumpto. Qui nuper post Pascha Domini ab Ierusalem, adorato sepulchro dominico, ad Tancradum redierat, ac nunc per uallem<sup>i</sup> Damasci et Camollam<sup>31</sup> descendentes, sed Tabariam<sup>j</sup> pretermittentes, ad Cesaream Cornelii peruenerunt, illic positis castris<sup>k</sup> pernctantes. Mane itaque facto, ad flumen Assur<sup>l</sup> castrametati sunt, non amplius quam solo miliario ab Iafeth hospitari constituentes. Descenderant autem tempore autumnii in mense Septembre,<sup>m</sup> quando omnium frugum plenitudo redundare solet.

14. Baldwinus itaque rex in ciuitate Iafeth tunc moram faciens ac tam <sup>a</sup>fortium uirorum aduentum<sup>a</sup> intelligens, nuncios egregios illis in occursum constituit, qui omnia uite necessaria studiose<sup>b</sup> illis procurarent in pane, carne, uino, oleo et ordeo ad refocillandos milites et eorum equos longo itinere uexatos. Erat siquidem Daibertus in

13    <sup>a</sup> habentibus *H*            <sup>b</sup> Altero *A*            <sup>c</sup> peregrinis *ACHN*            <sup>d</sup> omnia *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> *om. A*            <sup>f</sup> Antiochie *A*            <sup>g</sup> egregium *A*            <sup>h</sup> eorum *A*            <sup>i</sup> conuallem *ACHN*  
<sup>j</sup> Tabariam *E, and C later*            <sup>k</sup> *om. H*            <sup>l</sup> *E adds uel Arsit over Assur*  
<sup>m</sup> Septembri *A*

14    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> fortium tam uirorum quam aduentum *N*            <sup>b</sup> *om. ACHN*

powering swell of the storm waves, and thus the town of Jaffa and its inhabitants were delivered. Three thousand Saracens fell this day, but few of the Christians were found to have perished.

13. King Baldwin, therefore, having triumphed gloriously over his enemies, spent this night in Jaffa in great rejoicing with all the pilgrims who had come there, and who had a great deal of booty. When the next day dawned he set out for Jerusalem with all the pilgrims, arranging all matters peacefully and powerfully, and ordering the temple of the Lord's sepulchre to be opened up to the pilgrims for them to worship Christ and fulfil their vows in Jerusalem. However, before this, since assistance of a new and pilgrim army had not yet arrived by sea, King Baldwin, who was worried and greatly despairing by reason of his men's destruction, sent a legation to Tancred in Antioch and to Baldwin of Bourcq in the city of Edessa, asking that they arrive in haste for his assistance, else he would shortly lose the whole region of Syria and the kingdom of Jerusalem, and he made known the Saracens' bold and insolent victory, and how great a destruction of his outstanding soldiers he had recently suffered from the enemy. Having straightway assembled an army—Tancred in the area of Antioch, Baldwin in Edessa—of some five hundred cavalry and a thousand infantry, they came together on the appointed day to that very Antioch, adopting William prince of Poitiers into that same company. He had recently returned to Tancred after spending Easter in Jerusalem where he worshipped at the Lord's sepulchre, and now they went down through the valley of Damascus and through Camolla,<sup>31</sup> but bypassing Tiberias, and arrived at Caesarea Corneli, where they pitched camp and spent the night. And so, when morning came, they moved camp to the river at Arsuf, deciding to make their quarters no more than a single mile from Jaffa. They had come down in autumn, in September, when there is always an overflowing abundance of all fruits.

14. King Baldwin, who was then staying in the town of Jaffa and who heard about the approach of such valiant men, directed special messengers to meet them, who would diligently take care of all the necessities of life for them, in bread, meat, wine, oil, and barley to refresh the soldiers and their horses, who were exhausted by the long

<sup>31</sup> Possibly Horns (Syria), though this is north of Damascus. It would make more sense if this is again the 'Valley of the Camels' (see above, v. 31; below, ix. 50), or perhaps Albert is confused.

eorundem egregiorum procerum<sup>c</sup> comitatu, reprobatus ab ipso<sup>d</sup> rege. Qui patriarchatus dignitatem recuperare arbitrans, cum Tancrado Iafeth descendere disposuit. Vnde Tancradus et Baldwinus<sup>e</sup> de Burg,<sup>f</sup> Willelmus comes<sup>f</sup> Pictauiæ, pariterque Willelmus Carpentarius, consilio inito qualiter patriarcha restituatur, regi legationem direxerunt, uidelicet ut patriarcham in suam sedem relocaret, alioquin nequaquam eos in ultionem suorum Ascalonam<sup>g</sup> posse descendere. Rex, horum audita legatione, inuitus eorum precibus adqueieuit, nimium indignatus aduersus patriarcham propter subterrata pecuniam.<sup>32</sup> Attamen consilio suorum uictus concessit magnificis illius intercessoribus ut primum ad Ascalonam descendant aduersa arma et milites regis Babylonie, dehinc omnia de patriarcha equo iudicio et consilio ipsorum se acturum.<sup>h</sup> Decreuit etiam hec omnia fieri examine Roberti Parisiensis cardinalis, episcopi et legati Rome,<sup>33</sup> qui, Mauricio aliquo tempore mortuo, a Paschali Romano pontifice missus uenerat ad discussionem et correctionem rerum illicitarum sancte et uniuersalis<sup>i</sup> ecclesie in hiis orientalibus plagis.

- 599 15. Tancradus autem, et Baldwinus de Burg, Willelmus et<sup>a</sup> Will-  
elmus, hac regis audita promissione, sub obtentu fidei in armis et  
uirtute suorum, cum rege Ascalonam profecti sunt, per dies octo eius  
menia obsidentes, uineas et sata et uniuersam spem anni illius  
deuastantes, et crebro assultu muros impugnantes. Dum tandem  
creberrimis assultibus illic seuirent, turres et menia oppugnarent,  
quidam ammiraldus nobilissimus regis Babylonie, Mardepas  
nomine,<sup>34</sup> qui ad tuendos ciues remanserat, subito in uirtute magna  
ab urbe erupit, uiros<sup>b</sup> Christianorum ferro et sagittarum grandine in  
manu suorum lacesciuit. Sed Dei gratia et uirtute repente a Chris-  
tianis occisus et attritus est. Mardepas tam nominatissimo ammiraldo  
regis Babylonie sic extincto, et uniuersis gentilibus ciuibus Ascalonis  
repressis et ultra repugnare diffidentibus, portas uero in faciem  
Christianorum claudentibus, rex assultus et<sup>c</sup> labores suorum<sup>e</sup> in-  
cassum fieri intuens,<sup>d</sup> ex consilio maiorum<sup>e</sup> ab urbe, que humanis

<sup>c</sup> uirorum *H*      <sup>d</sup> eo *H*      <sup>e</sup> om. *A*      <sup>f</sup> quoque *A*      <sup>g</sup> Ascalonam *A*;  
Ascalonam *N*      <sup>h</sup> facturum *A*      <sup>i</sup> orientalis *ACHN*

15      <sup>a</sup> itemque *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> uiros *A*      <sup>c</sup> laborem suum *A*      <sup>d</sup> uidens *A*  
<sup>e</sup> suorum *A*

<sup>32</sup> See above, vii. 63.

<sup>33</sup> According to Bartolf of Nangis, Robert aspired to the patriarchate himself, but King Baldwin and Arnulf vetoed his candidacy (BN, p. 538). No more is known about Robert than is recorded by Albert.

march. Furthermore, in the company of those same eminent nobles was Daibert, who had been condemned by the king himself. He decided to come down to Jaffa with Tancred, thinking to recover the patriarchal dignity. And so Tancred and Baldwin of Bourcq, William count of Poitiers and William the Carpenter likewise, took counsel as to how the patriarch might be restored, and they sent a legation to the king, asking in so many words that he should reappoint the patriarch to his see, otherwise they would find themselves quite unable to go down to Ascalon to avenge his men. When he heard their legation, the king was unwilling to agree to their requests, since he was extremely annoyed with the patriarch on account of the buried money.<sup>32</sup> Yet he was won over by the advice of his men and conceded to the man's illustrious go-betweens that first they would go down to Ascalon against the arms and soldiers of the king of Egypt, then he would do everything in the affair of the patriarch according to fair justice and the advice of themselves. He decreed also that all these things would be for consideration by Robert of Paris, cardinal bishop and legate of Rome,<sup>33</sup> who had been sent here a while after Maurice's death by Paschal the Roman pope for the examination and correction of the unlawful events in the holy and universal Church in these eastern parts.

15. When they heard this promise from the king, Tancred and Baldwin of Bourcq, William and William, by virtue of their faith in their weapons and the strength of their men, set out with the king for Ascalon, besieging its walls for eight days, laying waste vineyards and crops and all the hope of that year, and attacking the walls with repeated assaults. At length, while they raged there with constant assaults, attacking the towers and ramparts, a certain noble amir of the king of Egypt, called Mardepas,<sup>34</sup> who had stayed behind to protect the citizens, suddenly sallied forth from the city in great strength, and he challenged the men of the Christian army with iron and a hail of arrows from his band of men. But by God's favour and power he was suddenly cut down and destroyed by the Christians. With Mardepas, so very renowned an amir of the king of Egypt, killed in this way, and all the gentile citizens of Ascalon forced back and reluctant to fight back any longer, indeed closing the gates in front of the Christians, the king realized his men's attacks and efforts were in vain, and on the advice of the nobles he withdrew from the city, which seemed unconquerable by human forces, and, together

<sup>34</sup> Not identified.

uiribus uidetur insuperabilis, recessit, et Ioppen una cum Tancrado et<sup>f</sup> Baldwino de Burg, Willelmo et Willelmo<sup>g</sup> diuertit ubi in omni gloria et leticia simul epulati sunt.<sup>35</sup>

16. Dehinc consilio ibidem habito cum episcopis, abbatibus<sup>a</sup> et uniuersi ordinis clero, et<sup>b</sup> ex iudicio omnium patrum qui aderant, omni honore et dignitate qua erat priuatus patriarcha a rege, reinuestitus ac<sup>c</sup> Ierusalem reductus, honorifice in cathedram episcopalem relocatus est. Reducto itaque sic patriarcha Daiberto in Ierusalem ac in sede sue maiestatis relocato, proxima die in templo dominici sepulchri concilium<sup>d</sup> statutum est, ubi idonei testes et accusatores in presentia et audientia domni cardinalis ac totius ecclesie conuenerunt, Baldwinus urbis Cesaree episcopus,<sup>36</sup> et episcopus de Bethleem,<sup>37</sup> Robertus episcopus de Rama, Arnolfus cancellarius et archidiaconus dominici sepulchri, clerici quoque  
 600 multi.<sup>38</sup> Alii hunc ex symonia, alii ex homicidio Christiano|rum Grecorum in insula Cephali<sup>39</sup> eius instinctu a Genuensibus perpetrato,<sup>40</sup> alii ex traditione regis Baldwini, quidam uero ex pecunia et oblatione fidelium subterrata, constanter et obnixe criminati sunt. Affuerunt pariter in eodem concilio<sup>f</sup> Engelrandus episcopus Lauduni, similiter et episcopus Plasentie,<sup>41</sup> episcopus de Tarsis, episcopus de Mamistra,<sup>42</sup> alii quoque episcopi et archiepiscopi ad duodeuiginti<sup>g</sup> computati. Abbas etiam de sancta Maria Latina, abbas de ualle Iosaphath, abbas de monte Thabor,<sup>43</sup> et ceteri de terra Gallie circiter sex illic consedissee<sup>h</sup> referuntur.

<sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> ACHN add altero before Willelmo

16    <sup>a</sup> A adds et before abbatibus      <sup>b</sup> om. C      <sup>c</sup> atque ACHN      <sup>d</sup> consilium N  
      <sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> consilio N      <sup>g</sup> nouemdecem N      <sup>h</sup> sedisse H

<sup>35</sup> Fulcher does not mention this siege—in fact he says the land was free of war during this autumn and winter—but it may be the same siege of Ascalon mentioned by the Arabic historian Ibn al-Athir in AH 497 (1104): *RHC Or* i. 216; FC, p. 455.

<sup>36</sup> Baldwin was appointed archbishop of Caesarea in 1101. Fulcher mentions his appointment but not his name; Guibert accuses him of self-inflicting a cross on his forehead for monetary gain; William of Tyre says only that he had come on the expedition with Duke Godfrey: FC, p. 405; GN, pp. 197, 330; WT, p. 472.

<sup>37</sup> There was no bishopric at Bethlehem yet: it was set up by King Baldwin in 1110 (WT, pp. 512–15). One interpretation of Albert's wording is that Archbishop Baldwin of Caesarea exercised episcopal authority over Bethlehem too.

<sup>38</sup> Albert's account of the proceedings should be compared with that of William of Tyre, who blames Arnulf for stirring up discord and mentions neither the charges brought against Daibert nor his deposition (WT, pp. 484–5).

with Tancred and Baldwin of Bourcq, William and William, he turned aside to Jaffa, where they feasted together in all glory and happiness.<sup>35</sup>

16. Then a council was held in that place with bishops, abbots, and clergy of every rank, and according to the judgement of all the fathers who were present the patriarch was reinvested with all the honour and dignity of which he had been stripped by the king, and brought back to Jerusalem, where he was honourably restored to his episcopal throne. And so, after Patriarch Daibert had been brought back to Jerusalem in this way and restored to the seat of his majesty, the next day a council was arranged in the temple of the Lord's sepulchre, where proper witnesses and accusers assembled in the presence and hearing of the lord cardinal and all the church, Baldwin bishop of the city of Caesarea,<sup>36</sup> and the bishop of Bethlehem,<sup>37</sup> Robert bishop of Ramla, Arnulf chancellor and archdeacon of the Lord's sepulchre, and many of the clergy too.<sup>38</sup> Some steadfastly and strenuously accused him of simony, some of the murder of Christian Greeks on the island of Cephalonia<sup>39</sup> which the Genoese perpetrated on his orders,<sup>40</sup> others of the betrayal of King Baldwin, some, indeed, of embezzling the money and offerings of the faithful which were hidden underground. Alongside them in the same council were Engelrand bishop of Laon, likewise also the bishop of Piacenza,<sup>41</sup> the bishop of Tarsus, the bishop of Mamistra,<sup>42</sup> also no fewer than eighteen other bishops and archbishops. The abbot of St Mary of the Latins as well, the abbot of the valley of Jehosaphat, the abbot of Mount Tabor,<sup>43</sup> and the rest from the land of Gaul, around six, are reported to have had seats at the council.

<sup>39</sup> In the Ionian Sea.

<sup>40</sup> This accusation against Daibert is echoed by Anna Komnene, who holds him responsible for the ravaging of Corfu, Leucas, Cephalonia, and Zacynthos by the Pisan fleet (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 42; trans. Sewter, p. 360).

<sup>41</sup> Aldo, bishop of Piacenza, travelled east with Anselm of Milan in 1100 by the overland route. He was back in Italy certainly by 1106–7, and probably earlier. See G. Tononi, 'Actes constatant la participation des plaisançais à la première croisade', *AOL*, i (1881), 395–401, at pp. 397–8.

<sup>42</sup> Bishops Roger of Tarsus and Bartholomew of Misis are also mentioned by Radulf of Caen as present at this council, as were Bernard of Artah and Benedict of Edessa: see RC, p. 704; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 24.

<sup>43</sup> St Mary of the Latins was in Jerusalem and Jehosaphat nearby (see AA vi. 9, 25); Mount Tabor was further north, between Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee.

17. Ibidem uero<sup>a</sup> in medio tantorum probabilium uirorum conuentu cardinali predicto residente, et equo iudicio rem examinante, patriarcha, uictus et confusus ab idoneis testibus de perfidia<sup>b</sup> et ceteris culpis,<sup>c</sup> obmutuit. Qui in satisfactione Deo et cardinali rebellis et inobediens existens, in<sup>d</sup> pertinacia sue praeue excusationis permanens, sub iudicio omnium fidelium depositus ac anathemate percussus est. Tancradus uero et ceteri principes, uidentes rem ex puro iudicio ueritatis finem accepisse, non ultra renisi sunt, sed rege salutato in terram Antiochie et Edisse, patriarcha abiecto, <sup>e</sup>sed ut<sup>e</sup> aiunt precibus tantorum procerum absoluto, secum reducto<sup>f</sup> regressi<sup>g</sup> sunt. Rex quidem in leticia et gloria magna remansit Ierusalem. Nec mora consilio eiusdem Roberti cardinalis, cleri quoque ac totius populi electione, Euermerus quidam, <sup>h</sup>uir et<sup>h</sup> clericus boni testimonii, preclarus ac hylaris distributor elemosinarum, uice et loco Daiberti patriarcha constitutus <sup>i</sup>successit, omni<sup>i</sup> studio religionis ac bone conuersationis in amore <sup>j</sup>fraterne karitatis<sup>j</sup> illic in templo dominici sepulchri Deo seruiens et regi Baldwino contra Sarracenos et incredulos fidelis adiutor existens.<sup>44</sup>

18. Regresso itaque Tancrado cum ceteris principibus, supra centum quadraginta milia peregrinorum, qui Ierusalem hoc anno<sup>45</sup> adorare  
601 conuenerant et ab obsidione | Ioppe Babylonios expulerant, tedio diutine more affecti, nauigio nunc uelis et remis aptato, rege uero salutato, alto mari inuecti sunt ut ad terram natiuitatis sue redirent, equore ab omni feruore et uentorum turbine sedato. Sed illis uix duobus diebus in tranquillo nauigantibus, circa equinoctium hiemale serenitas celi<sup>a</sup> cepit turbari, uenti horribiles suscitari, naues usque-  
quaue graui turbine inquietari et seuis procellis deici et quassari. Dum tandem naute et homines peregrini fessi et tumidis fluctibus oppressi, alii attritis uelis et remis in profundum ferebantur, alii ualidis uentorum flatibus dispersi ac per ignotum iactati et uagi facti,

17 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> A adds conuictus after perfidia <sup>c</sup> om. ACHN <sup>d</sup> H adds et before in <sup>e</sup> utque ACHN <sup>f</sup> abducto ACHN <sup>g</sup> reuersi H <sup>h</sup> om. A <sup>i</sup> successionum N <sup>j</sup> fraternitatis et caritate ACHN

18 <sup>a</sup> om. H

<sup>44</sup> Evremar of Chocques, near Théroutanne, the same place as Arnulf: see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 195. Other writers are much less complimentary about Evremar: Bartolf of Nangis called him 'quidam idiota', Guibert 'uirum simplicem et illitteratum', while William of Tyre deplored his 'crassam nimis et supinam . . . ignorantiam' (BN, p. 538; GN, pp. 292-3; WT, p. 484). Bartolf's account is particularly interesting because it is not taken from Fulcher of Chartres, as much of his narrative is, and he reports that Evremar's

17. In that place, with the aforesaid cardinal sitting in the midst of an assembly of so many reliable men, and examining the matter in fair judgement, the patriarch, beaten and bewildered by the proper witnesses to his perfidy and other crimes, was silent. His rebellion and disobedience were proved to the satisfaction of God and the cardinal, and as he stuck stubbornly to his crooked defence, he was deposed on the judgement of all the faithful and was cursed with excommunication. Tancred and the other princes, seeing the matter had been brought to an end according to the pure judgement of truth, no longer resisted, but said farewell to the king and returned to the lands of Antioch and Edessa, taking with them the cast-off patriarch, who was yet, so they say, absolved by the prayers of these great nobles. The king, indeed, remained in Jerusalem in happiness and great glory. Without delay, on the advice of that same Cardinal Robert, and by election of the clergy and the whole people, one Evremar, a man and cleric of good character, an excellent and cheerful distributor of alms, was appointed patriarch and succeeded to Daibert's place and position, serving God there in the temple of the Lord's sepulchre with all religious devotion and good behaviour in the love of brotherly charity, and acting as faithful assistant to King Baldwin against the Saracens and unbelievers.<sup>44</sup>

18. After Tancred had returned with the other princes, more than a hundred and forty thousand pilgrims, who had come together this year<sup>45</sup> in Jerusalem to worship and had driven away the Egyptians from the siege of Jaffa, being wearied by the long delay, and with their fleet now furnished with sails and oars, said farewell to the king and embarked on the high seas to return to the land of their birth, now that the sea had calmed from all its turbulence and the whirling of winds. But they had sailed scarcely two days in calm weather, when around the winter equinox the serenity of the sky began to be disturbed, horrible winds to be stirred up, the ships everywhere to be threatened by severe turbulence and to be shattered and broken up by wild waves. When at length the sailors and pilgrims were exhausted and overwhelmed by the swelling currents, some were carried to the depths with their sails and oars destroyed, some were scattered by the strong gusts of wind and tossed on unknown waters

election was followed by a period of adversity for the Jerusalem Church (BN, pp. 537-9). See also Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 56-8, 114-15.

<sup>45</sup> 1102.



Accaron peruenerunt, alii apud Sagittam <sup>b</sup>uel Sydonem,<sup>b</sup> alii Ascalonam, ciuitates gentilium consistentes, aut capti, aut trucidati, aut undis suffocati sunt. Fuerunt siquidem naues Christianorum qui perierunt trecente, quarum decima pars uix saluata fuisse perhibetur. Audito tante multitudinis casu in Ierusalem, rex et uniuersi uiri ac femine ciuitatis in nimiam lamentationem ac plorationem uersi sunt, eo quod tam amara morte tot milia confratrum suorum, et non solum undis, sed et armis gentilium extincta sint.<sup>c</sup>

19. Post hec, anno tercio regni sui,<sup>46</sup> rex Baldwinus uehementer indignatus aduersus ciuitatem Accaron, eo quod sepius insidie et assultus ab ea peregrinis accreuissent, iam hiemis graui frigore deterso et ueris temperie<sup>a</sup> aspirante, post octauas Pasche anni illius precedentis quo in campestribus Ramnes prelia commisit, et omnibus suis attritis cum paucis reliquiis suorum militum uix Sarracenorum uires euasit, exercitum congregans ad quinque milia uirorum ad menia prefate ciuitatis applicuit. Quam, undique posita obsidione, curriculo quinque ebdomadarum sic manganarum iactu et machinarum sublimitate oppugnauit ut ultra uim et difficiles impetus<sup>b</sup> militum lapidumque creberrimos ictus ciues sufferre non ualentes, iam in manu regis impetrata uita reddere urbem cogerentur. Clam<sup>c</sup> enim tres ab urbe exierant Sarraceni, quod ceteros prorsus latuit, ut sibi regem placarent, et parcere anime sue impetrarent, omnem casum et defectionem<sup>d</sup> fortiorum<sup>e</sup> uirorum et ciuium illi referentes, et uniuersos interius adeo metu concussos ut si semel adhuc ualide urbem<sup>f</sup> impugnarent<sup>g</sup> proculdubio apertis portis urbs<sup>h</sup> in manu ipsius regis redderetur.<sup>i</sup> Vix hii tres sermonem et consilium cum rege expleuerant, et ecce, uespere facto,<sup>j</sup> de Sur que est Tyrus, et a Sagitta que est Sydon,<sup>k</sup> et a Tripla que est Tripolis, ciuitatibus de regno Babylonie, duodecim galide descenderunt cum multis armatis militibus, et cum quadam | ingenti naue, quingentos uiros pugnatores continente qui eadem tota nocte ciuitatem introeuntes per menia et urbes<sup>l</sup> diffusi sunt. Nec mora, minime diem expectantes, sed rapidum ignem sulfure, oleo, pice et<sup>m</sup> stuppis suscitantes, machine regis subito

<sup>b b</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>c</sup> sunt A

19    <sup>a</sup> tempore ACHN    <sup>b</sup> om. H    <sup>c</sup> iam ACHN    <sup>d</sup> defectum A    <sup>e</sup> fortium ACHN  
       <sup>f</sup> ciuitatem A    <sup>g</sup> oppugnarent A    <sup>h</sup> om. N    <sup>i</sup> rederetur A  
       <sup>j</sup> om. A    <sup>k</sup> Assur H    <sup>l</sup> urbem H    <sup>m</sup> om. H

<sup>46</sup> Frequently in these last four books Albert's dating cannot be corroborated. Baldwin I's third regnal year ran from July 1102 to July 1103.

and shipwrecked, some arriving at Acre, others at Sagitta, or Sidon, others at Ascalon, and, fetching up in the towns of the gentiles, they were either captured, or slain, or drowned by the waves. In fact there were three hundred ships of the Christians which perished; a tenth of them are said to have been narrowly salvaged. When the fate of so great a multitude was heard in Jerusalem, the king and all the men and women of the town broke into a great lamentation and weeping, because so many thousands of their brothers had died such a bitter death, and not only in the waves, but also by the weapons of the gentiles.

19. After this, in the third year of his reign,<sup>46</sup> King Baldwin was very angry against the town of Acre, because its ambushes and attacks on pilgrims had grown more frequent, and once the severe cold of winter was gone and the temperate weather of spring was favourable—after Easter week of that preceding year when he joined battle on the plain of Ramla, and, after all his men were destroyed, he barely escaped the Saracen forces with the scant remnant of his soldiers—he assembled an army of some five thousand men and brought it to the ramparts of the aforesaid town. The blockade was completed on all sides and he attacked the town for a period of five weeks with a bombardment from mangonels and the superior height of his siege engines in such a way that the citizens were able to endure no longer the strength and difficult attacks of the soldiers and the incessant hurling of stones, and they were now forced to surrender the city into the hands of the king in return for their lives. For three Saracens had secretly come out of the city, utterly unknown to the rest, to reconcile the king to themselves, and to beseech him to save his soul, reporting to him the whole fate and failure of strong men and citizens, and that everyone inside was so stricken by fear that if the Christians attacked the city strongly one more time it would certainly be surrendered with open gates into the hands of the king himself. These three had scarcely finished their speech and advice to the king when suddenly as evening fell, from Sur which is Tyre, and from Sagitta which is Sidon, and from Tripla which is Tripoli, towns under Egyptian jurisdiction, twelve galleys came down with many armoured soldiers, and with a certain enormous ship which held five hundred warriors, who were to enter the town all that same night and spread out on the ramparts and through the city. At once, not waiting for day, they ignited a fierce fire with sulphur, oil, pitch, and tow, and suddenly

iniecerunt, ut uiros ab ea<sup>n</sup> absterrent sagittas assidue desuper intorquentes et urbem ualide impugnantes.

20. Verum illorum aduentu<sup>a</sup> cognito, et igne iam<sup>b</sup> circa machinam sepius aduolante, Reinoldus quidam miles regis,<sup>47</sup> arte sagittandi peritissimus et magister sagittariorum, socios ad defensionem ammonet, ipse uero, arcu baleari arrepto, supra<sup>c</sup> centum quinquaginta Sarracenos mortifero uulnere extinctos percussit. Mane autem facto, bellum<sup>d</sup> utrimque uehementius cepit ingruere et inualescere, ac sepius a portis erumpentes<sup>e</sup> Sarracenorum milites lanceis et sagittis peregrinos Christi alios graui uulnere percusserunt, alios momentanea morte extinxerunt.<sup>f</sup> Eadem denique die Reinoldus plurimum belli et cedis dum a machina aduersus hostes exerceret, incautus et intrepidus nimium in aperto assistens, subito mangelles impetu lapis emissus illi in uerticem uenit, et sic mortuus, iussu regis sublatus in monte Thabor a religiosis monachis sepultus est. Videns autem rex quia uirtus Sarracenorum preualebat pre intolerabili multitudine que nouiter a predictis ciuitatibus huic urbi ad auxilium nauigio confluerat, et quia manus suorum non solum bello grauata, sed et longa obsidione ad resistendum deficiebat, ex consilio magnatum suorum ignem machine iussit inmitti, nimium turbatus et dolens inde recedens, eo quod prosperum successum hoc tempore habere nequueret.<sup>g</sup><sup>48</sup>

21. Eodem uero<sup>a</sup> anno quo<sup>b</sup> rex Acram<sup>c</sup> inuictam deseruit et a<sup>d</sup> Ioppe Ierusalem<sup>e</sup> ascendit<sup>f</sup> ut illic aliquantulum bellis intermissis quiesceret,<sup>g</sup> quadam die, circa tempus mensis Iulii,<sup>h</sup> cum decem tantum militibus in uenationem profectus, dum saltus ciuitati Cesaree contiguos a montanis intraret et huius recreationis studio uacaret, Sarraceni circiter sexaginta ab Ascalona et Acra descenderunt ad insidias Christianorum, ut tam in plano quam in montanis deprehensos<sup>i</sup> detruncarent ac rebus expoliarent. Tunc forte quidam Christiane professionis<sup>j</sup> illis obuiam facti sunt, quos nimia audacia

<sup>n</sup> eo N

20 <sup>a</sup> A adds iam after aduentu <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> super H <sup>d</sup> bello N  
<sup>e</sup> irrupentes CN <sup>f</sup> peremerunt A <sup>g</sup> nequuerit ACHN

21 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> qua C <sup>c</sup> E adds uel Ptolomaidam after Acram <sup>d</sup> ab A <sup>e</sup> A  
adds in before Ierusalem <sup>f</sup> descendit AC <sup>g</sup> requiesceret A <sup>h</sup> Iulii altered from  
Iulii E <sup>i</sup> dephensos A <sup>j</sup> om. A

<sup>47</sup> Not otherwise known.

hurled it into the king's siege tower to frighten the men out of it who were shooting arrows continually from above and fiercely attacking the city.

20. But when the arrival of these men was known, and fire was already licking frequently around the engine, Reinold,<sup>47</sup> one of the king's soldiers, very experienced in the craft of archery and master of bowmen, urged his comrades to the defence; he, indeed, took up his crossbow and struck dead more than a hundred and fifty Saracens with mortal wounds. However, when morning came, battle began to rage and intensify greatly on both sides, and the Saracen soldiers, making frequent sorties out of the gates, inflicted severe wounds on some pilgrims of Christ with lance and arrow; they killed others with instant death. Then on that same day, while Reinold was engaged in much battle and slaughter from the engine against the enemy, he stood unwarily and fearlessly too much in the open, and a stone hurled with sudden force from a mangonel hit him on the head, and so he died, and on the orders of the king he was carried down and buried on Mount Tabor by the pious monks. As the king saw, moreover, that the strength of the Saracens was prevailing on account of the insufferable multitude which had recently arrived by sea from the aforesaid towns to this city for assistance, and that his band of men was not only weighed down by war, but was also faltering in its resistance because of the long siege, on the advice of his magnates he ordered the engine to be set alight, and he withdrew from there troubled and grieving, because he was unable to achieve a favourable outcome at this time.<sup>48</sup>

21. In that same year, when the king left Acre unconquered and went up from Jaffa to Jerusalem so that he might take a short rest there between battles, one day, around the time of the month of July, he set out with only ten knights to hunt, and when he entered the wooded valleys next to Caesarea from the mountains and was keenly enjoying this sport, about sixty Saracens from Ascalon and Acre descended to ambush the Christians, so that they might seize upon them both on the plains and in the mountains and butcher them and plunder their possessions. Then by chance the aforesaid gentiles met certain men of the Christian faith and, trusting in their own excessive boldness, they

<sup>48</sup> Albert's account of this unsuccessful siege of Acre is much more detailed than Fulcher of Chartres'. His belief that the city was saved by relief by sea is supported by the Arabic historian Ibn al-Athir: FC, p. 456; IA, p. 213.

freti gentiles prefati persequi, occidere et rebus exspoliare decreuerunt, ut sic in gloria et uictoria cum spoliis fidelium ad suas ciuitates repedarent. Hac itaque crudeli intentione Sarracenis Christianorum uestigia insequentibus, uniuersa uero regione fama eorum<sup>k</sup> commota<sup>l</sup> ac tremefacta, eo quod uires illorum ampliores quam fuissent estimarentur, Baldwino regi, omnium horum ignaro et solummodo uenationi intento, nunciatum est quoniam Sarraceni regionem ingressi fuissent ad insidiandum et trucidandum populum Filii Dei uiui, et ideo eum citius oportere in hac necessitate subuenire. Qui ilico, hoc audito, decem socios qui secum erant nobiliter ammonuit<sup>m</sup> ut sine intermissione hostes insequantur,<sup>n</sup> et numquam eos impune a regione exire patiantur, sed fortiter cum eis dimicantes predam excutiant et rapinas confratrum suorum. Mox uenatorie artis obliti, Otto Alaspata et<sup>o</sup> Albertus de Blandraz<sup>49</sup> et ceteri qui cum rege uenationi intererant, licet lorica, scuto, lancea inermes, sed tantum gladiis<sup>p</sup> accincti et pharetra, procul omni timore mortis abiecto,<sup>q</sup> equos calcaribus urgent,<sup>50</sup> et, recto uestigio Sarracenos persequentes, forte<sup>r</sup> iam uisos, sagittis et gladiis eductis, subito incurrerunt, et atrociter hinc et hinc prelium commiserunt.

22. Baldwinus uero rex, pre cunctis acrius per medios hostes irruens et cedem gladio multiplicans, ex inproviso iuxta frutecta humilis silue in rapido cursu uolantis equi astitit, ubi a quodam satellite Sarracenorum qui inter ramos et opaca folia delituit<sup>a</sup> furtiua lancea trans femur et renes perforatus est. Nec mora, a tam crudeli uulnere tam potentis regis sanguinis riui grauitur eruperunt, <sup>b</sup>uultusque illius pallescere ceperunt,<sup>b</sup> animus et uirtus eius deficere, manus ipsius a gladii percussione cessare, dum tandem ab equo in terram corruens acsi mortuus et extinctus expirasse crederetur. Quod sui commilitones ut uiderunt, statim dolore inestimabili commoti, amplius et ualidius ceperunt hostes cedere et persequi, quousque alii occisi, alii in fugam uersi, per montana et deuia loca<sup>c</sup> dispersi et elapsi sunt. Dehinc regem Baldwinum<sup>d</sup> circumstantes ac<sup>e</sup> plurimum flentes, gestatorioque eum imponentes, Ierusalem in nimia lamentatione et

<sup>k</sup> illorum *A*      <sup>l</sup> attonita uel commota *C*      <sup>m</sup> ammonet *H*      <sup>n</sup> insequantur *C*  
<sup>o</sup> om. *A*      <sup>p</sup> gladio *ACHN*      <sup>q</sup> ablato *ACHN*      <sup>r</sup> om. *A*

22      <sup>a</sup> delituit *A*      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> om. *N*      <sup>c</sup> om. *H*      <sup>d</sup> om. *ACHN*      <sup>e</sup> et *A*

<sup>49</sup> According to Orderic Vitalis, Albert was killed at the battle of Mersivan (OV, v. 336).

decided to pursue them, kill them, and plunder their possessions, so that in this way they might return to their own towns in triumph and victory with the spoils of the faithful. And so, while the Saracens were following in the tracks of the Christians with this cruel intention, and the entire region was disturbed and shaken by the news of them, because their forces were thought to be greater than they were, it was announced to King Baldwin, unaware of them all and intent only on hunting, that Saracens had entered the region and were there to ambush and slaughter the people of the Son of the living God, and so he should quickly assist in this emergency. When he heard this, instantly Baldwin nobly ordered the ten comrades who were with him to follow the enemy without delay, and not to allow them to leave the region unscathed, but to fight with them bravely and seize the booty and plunder of their fellows. Soon, forgetting the craft of hunting, Otto Altaspata and Albert of Biandrate<sup>49</sup> and the others who had taken part in the hunt with the king, although they were not equipped with hauberk, shield, or lance, but only wearing swords and quiver, cast far away from them all fear of death, spurred on their horses,<sup>50</sup> and, having now caught sight of the Saracens, they made straight for them in pursuit, took out arrows and swords and suddenly charged, and joined battle fiercely on this side and that.

22. King Baldwin, rushing more keenly than anyone into the midst of the enemy and inflicting more slaughter with his sword, through the swift pace of his speeding horse unexpectedly found himself next to some bushes of low woodland, where he was pierced through thigh and kidneys by the furtive lance of a Saracen hanger-on who was lurking among the branches and thick leaves. At once streams of blood gushed ominously from this cruel wound of this powerful king, his face began to grow pale, his spirit and strength to falter, his hand to cease from fighting with his sword, until at length he fell from his horse to the ground as if dead and destroyed, and he was believed to have expired. When his fellow soldiers saw this, they were at once moved by inestimable grief, and they began to cut down and pursue the enemy to a greater extent and more strongly, until some were killed, others were put to flight and scattered and escaped through the mountainous terrain and out-of-the-way places. Then they were standing around King Baldwin and weeping copiously; they placed him on a stretcher and took him back to Jerusalem amidst a very great

<sup>50</sup> Hexameter topos: *HL* i. 248–9.

ploratione uirorum et mulierum detulerunt, medicos peritissimos illi adquirentes, quorum arte et peritia ab hac mortifera plaga rex et fortis athleta posset<sup>f</sup> conualescere.<sup>g</sup> 51

- 604 23. Audita hac regis Baldwini uulneratione et aggrauatione, rex Babylonie et Meraius, congregato ab omni regno exercitu, nauali expeditione Iafeth descenderunt, quam fixis anchoris uersus maritima obsederunt. Ascalonite uero ex precepto regis per aridam ad auxilium pariter uenientes fortiter<sup>a</sup> hinc et hinc et<sup>b</sup> abintus et deforis prelia committentes, diuersis assultibus eam expugnare moliti sunt. Interea dum hec obsidio fieret et diuturnis preliis adinuicem ciues Ioppe et hostes Ascalonite contenderent, due naues, quarum altera minor quam uocant galidam<sup>52</sup> et altera maior quam uocant dromonem,<sup>c</sup> 53 ex inproiso cum Christianorum cetu aduecte sunt ut adorarent in Ierusalem. Ex hiis maior nauis, que supra quingentos uiros absque matronis continebat, ignorante exercitu gentilium, clam in obscura nocte in portu et litore urbis Iafeth resedit, sed quassata ex nimio impetu et celeri fuga, et nimio<sup>d</sup> onere rerum et hominum, in partes dissiliens et hiscens, sabulo infixam est. Videntes autem Sarraceni hanc inuio cursu et nimium maturata fuga attritam, ac in limo litoris arenosi infixam, uelociter nauigio admouerunt ut uiros naufragantes inuadendo percuterent et res illorum et omnia que uite erant necessaria diriperent ac diuiderent inter se. Verum Christiani, uiso Christianorum<sup>e</sup> periculo, in ipso urbis Iafeth litore consistentes, qui ad euentum rei perspicendum concurrerant, ut subuenirent naufragantibus nimia impugnatione resistentes, inportunam multitudinem abegerunt, dum Dei auxilio repulsis gentilibus in liberatione fratrum suorum preualuerunt.

<sup>f</sup> potuisset *A*      <sup>g</sup> conualere *E*

23    <sup>a</sup> *om. ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> *om. A*      <sup>c</sup> *dromonem A*      <sup>d</sup> *om. H*  
<sup>e</sup> *conchristianorum ACHN*

<sup>51</sup> This wound troubled Baldwin to the end of his life. For its nature see FC, p. 460; ME, p. 191; BN, p. 536; WT, p. 485; GN, pp. 287–8; also R. Hiestand, 'König Balduin und sein Tanzbär', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, lxx (1988), 343–60; S. B. Edgington, 'Medical knowledge in the crusading armies: The evidence of Albert of Aachen and others', in M. Barber, ed., *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 320–6, at 321–3.

<sup>52</sup> The galley ('galea') was an oared ship. The word first appeared in the West in Italo-Norman sources of the late 11th c., although the Greek equivalent was much earlier. The

weeping and lamentation of men and women, acquiring very experienced doctors for him, by whose skill and experience their king and strong champion could recover his health after this lethal wound.<sup>51</sup>

23. When they heard of King Baldwin's wounding and his dangerous condition, the king of Egypt and Meraius assembled an army from the whole kingdom, and sailed down to Jaffa as a naval expedition, dropping anchor there and besieging it from the sea. On the king's orders the Ascalonites came likewise by land to assist and they waged war powerfully on this side and that, inside and outside, endeavouring to subdue the city by different attacks. Meanwhile, while this siege was going on and the citizens of Jaffa and the Ascalonite army were fighting each other in daily battles, two ships, one of them smaller of the type called a galley<sup>52</sup> and the other larger which they call a dromon,<sup>53</sup> sailed in unexpectedly with a company of Christians who intended to worship in Jerusalem. Unknown to the gentiles' army, the larger of these ships, which held over five hundred men, not counting women, moored secretly at dead of night in the harbour and by the shore of the city of Jaffa, but it was broken up by the great swell and its swift motion, and its excessive burden of things and men, and it burst asunder and was holed and stuck fast on the sand. Moreover, when the Saracens saw this ship destroyed in its impassable course and its too hasty motion, and stuck fast in the sandy mud of the shore, they sailed up at speed to launch an attack on the shipwrecked men and seize their possessions and all their vital provisions and divide them up among themselves. However, seeing Christians were in danger, the Christians standing on that same shore of the city of Jaffa, who had run together to see the outcome of the affair, were fighting back very aggressively in order to assist the shipwrecked people; they drove away the savage horde, until with God's help the gentiles were driven back and they prevailed in the deliverance of their brothers.

Western galley was almost certainly a derivative of the Byzantine 'galeva', which in the 10th c. had been a monoreme dromon. The characteristics of early galleys are unknown except for their being oared warships renowned for their speed and slim lines. William of Tyre describes the galley as 'long, beak-prowed, with twin rows of oars, apt for warlike use' (WT, p. 927). See Pryor, 'Dromon to galea', pp. 108-16.

<sup>53</sup> The dromon was originally a Byzantine oared warship which developed gradually over the period from the 6th to 10th cc., becoming a bireme galley with two superimposed banks of oars. By the end of the 11th and in the 12th c. the word is applied in Latin sources to large ships of both the oared and sailing types. I am grateful to J. Pryor for advice on this. Cf. WT, p. 927, and see Pryor, 'Dromon to galea', pp. 101-6.

24. Altera autem minor nauis, non recto gubernaculo sulcans, sed ignaro magistro inuecta errans, ceca nocte repentino et facili cursu super naues hostium irruit. Quo agnito, magister nauis<sup>a</sup> cum septem<sup>b</sup> sociis suis clam exigua nauicula euasit, et nauim inter hostes destitutam reliquit. Erant enim in eadem naui homines centum quinquaginta preter femineum sexum, equites uero septem cum equis suis et plurima armatura. Gentiles uero, sentientes hanc Christianorum puppim inter se stulto errore allapsam,<sup>c</sup> hanc undique coronantes, tota nocte eius inhabita|tores graui inpugnatione uexauerunt, illi econtra fortiter resisterunt. Dum, orto mane, non ultra tot milium iacula et uim sufferre ualentes<sup>d</sup> et a defensione cessantes, uniuersi cum septem equitibus et cunctis mulieribus capti ac<sup>e</sup> decollati sunt, preter solum armigerum qui temerario ausu inter undosas procellas uix nando<sup>f</sup> euasit. Omnia autem spolia occisorum seu submersorum diripientes inter se partiti sunt, gaudentes et exultantes hanc fortunam uictorie sic ex inprouiso suis manibus incidisse.

25. Ad hec rex Baldwinus, intellecta hac longa obsidione circa urbem Iafeth, et suorum confratrum consumptione, iam paulisper sanitate recuperata, ad Iafeth descendere disposuit, ut audito eius aduentu minus Christianos ciues Sarraceni terrerent, et in urbis obsidione permanerent.<sup>a</sup> Sarraceni autem, tam potentis regis aduentum et uita<sup>b</sup> incolumem operientes, et illi copias affuturas estimantes, nequaquam illic ultra remanere presumpserunt, sed assumpta occasione Octobris mensis et temporis hiemalis, quo maris procelle amplius intumescunt, reditum suum sine intermissione parauerunt. Rex uero et Christiani urbis Ioppe uelocibus buzis<sup>c</sup> et remis<sup>c</sup> eos insequi<sup>d</sup> constituerunt,<sup>e</sup> si forte aliqui secure et tarde nauigantes possent comprehendi. Sed minime oportunitas hoc tempore aut ulla uindicta sanguinis confratrum Christianorum concessa est. Ipse quidem rex et uniuersi fideles Christi qui Ioppe habitabant gauisi sunt super uniuersis que sibi gloriose acciderant, et exaltati sunt, secure dormientes, et abhinc agros et uineas excolentes. Ascalonite uero, rege conualescente, minus ultra ausi sunt uiros Iafeth bello lacescere, sed et ipsi pace gaudentes

24 <sup>a</sup> om. A<sup>b</sup> om. N<sup>c</sup> illapsam A<sup>d</sup> om. N<sup>e</sup> et ACHN<sup>f</sup> natando A25 <sup>a</sup> manerent ACHN<sup>b</sup> uitam AH<sup>c</sup> om. A<sup>d</sup> persequi A<sup>e</sup> statuerunt A

24. However, the other, smaller ship, not making headway with proper steering, but sailing erratically under the direction of an inexperienced master, in the thick darkness ploughed into the enemy's ships in its fast and easy course. Realizing this, the ship's captain secretly escaped in a tiny little boat with seven of his crew, and abandoned the ship among the enemy. For there were in that same ship a hundred and fifty men, leaving aside the female sex, and seven knights with their horses and a great deal of equipment. The gentiles, indeed, perceiving that this vessel of Christians had slipped among them by a stupid mistake, surrounded it on all sides and they harassed its occupants all night with a severe assault, while the Christians for their part fought back bravely. When at daybreak they were unable to endure any longer so many thousands of javelins and the force of the attack, and they were giving up on the defence, all of them, including the seven knights and all the women, were captured and beheaded, except for a single squire who with bold daring barely escaped among the billowing waves by swimming. Moreover, they seized all the spoils of the killed or drowned people and divided them among themselves, rejoicing and exulting that this lucky victory had thus fallen unexpectedly into their hands.

25. At this point King Baldwin, learning about this long siege around the city of Jaffa, and the destruction of his brothers, and since his health had now been recovered for a little while, decided to go down to Jaffa, so that when they heard of his arrival the Saracens would terrorize the Christian citizens less, and persist less in the siege of the city. Moreover, the Saracens, discovering the arrival of so powerful a king and that he was still alive, and estimating the forces he would bring, no longer dared to stay there at all, but took the opportunity of the month of October and the winter weather, when the waves of the sea swell more fully, to organize their return journey without delay. The king and the Christians of the city of Jaffa decided to pursue them in fast busses and rowing vessels, to see if any who were sailing safely and slowly could perchance be caught. But no luck was granted them at this time, nor any revenge for the blood of their brother Christians. Indeed the king himself and all Christ's faithful who were living in Jaffa rejoiced over everything which had happened for them so gloriously, and they exulted, sleeping soundly and from now on cultivating their fields and vineyards. As the king was recovering, the Ascalonites no longer dared so much to provoke the men of Jaffa to

et<sup>f</sup> quia manus regis bello uacabat, pariter et ipsi in satis ac<sup>g</sup> uincis hoc anno non parce laborantes quieuerunt.

26. Proximo dehinc anno, mensis Martii tempore aspirante, anno scilicet quarto regni ipsius Baldwini,<sup>54</sup> rursum Pisani et Genuenses, qui causa adorandi in<sup>a</sup> Ierusalem conuenerant, a Laodicia ubi hiemauerant amouentes ciuitatem<sup>b</sup> Gibeloth<sup>c</sup> nauali apparatu applicuerunt. Vbi comes Reimundus illis a Tortosa ciuitate | occurrit, 606 auxilium et uires eorum<sup>d</sup> ad expugnandam ipsam Gibeloth querens, ut Sarracenis ciuibus exterminatis urbs Christianorum haberetur. Qui facile precibus eius adquiescentes, urbem in multitudine copiosa nauium obsederunt, fortiter eam oppugnantes. Comes uero, in arido eam obsidens, creberrimis assultibus et machinarum ingeniis debellauit,<sup>e</sup> quousque capta et uicta cum ciuibus suis in manu ipsius Reimundi tradita et subiugata est.<sup>55</sup>

27. Nec diu post urbis illius<sup>a</sup> captionem, ipsis Genuensibus et Pisanis legatio regis Baldwini affuit, qua nimium ex parte ipsius<sup>b</sup> salutati sunt. Dehinc permagna regis imprecatio ad uniuersos facta est, quatenus, causa Dei et sanctorum Ierusalem, ciuitatem Ptolomaidam, quam nunc uocant Acram, exercitu nauali in mari<sup>c</sup> obsidentes oppugnarent, ipse autem<sup>d</sup> auxilio Dei et copiis fidelium Christi in sicco obsidionem locaret. Audita hac regis imprecatione et ammonitione gauisi uniuersi, continuo nauigio et manu robusta Acras uel Accaron applicuerunt. Rex autem in arido in circuitu murorum castrametatus est. Illic uero aliquot diebus tormenta lapidum et machinas fabricantes, dein<sup>e</sup> urbem et ciues sine modo uiriliter et non parce assilientes, usquequaque oppugnabant donec Sarracenum uires et manus ad resistendum fesse nil ultra auge sunt.

<sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> et AC

26      <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> om. H      <sup>c</sup> Gibiloth A      <sup>d</sup> om. A; illorum H      <sup>e</sup> expugnauit A

27      <sup>a</sup> ipsius A      <sup>b</sup> eius A      <sup>c</sup> nauī C      <sup>d</sup> om. A      <sup>e</sup> deinde N

<sup>54</sup> Spring 1104.

<sup>55</sup> Albert states unambiguously that the town captured was Jubayl (classical Byblos). However, this has been contested on the grounds that William of Tyre sets its capture in 1109. Fulcher, unfortunately, supports neither writer, while Caffaro says that forty Genoese galleys assisted in the capture of Acre and 'Gibellum minorem' in 1104, while sixty took Tripoli and 'Gibellum maiorem' in 1109. Which was Jubayl and which Jabla seems incapable of establishing with certainty. Ibn al-Athir adds to the confusion by stating that 'Djebayl' (Byblos) was taken in 1104, but later that it was 'Djiblé'. Nor is Anna Komnene entirely helpful, for she says that 'Gabala' was disputed by the Genoese and the

war, but they too rejoiced in peace and, because the hand of the king was unoccupied by war, they too likewise were at peace, working not a little on their crops and vineyards this year.

26. Then in the next year, that is to say, in the fourth year of this same Baldwin's reign,<sup>54</sup> as the weather of the month of March was favourable, the Pisans and Genoese, who had come together in Jerusalem for the sake of worship, once again brought their fleet up to the town of Jubayl, moving it from Latakia, where they had wintered. Count Raymond met them there from the town of Tortosa, seeking their help and forces to subdue this very Jubayl, so that once the Saracen citizens had been driven out the city might belong to the Christians. They readily gave in to his requests, besieged the city with a very numerous fleet and attacked it bravely. The count, blockading it on land, overwhelmed it with constant attacks and siege engines, until the city was captured and conquered with its citizens and handed over and subjected into the hands of Raymond himself.<sup>55</sup>

27. Not long after the capture of that city these Genoese and Pisans received a legation from King Baldwin and they were warmly greeted on his behalf. Then a persuasive prayer was made by the king to everyone, that, for the sake of God and the saints of Jerusalem, they should attack the town of Ptolomaida, which they now call Acre, besieging it with a fleet of ships, while he himself, with God's help and the troops of Christ's faithful, would impose a blockade on land. When they heard this prayer and summons from the king, everyone rejoiced and immediately arrived at Acre, or Accaron, by sea and in a strong army. The king pitched camp on land all around the walls. They were there for some days constructing stone-hurlers and engines, then attacking the city and citizens without restraint, powerfully and unsparingly, fighting everywhere until the Saracens' forces and army were exhausted and dared fight no longer.

Byzantines in 1104, also that later in discussions at Devol (1108) Bohemond mentioned 'Gabala' as pronounced 'Zebel' by the Franks. (See WT, pp. 507-9; Caffaro, *Ann. Ian.*, pp. 13-4; Caffaro, *Lib. Or.*, p. 121; IA, pp. 219, 274; AC, ed. Leib, iii. 48, 135; trans. Sewter, pp. 365, 431.) The most useful evidence relates only to Raymond's *intention* to take Jubayl at the earliest opportunity: in a charter dated 13 Jan. 1103 he granted half of 'Gibellet' to the abbey of Saint-Victor in Marseille, when it should be taken, describing the town as 'on the shore of the great sea, defended by high walls and strong towers, situated between Tripoli and Beirut'—clearly Jubayl (C. de Vic and J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 10 vols. (Toulouse, 1840-6), iii. 560-1; v. 779-80, no. 335). The balance of probability is that Raymond indeed took Jubayl as planned.



28. When the amir of the city saw that his men were faltering in the defence, and that they could not depend on any hope of assistance, and they did not dare to resist the king's strength any further, he asked for there to be peace and a deferring of war so that he might take advice on how the city might be surrendered into the king's power with the citizens' safety assured. Then on the amir's request a truce was confirmed on both sides with right hands given, and the people calmed down from all fighting. Then the amir, having called together the whole body of Saracen citizens, consulted them in a worried fashion, and he spoke in this way in the presence of them all: 'For a long time we have defended this town even to the point of shedding our blood. But now we cannot hope to receive help from our king of Egypt or from his towns as we have in the past, on account of the hindrance of the naval siege. For this reason, if it is now acceptable to all our people, we should surrender and open up the city to King Baldwin in this time of utmost necessity, before we perish by his weapons and, perishing, keep neither life nor city in the last resort. So, if my advice appears sound, and only if no safer way can be found, before the city is opened up to him a treaty between us and him shall be confirmed in this way: that we shall leave unharmed with our wives and our sons and all our possessions, having free passage anywhere peacefully and without hindrance or ambushes from his men.' Everyone agreed to this plan of the amir's. He also conveyed it to the ears of the king without delay, that is to say the idea that in complete good faith, right hands pledged, peaceful exit should be granted to the citizens, and they would resist the king no longer, but would open the gates of the city to him. Therefore the king and Patriarch Evremar took counsel on this with their men, since if they refused the citizens' petition and denied their trust and agreement, and the citizens were afraid to leave the city except with their safety assured, it could not be conquered without danger and death for the Christians. Hence they agreed to their petition thus: that once the city was surrendered and opened up, the citizens would move out with all their possessions, with no fear of danger. But the Pisans and Genoese were inflamed by greed for the gentiles' possessions and replied that it was in no way to happen that the riches of the city and its countless treasures be borne out peacefully. At length, when they had been put right and calmed down from this disagreement by the lord king and the patriarch, they offered their assent on all things which seemed to them better for the safety of the Christians. And so peace was promised to the Saracens and confirmed

firmata, urbs et porte eius in ipsa sancta et celebri die dominice Ascensionis patefacte sunt.<sup>56</sup>

29. Rex autem et exercitus eius intromissus est, princeps<sup>a</sup> uero ciuitatis et ceteri<sup>b</sup> inhabitatores pacifice cum uxoribus et liberis, cum pecoribus et omni substantia sua egressi sunt. Pisani quidem et Genuenses, uidentes eos cum omni suppellectili<sup>c</sup> egredi, et gazas illorum inauditas efferri, auaricia uehementi<sup>d</sup> excecati, fidemque et pactum quod cum rege pepigerant obliti, subito per mediam urbem irruentes, ciues occiderunt, aurum, argentum, ostra diuersi generis et plurima preciosa rapientes. Populus uero<sup>e</sup> Gallie, qui ab arido urbem<sup>f</sup> cum rege<sup>f</sup> intrauerat, uidens Pisanos per urbem discurrere, ciues occidere, thesauros inauditos diripere, pariter et ipsi auaricie flammis estuantes et, iusiurandi obliti, circiter quatuor milia ciuium<sup>g</sup> in ore gladii percusserunt, gazas, uestes et pecora, omnes diuitias illorum incomputabiles diripientes. Hac iniusta seditione ad extremum sedata, rex uehementer indignatus est de illata sibi iniuria a Pisanis et Genuensibus propter iusiurandum, et ideo, ne in dolo et consensu<sup>h</sup> ipsius fidem et | pactum preuaricati<sup>h</sup> crederentur, ammonitis sociis<sup>i</sup> ac<sup>j</sup> domesticis suis, hoc scelus grauiter ulcisci uoluit, nisi dominus patriarcha interueniens et eius pedibus frequenter aduolutus, prudenti consilio regem placatum reddidisset, et utrimque pacem et concordiam reparasset.<sup>57</sup>

30. Eodem uero anno<sup>58</sup> post captionem Ptolomaidis, que et dicitur Accaron, uulgariter<sup>a</sup> uero Acra, mense Septembri<sup>b</sup> iam mediato, ipso die exaltationis sancte crucis,<sup>59</sup> milites Arabite circiter quingenti in equis et armis ab Ascalona exurgentes, Ioppen descenderunt, ac iam sole flagrante medio axe celi, ante urbis ianuam assistentes, milites catholicos bello lacescere conati sunt. Et ecce Otto cognomine Altaspata, filius sororis Alberti de Blandraz, miles et tyro inperterritus, cum solum uiginti sodalibus qui aderant ad custodiendam urbem, galea et lorica indutis,<sup>c</sup> quingentis occurrit militibus. Quos plurimo equestri luctamine prouocantes, et temerario ausu copias illorum

29    <sup>a</sup> principes *H*    <sup>b</sup> ceteris *N*    <sup>c</sup> *A* adds sua after suppellectili    <sup>d</sup> uehementer  
*ACHN*    <sup>e</sup> autem *H*    <sup>f</sup> *f* om. *A*    <sup>g</sup> hominum uel ciuium *C*    <sup>h</sup> preuaricari *A*  
<sup>i</sup> *CN* add suis after sociis    <sup>j</sup> et *A*

30    <sup>a</sup> uulgaliter *H*    <sup>b</sup> Septembre *CHN*    <sup>c</sup> indutus *N*

<sup>56</sup> 26 May 1104.

by the king on oath, and the city and its gates were thrown open on that holy and famous day of the Lord's Ascension.<sup>56</sup>

29. The king and his army were let in; the prince of the town and the rest of the inhabitants came out peacefully with wives and children, with their herds and all their property. Yet the Pisans and the Genoese, seeing them coming out with all their household goods, and carrying out their incredible wealth, were overcome with blind greed, and, forgetful of the trust and the truce which they had made with the king, they suddenly rushed through the middle of the city, killing the citizens, seizing gold, silver, purple of different kinds, and many precious things. The people of Gaul, who had entered the city from the land with the king, saw the Pisans running about all over the town, killing citizens, snatching incredible treasures, and they too burned with the flames of avarice and were likewise forgetful of their oath, and they put about four thousand of the citizens to the sword, snatching treasures, clothing, and herds, all the citizens' uncountable riches. When this unlawful discord was finally calmed down, the king was violently angry about the injustice done to him by the Pisans and Genoese on account of the oath, and so, lest they should be thought to have violated the trust and truce as a trick and with his own consent, he told off his comrades and household, and he would have punished this crime severely, had not the lord patriarch intervened and cast himself repeatedly at the king's feet, and placated him with wise advice, and renewed peace and goodwill on both sides.<sup>57</sup>

30. In that same year<sup>58</sup> after the capture of Ptolomaida, which is also called Accaron, and commonly Acre, after the middle of September, on the very day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,<sup>59</sup> about five hundred Arab soldiers sallied forth from Ascalon, mounted and armed, and came down to Jaffa, and when the sun burnt at its zenith, they stood before the gate of the city trying to provoke the Christian soldiers to war. And Otto surnamed Altaspata, son of Albert of Biandrate's sister, a knight and an intrepid recruit, charged the five hundred soldiers with only twenty comrades—wearing helmet and hauberk—who were there to guard the city. They challenged the great number to a fight on horseback and attacked their troops with

<sup>57</sup> Albert's is by far the most detailed account of the capture of Acre. William of Tyre does not describe the sack of the city (FC, pp. 462–3; BN, p. 537; WT, pp. 486–7).

<sup>58</sup> 1104.

<sup>59</sup> 14 Sept. 1104.

impetentes, nouissime medio agmine nimie gentis permixti, nequaquam ab hiis extorqueri aut redire potuerunt, quousque Otto armis inimicorum extinctus cum quinque fratribus ibidem fuisse perhibetur. Continuo Sarraceni ac Arabite, ab equis descendentes, capitaque occisorum amputantes secum Ascalonam in signum uictorie detulerunt, ut hiis uisis ciues ad quippiam<sup>d</sup> audendum animarentur.

31. Abhinc diebus septem uix euolutis, sexaginta Arabite, uiri militares, nomen pariter glorie et uictorie aliquo insigni facto sibi acquirere uolentes, mouerunt iter uersus ciuitatem Cesaream, in die natalis apostoli<sup>a</sup> et euangeliste Mathei,<sup>60</sup> si forte illis<sup>b</sup> occurrerent aliqui incauti ex Christianis. Sed nemine illis obuiam facto, predam bouum ouiumque Christianorum ante urbis menia in pascuis repertam abduxerunt, ut uel hac occasione Christiani ab urbe egressi et eos insequentes, ex hostili industria punirentur. Hanc itaque predam abducentibus, Christiani ciues urbis Cesaree ira commoti,<sup>c</sup> ab urbe ferme ducenti sunt progressi cum solo equite, qui etiam diu febre  
 609 correptus uehementer elanguit et | adhuc parum sanitatis recuperauerat, ac milites Arabitas in arcu, sagitta<sup>d</sup> et lancea longius sunt persecuti, ut predam excuterent ac<sup>e</sup> reducerent. Econtra Arabite fortiter repugnantes ac predam abducentes pedites Christianos sepius in fugam remittebant, quin<sup>f</sup> equitem adhuc languidum proximo cursu equi nimium eos urgentem<sup>g</sup> peremerunt, ipsius capite amputato, ac<sup>h</sup> secum deportato in sacculis armigerorum suorum, in quibus equorum pabula ferre<sup>i</sup> consueuerant. Nec mora, regi Baldwino Iafeth<sup>j</sup> uel Ioppe<sup>j</sup> commoranti diuulgatum est, quoniam Ascalonite milites sexaginta Cesaream depredandi causa diuertissent. Qui solum quadraginta equites secum adhuc<sup>k</sup> habens, diuisit eosdem per decem ac direxit eos per montana uniuersas semitas preuenire per quas eos sperabat reuersuros. Ipse quidem, decem assumptis, recto tramite<sup>61</sup> quo ab Ioppe itur Cesaream est profectus, si forte sibi obvenirent prefati sexaginta milites, ut eis malum quod fecerant Cesaree digna uice posset<sup>l</sup> rependere. Igitur dum plerumque itineris rex et sui peregissent in armis et lorica armigeri et serui Arabitarum premissi

<sup>d</sup> quicquam *A*

31 <sup>a</sup> apostolici *A* <sup>b</sup> om. *A* <sup>c</sup> committi *H* <sup>d</sup> *C* adds et before sagitta  
<sup>e</sup> et *A* <sup>f</sup> *ACHN* add etiam after quin <sup>g</sup> urgentem *N* <sup>h</sup> et *ACHN*  
<sup>i</sup> deferre *A* <sup>j</sup> om. *C* <sup>k</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>l</sup> possent *ACHN*

<sup>60</sup> 21 Sept. 1104.

<sup>61</sup> Hexameter topos: *HL* v. 463-4.

bold daring; finally they were mixed together in the middle of the battle line of the very great army; they could not by any means be torn away from this, or return, until Otto is reported to have been killed by the enemies' weapons with five brothers in that place. Immediately the Saracens and Arabs dismounted, cut off the heads of the slain, and took them back with them to Ascalon as a token of victory, so that when they saw them the citizens would be provoked to some act of daring.

31. Scarcely seven days later, sixty Arabs, military men, wanting likewise to obtain for themselves a reputation for glory and victory by some remarkable deed, made a journey towards the town of Caesarea, on the birthday of the apostle and evangelist Matthew,<sup>60</sup> to see if by chance they might run into some unwary Christians. But when they met no one, they took away plunder found in the pastures before the city walls, cattle and sheep belonging to the Christians, so that at least this time the Christians who came out of the city and chased them would be punished by the enemy's diligence. And so, as they carried off this booty, the Christian citizens of the city of Caesarea were stirred to anger; nearly two hundred came forth from the city with a single knight (who, what is more, had been suffering from a fever for a long time and been very feeble and had as yet recovered little of his health) and they pursued the Arab soldiers quite a long way with bow, arrow, and lance, in order to seize the booty and bring it back. On their side the Arabs fought back bravely and, taking the booty with them, they frequently forced the Christian infantry to retreat, but they killed the knight who was still ill as he rode next to them and harried them too closely, cutting off his head and carrying it off with them in one of their squires' little bags, in which they had been accustomed to carry fodder for the horses. At once the matter was conveyed to King Baldwin as he stayed in Jaffa, or Joppe, that sixty Ascalonite soldiers had turned aside to Caesarea for the sake of plundering. As yet he had only forty knights with him, whom he then divided into tens and sent into the mountains to anticipate all the paths by which he hoped the Ascalonites would return. He himself took ten and set out on the straight track<sup>61</sup> which led from Jaffa to Caesarea, to see if perchance he would meet the aforesaid sixty soldiers, so that he could pay them back with interest the evil which they had done at Caesarea. And so, when the king and his men had completed most of the journey they met squires and slaves

cum preda et capite Christiani militis, rege nescio ac regis nescii, obuiam facti sunt; sexaginta uero milites eadem uia, loricati et armati, a longe subsequebantur. Rex autem suiue armigeros apprehendentes ac consulentes unde illis sit iter, sarcinas quoque eorum aperientes,<sup>m</sup> in sacco unius illorum caput Christiani militis inuenerunt. Quo uiso et cognito, Ascalonitarum crudelitas propalata est. Rex statim apprehensos armigeros coegit minis et terroribus suppliciorum ut omnem rem gestam aperirent. Quod si nollent, capitali sententia uniuersos ibidem comminatus est punire. Qui ilico professi<sup>n</sup> sunt domnos suos subsequi eodem tramite<sup>o</sup> quo et ipsi uenerant, ac per montana Iafeth reditum suum constituisse. Rex, hoc audito, protinus obducto pectori clipeo et hasta arrepta, cum decem sociis uia cepta ac nimium festinata, in hostes tetendit, metuens ne forte<sup>p</sup> aliqua fama declinarent <sup>q</sup>a uia hac.<sup>q</sup> Nec multo abhinc spacio sexaginta Arabite appropinquantes super regem et suos incaute irruerunt, regem nequaquam aut aliquas insidias illic suspicantes.<sup>r</sup> Hiis etenim inter manus regis tam incaute oblatis, rex fortiter tundens latera equi, suiue non minus tundentes, uiros<sup>s</sup> subito clamore ac impetu aggressi, per medios irruperunt, alios lancea perforantes, alios ab equis deicientes, et non parce in cede illorum gladio seuiantes. Tandem omni uirtute rege inualescente, et Arabitas ut stipulam penetrante ac dispergente, hostes, ultra pondus certaminis sustinere non ualentes, terga uerterunt. De quibus decem capti et retenti sunt, absque hiis qui armis interierunt. Equi etiam illorum non minus quadraginta capti sunt, quin arma <sup>t</sup>et spolia<sup>t</sup> eorum,<sup>u</sup> cum quibus rex Ioppen in gloria magna et ultione sui decollati<sup>v</sup> militis reuersus est. Iafeth uero et omnes ciuitates fidelium qui<sup>w</sup> hec audierunt ab ea die letate et confortate sunt. Exaltatum est itaque nomen regis in uniuersis finibus<sup>62</sup> Ascalonitarum et omnium gentilium, non parum timentium et admirantium, quod cum<sup>x</sup> decem sociis sexaginta Arabitas tam<sup>y</sup> felici congressu alios attriuerit, alios abduxerit<sup>z</sup> captiuos.

<sup>m</sup> operientes *N*      <sup>n</sup> confessi *A*      <sup>o</sup> itinere *ACHN*      <sup>p</sup> om. *N*      <sup>q</sup> <sup>q</sup> ab hac uia  
*ACH*; de hac uia *N*      <sup>r</sup> estimantes *A*      <sup>s</sup> nimio *N*      <sup>t</sup> <sup>t</sup> om. *N*      <sup>u</sup> illorum *A*  
<sup>v</sup> om. *A*      <sup>w</sup> que *N*      <sup>x</sup> *ACHN* add rex before cum      <sup>y</sup> om. *A*      <sup>z</sup> duxerit *A*

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Ps. 148: 13.

of the Arabs, bearing weapons and hauberks, who had been sent ahead with the booty and the head of the Christian knight, the king being as unaware of them as they were of the king; the sixty soldiers, armoured and armed, were following at a distance on the same road. Moreover, as the king and his men took hold of the squires and questioned them as to where they were travelling from, and also opened their baggage, in the bag belonging to one of them they found the head of the Christian knight. Once this was seen and recognized, the Ascalonites' cruelty was manifest. At once the king forced the captured squires by threats and dread of tortures to reveal the whole thing that had been done. And if they refused to do this, he threatened to punish all of them on the spot with the capital penalty. The squires instantly affirmed that their masters were following on that same track by which they themselves had come, and had decided to make their return through the mountains to Jaffa. When the king heard this, he pulled his shield across his chest directly and snatched up his spear and made for the enemy with his ten comrades along the road they had begun and in a very great hurry, fearing lest the enemy might by chance hear some rumour and turn aside from this route. Not very long after this the sixty approaching Arabs ran into the king and his men unawares, having no suspicion at all of the king or of any ambush in that place. Since, indeed, these men fell into the hands of the king so heedlessly, the king spurred his horse's flanks vigorously, and his men spurred theirs no less, they attacked the men with a sudden shout and charge, rushed through the middle, piercing some with lances, unseating others from their horses, and raging not a little as they slaughtered them with the sword. At length, as the king prevailed with all his might, and pierced and scattered the Arabs like straw, the enemy, unable to bear the weight of the battle any longer, turned tail. Ten of them were captured and detained, not counting those who had died by weapons. Also no fewer than forty of their horses were captured and, of course, their weapons and plunder, with which the king returned to Jaffa in great triumph and vengeance for his beheaded knight. Indeed Jaffa and all the towns of the faithful which heard these things rejoiced and felt strengthened from that day. And so the king's name was exalted in all the territories<sup>62</sup> of the Ascalonites and all the gentiles, who feared and marvelled not a little, because with ten comrades he met sixty Arabs so fortunately and destroyed some, taking others captive.

610 32. Eodem quoque tempore et anno comes Reimundus, adunata manu Christiane gentis a diuersis locis et regnis, ciuitatem Tripolim, quam uulgo Triplam uocant, obsedit, multis diebus et annis eam machinis et armis expugnare molitus. Sed longo tempore dum circa hanc et eius menia incassum laboraret, ac parum bellicis artibus proficeret, nec famis angustia eos compellere ualeret in urbis redditionem, eo quod a Babylonia, Ascalona, Sagitta et Sur auxilium frequenter illis adesset, et nauigio rerum habundantia supereset, comes Reimundus, consilio cum suis inito,<sup>a</sup> nouum presidium fieri decreuit a quo semper urbi aduersaretur, et <sup>b</sup>ad quod<sup>b</sup> sui assidue protectionis<sup>c</sup> causa ab hostili impetu repedarent. Appellatum est idem presidium Mons Peregrinorum, eo quod peregrinis et Christianis militibus illic munimen contra gentilium uires semper haberetur. Verum biennio cuoluto post captionem Ptolomaide et edificationem huius presidii noui quod dicitur Mons Peregrinorum, comes Reimundus<sup>d</sup> post purificationem sancte Dei genitricis Marie obiit mense Februario, in eodem nouo presidio quod extruxerat catholice sepultus.<sup>63</sup>

33. Interea dum prefata longa negocia circa Acram, que et Ptolomaida,<sup>a</sup> agerentur, quedam in obsidione, quedam in ciuium redemptione et urbis redditione, Alexis imperator Constantinopolis, cui semper Boemundus suspectus erat, ne eum a regno expelleret, pecuniam ducentorum et sexaginta milium bysantiorum creberrimis legationibus epistolarum obtulit Donimanno magnifico principi Turcorum, quatenus Boemundum principem Sylicie, quem adhuc tenebat in uinculis, sue manciparet ditioni, uolens eum aut eterno exilio aut perpetua damnatione perire, ne ultra regno eius aliqua machinatione nocere posset.<sup>64</sup>

611 34. Huius itaque tam grandis pecunie massam Solimannus, ante hos annos princeps Nicee ciuitatis,<sup>a</sup> intelligens pro redemptione Boemundi imperatorem polli|ceri, cauta et priuata epistolarum legatione compellat comprimorem suum Donimannum ut eum tante pecunie participem faceret, eo quod amici et socii inuicem in bellis et plurimis prediis semper fuissent. Sed uniuersum huius thesauri talentum

32 <sup>a</sup> habito ACHN <sup>b b</sup> aliquod N <sup>c</sup> defensionis A <sup>d</sup> om. ACHN

33 <sup>a</sup> Ptolomaidam AHN

34 <sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>63</sup> Raymond died 28 Feb. 1105 (WT, p. 486). His fortress, now Tripoli castle, was in military use until the 1990s.

32. Also at that same time and year Count Raymond, having assembled an army of Christian people from various places and kingdoms, besieged the town of Tripoli, which is commonly called Tripla, having striven for many days and years to overcome it with engines and weapons. But he laboured in vain for a long time around this town and its ramparts, and was getting nowhere with his warlike stratagems, nor could he force them by starvation to surrender the city, because help often arrived for them from Egypt, Ascalon, Sidon, and Tyre, and because they received more than sufficient supplies by sea. So Count Raymond took counsel with his men and decreed that there was to be a new fortress from which he might always oppose the city, and to which his men might retreat for constant protection from enemy attack. That same fortress was called Mount of Pilgrims, because it would always be there as a defence for pilgrims and Christian soldiers against the forces of the gentiles. Two years after the capture of Acre and the building of this new fortress which is called Mount of Pilgrims, Count Raymond died, in the month of February after the purification of Mary, holy mother of God, and he had a Christian burial in that same new fortress he had built.<sup>63</sup>

33. Meanwhile, while the aforesaid events were going on around Acre, which is also called Ptolomaida, some to do with the siege, some with the ransom of the citizens and the surrender of the town, Emperor Alexios of Constantinople, to whom Bohemond was always an object of suspicion, unless he might drive him out of the kingdom, offered the sum of two hundred and sixty thousand bezants by way of continual legations bearing letters to Danishmend the splendid prince of the Turks, asking him to deliver Bohemond prince of Sicily, whom he was still holding in chains, into his power, as he wished him to die either in eternal exile or in perpetual damnation, so that he could no longer harm the emperor's realm with any of his trickery.<sup>64</sup>

34. Suleyman, prince of the town of Nicaea before these years, found out that the emperor was promising this very great sum of money for Bohemond's ransom, and he reproached his fellow nobleman Danishmend by way of a careful and secret legation bearing letters, saying that he should have a share in such a great sum of money, because they had always been friends and allies one to the other in wars and in very many raids. But Danishmend was eager to keep the whole

<sup>64</sup> Orderic Vitalis agrees with Albert on Alexios's motives for offering to ransom Bohemond. According to him the sum was 100,000 gold coins (OV, v. 354-6).

Donimannus inhians indiuissum<sup>b</sup> retinere, callida occasione sibi<sup>c</sup> assumpta, id fieri prorsus interdixit. Hoc Solimannus graue<sup>d</sup> accipiens, amiciciam et foedus quod cum eo percusserat abrumpens, cepit ei assiduis infestationibus aduersari, atque depopulari que illius erant; quin, assumptis copiis, iam tercio bello lacescitum, plurimisque insidiis uexatum superauit, ac in fugam misit. Sic etenim calumniatus et humiliatus Donimannus ex industria Solimanni, cepit multis lamentationibus ac crebris suspiriis hoc infortunium suum rememorare<sup>e</sup> in audientia uniuersorum amicorum suorum, quatenus eorum adiutorio aliquam uindictam de illatis sibi iniuriis consequeretur.

35. Has itaque querimonias Donimanni principis urbis Nixandrie Boemundus paulatim callida aure auscultans, dum adhuc teneretur in uinculis cepit clanculum a custodibus et procuratoribus suis requirere<sup>a</sup> quidnam esset quod Donimannus, tam magnificus princeps, triste ferret, ac tota domus eius plus solito turbata nunc<sup>b</sup> fuisset. Quidam uero rem ex ordine gestam referebant; quidam dissimulantes subprimebant. Tandem die quadam dum res Donimanno innotuisset, quoniam Boemundus de iniuriis et calumniis eius requisisset, et quoniam nimium super hiis ingemuisset, ad ipsum locum carceris in quo catenis ferreis astrictus seruabatur<sup>c</sup> descendit, quas pertulit insidias et aduersitates a Solimanno illi recensens pro pecunia in eius redemptione<sup>d</sup> ab imperatore<sup>d</sup> sibi oblata, sed Solimanno eius diuisione negata, sciens eundem<sup>e</sup> Boemundum uirum astutum et magni consilii adiuuentorem, ut, eo audito, forte Solimanno dignam uicem iniuriarum rependere addisceret. Cui<sup>f</sup> Boemundus prudentiori quo potuit consilio de uniuersis que ab eo intellexerat sic respondit: 'Ex hiis omnibus que tibi aduersantur satis sanum consilium capere potes, quo Solimanno facile in caput reddes<sup>g</sup> cuncta que tibi tuisque intulit, si non tam leuiter cum imperatore Alexi foedus pepigisses pro hac ingenti pecunia et mei uenditione.' Ad hec Donimannus, nimis estuans curis in ultione sue iniurie, Boemundum constantius rogat ut quod sanius sentiret consilium edoceret. Qui protinus respondit: 'Quoniam si imperatoris uolueris refutare pecuniam et tam grandis talenti dimidiam a me suscipere, me pristinae libertati restituere, a

<sup>b</sup> diuissum *A*      <sup>c</sup> om. *A*      <sup>d</sup> grauiter *N*      <sup>e</sup> rememorari *H*

35    <sup>a</sup> inquirere *A*      <sup>b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> tenebatur *A*      <sup>d d</sup> om. *A*      <sup>e</sup> *E* has eum  
followed by Boemundum inserted over      <sup>f</sup> Qui *A*      <sup>g</sup> reddas *A*

amount of this treasure undivided and, skilfully seizing the opportunity for himself, he turned him down flat. Suleyman took this badly and he broke off the friendship and the treaty he had struck with him, and began to oppose him with constant attacks, and to lay waste those things which were his; indeed, taking his forces, when he was already provoked to a third battle and troubled by very many raids, he overcame him and put him to flight. Truly, after Danishmend was insulted and humiliated by Suleyman's efforts in this way, he began to recount this misfortune of his with many lamentations and frequent sighs in the hearing of all his friends, so that with their assistance he might pursue some vengeance concerning the injuries inflicted on him.

35. Little by little Bohemond listened with a cunning ear to these complaints of Danishmend, prince of the city of Nixandria, and while he was still being held in chains he began secretly to demand of his guards and keepers why it was that Danishmend, so splendid a prince, was behaving sadly, and his entire house was now more troubled than it used to be. Some of them reported in detail what had happened; some covered up and concealed the truth. At length, one day when it came to Danishmend's attention that Bohemond had been asking about his injuries and insults, and that he had sighed over them a great deal, he went down to that very prison place where Bohemond was kept bound in iron chains and he recounted to him what tricks and misfortunes he had suffered from Suleyman on account of the money offered to himself by the emperor for Bohemond's ransom, but which he had refused to share with Suleyman. He told him this, knowing that same Bohemond was a clever man and an inventor of great plots, so that when he heard him Danishmend might perchance learn further how to pay back to Suleyman a suitable return for the wrongs. Bohemond replied to him with the wisest advice he could concerning everything he had learned from him, thus: 'From all these misfortunes which beset you you can take sound enough advice, as to how you could easily return on Suleyman's head all those things he has done to you and yours, if only you had not so lightly made the treaty with Emperor Alexios for this huge sum of money and my sale.' At this, Danishmend, who was seething with so much concern for the vengeance of his injury, asked Bohemond insistently to teach him the plan which he thought sound. He immediately replied: 'Should you be willing to refuse the emperor's money and accept half of so great a sum from me, to

612 manicis hiis absoluere, in omni qua placuerit | conditione in Deo meo iurans, tibi inseparabilis dilectionis et fidelitatis uinculo astringar, quin uniuersi principes Christianorum. Amici uero <sup>h</sup>et cognati mei, <sup>h</sup>tam qui sunt<sup>i</sup> Antiochie quam qui Rohas et qui habitant Ierusalem et uniuersis locis, sub eiusdem fidei uinculo tibi sociabuntur, semper de honore tuo et salute consulentes et agentes.<sup>j</sup> Si autem pecunie que tibi causa mee perditionis offertur magis intenderis quam mee et meorum confratrum fidei, amicie et seruituti, certus sis quoniam pecunia de die in diem minuetur ac diuidetur; odia, <sup>k</sup>inimicicias, insidias, <sup>k</sup>noxia consilia cognatorum et confratrum meorum numquam dum unus in hiis partibus uiuet et preualebit scias tibi et terre tue posse deesse. Si uero ad me et ad seruitutem <sup>l</sup>et amiciam<sup>l</sup> meorum animaduuerteris, pecuniam imperatoris recusaueris, quantum deuoui licet minus a me talenti receperis, certus sis amicie cunctorum confratrum meorum, et militare obsequium eorum in omnibus negotiis tuis proculdubio crede semper tibi in omni fide et subiectione paratum. Foederati uero<sup>m</sup> utrimque et amici sub iureiurando facti, non solum ipsum Solimannum, qui sic aduersum te extollitur et inflatur et te calumniari meditatur, in uirtute tua et nostra facile expugnabimus, terram uero Romanie quam possidet eo expugnato et expulso subiugabimus, sed etiam imperatoris regnum et terras<sup>n</sup> quantocius decreueris nostre ditioni subiciemus.<sup>7</sup>

36. Donimannus, hiis Boemundi uerbis et bonis<sup>a</sup> promissis acceptis, non parum mente in diuersa fluctuans, angustiarum cepit quid primum eligeret, quid recusaret.<sup>b</sup> Vnde et hec responsa illi dedit: 'Placent satis uniuersa que de ore tuo audiui, si dicta factis inuiolabilis fidei compleueris, sed dextram tibi dare non absque meorum consiliis decet, et ideo in breui consilium cum illis faciens, eisque tuam intentionem et suggestionem aperiens, aut cito faciam quod hortaris, aut meorum consiliis adquiescam, utiliora tamen non relinquens.' Dehinc post aliquot dies consilio habito, placuerunt uniuersa que

<sup>h h</sup> mei et cognati ACHN      <sup>i</sup> fuerunt N      <sup>j</sup> gaudentes A      <sup>k k</sup> inimicie,  
insidie E      <sup>l l</sup> amicorum A      <sup>m</sup> om. A      <sup>n</sup> terram A

36      <sup>a</sup> om. H      <sup>b</sup> refutaret ACHN

restore me to my former liberty, to free me from these handcuffs, swearing to any condition you please on my God, then I shall be bound to you by a bond of inseparable love and loyalty, as indeed will all the princes of the Christians. My friends and relations, those who live in Edessa and in Jerusalem and all the places as well as those who are at Antioch, will be united with you by this same bond of loyalty, always having regard and acting for your honour and safety. If, however, you are more interested in the money which is offered you for the sake of my destruction than in the loyalty, friendship, and service of me and my brothers, you may be sure that the money will dwindle day by day and will be divided; you should know that you and your land will never lack hatreds, enemies, ambushes, and evil plots from my relations and fellow Christians as long as one of them lives and prevails in these regions. If you should incline towards me and to the service and friendship of my people, and refuse the emperor's money, and accept the sum I promised—even though it is less—you may be sure of the friendship of all my fellows, and you may always rely beyond doubt on their military allegiance in all your affairs, provided in all loyalty and submission. Once both sides are allied and become friends on oath, we shall easily defeat by your strength and ours not only Suleyman himself, who has thus acted high-handedly against you and become haughty and thinks to insult you; we shall not only overcome the land of Rūm which he occupies, beating him and driving him out; but also we shall subdue to our power the kingdom and lands of the emperor as quickly as you like.'

36. Danishmend listened to these words and fair promises from Bohemond and he was in a state of considerable uncertainty and began to agonize as to what he should choose first, and what he should reject. And so he gave this reply to him: 'Everything I have heard from your lips is pleasing enough, if you should fulfil in deeds the speeches of unbreakable loyalty, but it would not be fitting to give my right hand to you without the advice of my men, and so in a short time I shall have a meeting with them where I shall reveal to them your intention and suggestion, and either I shall quickly do what you suggest, or I shall agree to my men's advice, yet not losing sight of what is more advantageous.' Then some days later when the council was held, everything was acceptable that Danishmend had heard from Bohemond and reported to his men, and on this account it seemed good and advantageous to all that his plan and request should no

Donimannus a Boemundo audita<sup>c</sup> suis retulerat, et idcirco illius consilium et petitionem non ultra debere refutari,<sup>d</sup> sed fieri omnibus bonum et utile uisum est, hac tamen rata et firma conditione, ut quique sua lege et professione utentes amicitiam et foedus integre seruarent. Quod sic actum est, ac dimidium pecunie quod imperator spoponderat Boemundo remissum est. Solummodo centum milia bisantiorum persolui et recipi concessa sunt. Hoc itaque firmato et concesso, Donimannus imperatori legationem direxit ad contradicendum auri talentum quod obtulerat. Boemundus igitur nimium  
 613 gau|sus, eo quod iam per biennium uincula et carceres passus nunc autem quod gratiam in oculis Donimanni Deo miserante inuenisset, et plurimam sue redemptionis clementiam, ad uniuersos<sup>e</sup> cognatos et amicos suos, tam Antiochiam quam Rohas et Syciliam pro congreganda pecunia misit, et ut congregatam designata die afferrent in regionem urbis Malatine, ubi reducendus et restituendus erat, concordia<sup>f</sup> et foedus cum Donimanno firmandum. Mox uniuersi, de redemptione eius audientes, gaudio et exultatione repleti sunt, eiusque mandatum studiose adimplentes, pecuniam undecumque contractam et compositam ad locum prenotatum<sup>g</sup> determinata die deferentes conuenerunt. Vbi Donimannum, Boemundum<sup>h</sup> sicut decretum erat reperientes, in numero et pondere pecuniam ipsi Donimanno suisque reddentes, utrimque pariter amicitia et foedere percusso, adinuicem reconciliati et amici facti sunt. Hac itaque pecunia a priuatis et cubiculariis Donimanni suscepta et reposita, Boemundus datis dextris in uinculo<sup>i</sup> summe dilectionis commendatus, liber ab omni deditioe cum suis Antiochiam remittitur, in qua non modico gaudio ab uniuersis<sup>j</sup> Christianorum conciuibus<sup>j</sup> susceptus, honorificatus et inductus est.<sup>65</sup>

37. Hec Solimannus intelligens, moleste nimium accepit, eo quod pecunie particeps esse nequiuert. Vnde aduersus Donimannum

<sup>c</sup> audierat et ACHN    <sup>d</sup> differri A    <sup>e</sup> uniuersorum N    <sup>f</sup> ACHN add quoque  
 after concordia    <sup>g</sup> prenomiatum H    <sup>h</sup> ACHN add et before Boemundum  
<sup>i</sup> uinculis A    <sup>j</sup> conchristianorum ciuibus ACHN

<sup>65</sup> Albert's account of Bohemond's imprisonment and release clearly owes much to legend. Both Fulcher and William of Tyre deal with the whole matter very briefly; according to William, 'After four years spent in the chains of the enemy, divine grace looked upon him, and on payment of a ransom he was released from his bonds' (FC, pp. 457-60; WT, pp. 483-4). Radulf of Caen says the ransom—100,000 gold coins—was raised by Baldwin of Bourcq ('qui Tancredi praecipuus erat inimicus'), Patriarch Bernard, and the people of Antioch (RC, p. 709). Matthew of Edessa reports that the Armenian ruler Kogh Vasil raised the ransom money while Tancred gave nothing (ME, pp. 191-2). Orderic Vitalis tells a very

longer be rejected, but should happen, but on this fixed and firm condition, that each party employing its own law and expression should keep the friendship and oath honestly. It was done accordingly, and half the money which the emperor had pledged was remitted to Bohemond. Only a hundred thousand bezants were undertaken to be paid and received. And so, when this was fixed and agreed, Danishmend sent a legation to the emperor to refuse the sum of gold which he had offered. Bohemond was therefore overjoyed, because he had already suffered chains and imprisonment for two years; moreover now, because he had found favour, by God's pity, in the eyes of Danishmend, and because of the very great mercy of his own ransom, he sent to all his relations and friends, not only in Antioch but also in Edessa and Sicily, to gather the money, and he instructed that when it was collected they should bring it on an appointed day into the district of the city of Melitene, where he was to be brought out again and restored, and the agreement and treaty with Danishmend was to be agreed. Soon everyone, hearing about his ransoming, was filled with joy and exultation, and they fulfilled his command to the letter, assembling on the designated day, bringing to the place appointed in advance the money collected from all over the place and put together. There they found Danishmend and Bohemond just as had been decreed, and they handed over the money in due quantity and weight to Danishmend himself and his men; on both sides equally friendship and the treaty were confirmed, and they were reconciled to one another and became friends. And so, once this money had been received and put away by Danishmend's personal servants and chamberlains, Bohemond was commended by the pledging of right hands in a bond of very great love, and sent, free from any subjection, with his men to Antioch, where he was received with no small measure of joy by all his Christian fellow citizens, and honoured and brought inside.<sup>65</sup>

37. When Suleyman heard this he was extremely annoyed, because he could not share in the money. And so he wrote and spoke against

romantic tale wherein Bohemond achieved his freedom by seducing his gaoler's daughter (OV, v. 358-78). Apparently, Bohemond gave credit for his release to the intervention of St Leonard: when in Aquitaine he visited St Leonard's shrine and offered up his chains (WM, i. 692). It is probable that he also told there a fictionalized account of his captivity and liberation—featuring the intercession of his gaoler's Christian wife at the instigation of the saint—which was recorded among the saint's *Miracula*: see *AA SS Novembris* iii. 160-8, for 6 Nov., and A. Poncelet, 'Boémond et S. Leonard', *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxi (1912), 24-44.

scribens et loquens, Soltanum<sup>66</sup> regem Corruzana et Baldach, que est ciuitas et caput regni Turcorum, cum uniuersis principibus gentilium commouit, ut ei aduersarentur et ultra auxilio et gratia regis priuaretur, quod Boemundum hominem belligerum et tam astutum in omnibus negotiis rei militaris, ignorante rege, absoluisset, et qui semper Turcis, regno quoque Turcorum et Grecorum, malum et insidias moliretur. Nec diu dum he sinistre legationes ex accusatione Solimanni ad regem Turcorum facte essent, ex hiis uero regis ira et indignatio cunctorumque procerum Turcorum in aures Donimanni insonuissent et uariis minis eum suosque perterruissent, plurimumque<sup>a</sup> sollicitassent, quadam die Solimannus ad eum in hoc modo epistolam scripsit:<sup>b</sup> 'Donimanne, frater et filius<sup>c</sup> de gente Turcorum, nunc usque uir illustris et acceptus regi et omni regno Turcorum fuisti in bellis et uictoriis quas gessisti. Sed ecce nomen tuum uehementer imminutum est, et nunc apud regem Corruzana et uniuersam gentem tuam plurimum uiluisti, exosus omnibus factus, eo quod Boemundum tam leuiter redimi permisisti, et consilium nostrum in hac conuentione et redemptione uile et pro nihilo tenuisti.<sup>d</sup> Verum si id flagitium commutare uolueris, regisque iram et maiorum Corruzana placare, eundem Boemundum, quem pre omnibus Christianis magis suspectum habemus, in locum quem signauero quasi ad auxilium inuitabis, et tunc, positis insidiis nostris, subito | circumuentus rapietur.<sup>e</sup> Alioquin scias te numquam regis gratiam posse recuperare et effugere manus et indignationem Turcorum.' Cui<sup>f</sup> Donimannus nequaquam adqueiuit, ne fides sua et omnium Turcorum apud Christianos<sup>g</sup> et ceteros gentiles<sup>h</sup> uilescere uideretur.

38. Post hec, eodem anno quo Ptolomaida uel Acra capta,<sup>67</sup> in mense Maio Boemundus Antiochiam ab exilio et uinculis reuersus est; Geigremich,<sup>a</sup> <sup>68</sup> magnificus princeps Turcorum, cognatus Corbahan, frater uero<sup>b</sup> Socomanni,<sup>c</sup> qui, regno Ierusalem quod iniuste inuasit nunc per uirtutem regis Babylonie amisso, in primo aduentu Christiani exercitus Damascum aufugit, ut illic<sup>d</sup> a Turcis protegeretur, unus

37 <sup>a</sup> et plurimum *H* <sup>b</sup> scribit *A* <sup>c</sup> fili *CN* <sup>d</sup> habuisti *H* <sup>e</sup> raperetur *A*  
<sup>f</sup> Qui *N* <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> *om. A*

38 <sup>a</sup> Giemegrich *A. E* has Gegremic and Gegermich later <sup>b</sup> *om. H*  
<sup>c</sup> Sochomanni *all mss, but Socomann-* later <sup>d</sup> ille *N*

<sup>66</sup> Probably Barkyārūq, the Saljūq sultan 1094–1105.

<sup>67</sup> Bohemond was released in 1103.

Danishmend and stirred up Soltan,<sup>66</sup> king of Khurasan and Baghdad, which is a town and capital of the Turkish realm, with all the princes of the gentiles, to oppose him and deprive him henceforth of assistance and royal favour, because without the king's knowledge he had set free Bohemond, a warlike man and so cunning in all the business of military matters, and always apt to cause evil and trickery for the Turks, and also in the Turkish and Greek realms. It was not long before these sinister legations carrying Suleyman's accusation to the king of the Turks had been carried out, and from these the anger and indignation of the king and all the Turkish nobility had come to Danishmend's ears and had terrified him and his men with different threats, and worried them very greatly, and one day Suleyman wrote a letter to him in this way: 'Danishmend, brother and son of the Turkish race, up to now you have been an eminent man and agreeable to the king and all the Turkish realm by reason of the wars you have waged and the victories you have won. But your reputation is severely diminished, and now you are very greatly reviled before the king of Khurasan and among your entire race, made detestable to all, because you have so casually allowed Bohemond to be ransomed, and you have considered our advice on this agreement and ransoming worthless and of no value. But if you should wish to lessen your disgrace, and pacify the anger of the king and nobility of Khurasan, you will invite that same Bohemond, whom we mistrust more than all the Christians, to a place which I shall designate, as if to your assistance, and then, since we shall have positioned our ambush, he will suddenly be surrounded and seized. Otherwise, know that you will never be able to regain the king's favour and escape the armies and wrath of the Turks.' But Danishmend did not agree at all, lest his loyalty and that of all the Turks should seem to become worthless among the Christians and the other gentiles.

38. After this, in the same year that Ptolomaida, or Acre, was taken,<sup>67</sup> in May, Bohemond returned to Antioch from his exile and imprisonment; Chokurmish<sup>68</sup>—splendid prince of the Turks, Karbugha's kinsman, brother of Sokman, who, once the kingdom of Jerusalem which he had wickedly invaded was lost through the strength of the king of Egypt, at the first approach of the Christian army had fled to Damascus for protection there by the Turks, one of the powerful of

<sup>66</sup> Shams al-Dawla Chökürmish, Turkish governor at Mosul to 1108. (Not to be confused with Yāghisiyān's son Shams al-Dawla, Albert's 'Sansadonias'.)

de prepotentibus regni Corruzana, collecto exercitu sexaginta<sup>c</sup> milium<sup>f</sup> Turcorum, profectus est in superbia et uirtute magna ad obsidendos muros et menia ciuitatis Rohas, que et Edissa nuncupatur.

39. Huius<sup>a</sup> ergo infinite multitudinis aduentu et subito rumore Baldwinus de Burg attonitus, princeps eiusdem ciuitatis a rege Baldwino<sup>b</sup> constitutus, uniuersos qui secum erant in conuentione solidorum ad defendenda menia conuocat ac disponit, quin ab urbe egrediens Boemundum, Tancradum ad opem et uires augendas missa legatione inuitauit, rogans eos ac<sup>c</sup> deprecans in <sup>d</sup>Christi nomine<sup>d</sup> ne Turcorum superbiam Christianis confratribus dominari paterentur. Huius uero legatione accepta, et protinus collectione facta de omnibus locis et castellis Antiochie circiter tria milia equitum, septem uero peditum applicuerunt ad locum presignatum, in campos uidelicet ciuitatis Aran uel Caran,<sup>69</sup> ubi Baldwinus aduentum eorum<sup>e</sup> cum omni <sup>f</sup>manu quam<sup>f</sup> contraxerat uix prestolabatur. Illic a quodam Arabita innotuit comiti Baldwino, Boemundo, Tancrado, quoniam tota illa adunatio Turcorum festinanter appropinquaret ad obsiden-  
 615 dos muros et<sup>g</sup> expugnandas munitiones ciuitatis Rohas.<sup>70</sup> | Audientes itaque hec nuncia tot superuenientium aduersariorum, mouerunt castra et omnem apparatus suum ad flumen Chobar,<sup>71</sup> quod a partibus regni Babylonie usque ad has partes alueo dirigitur, ubi tentoriis locatis in crepidine aluei pernoctasse perhibentur.<sup>h</sup> Dehinc primo diluculo castra amouentes, in planicie ciuitatis Racha<sup>72</sup> constiterunt, ubi de omnibus culpis et commissis apud patriarcham Antiochie et Benedictum episcopum ciuitatis Rohas<sup>73</sup> confessionem facientes, discordiam omnem in karitatem reuocantes, acies uiginti componentes, a dextris et a sinistris constituerunt<sup>i</sup> ad resistendum inimicis et sociis Christianis subueniendum, et quo sic leuius belli onus sustinerent. Vix acies ordinate erant et ecce Socomannus in dextrum latus cum triginta milibus fortium pugnatorum ac

<sup>c</sup> quadraginta A      <sup>f</sup> milia H

39 <sup>a</sup> Cuius N      <sup>b</sup> om. N      <sup>c</sup> et A      <sup>d d</sup> nomine Domini ACHN      <sup>e</sup> illorum A  
<sup>f f</sup> populo quem ACH; quem N (populo om.)      <sup>g</sup> ciuitatis ad N      <sup>h</sup> referuntur A  
<sup>i</sup> constiterunt A

<sup>69</sup> See AA iv. 8, where it is called Karan and identified as Harran (Şanlıurfa, Turkey).

<sup>70</sup> Radulf of Caen says that the 'Assyrians' were besieging Edessa; William of Tyre does not mention the Moslem attack at all (RC, pp. 710-2; WT, pp. 487-91). Beaumont claimed that Albert was mistaken about the Turkish attack on Edessa, but the English translation of Ibn al-Qalanisi's *Damascus Chronicle* appeared subsequently and it confirms that the Turks

the kingdom of Khurasan—assembled an army of sixty thousand Turks and set out in arrogance and great force to besiege the walls and ramparts of the town of Rohas, which is also called Edessa.

39. Baldwin of Bourcq, who had been appointed prince of this same town by King Baldwin, was amazed by the approach and sudden report of this countless horde; he called up all those who were with him in return for an agreed sum of money, and posted them to defend the ramparts, even as he left the city and urged Bohemond and Tancred, by sending a legation, to come to his aid and bring reinforcements, asking them and praying in Christ's name that they would not allow Turkish arrogance to lord it over their Christian brothers. His legation was heard, and directly about three thousand cavalry and seven thousand infantry, assembled from all the places and castles of Antioch, marched to the appointed place, that is to say, onto the plains of the city of Aran, or Caran,<sup>69</sup> where Baldwin was only just awaiting their arrival with all the army he had collected. In that place Count Baldwin, Bohemond, and Tancred were informed by a certain Arab that all that assembly of Turks was approaching at speed to besiege the walls and storm the defences of the town of Edessa.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, when they heard this news of so many adversaries coming upon them, they moved camp and all their equipment to the river Chobar,<sup>71</sup> which is channelled from the territory of the kingdom of Egypt all the way to this territory, and there they are said to have pitched their tents and spent the night on the bank of the channel. Then at first light they struck camp and took up position on the plain before the town of Raqqa,<sup>72</sup> where they made confession of all their sins and wrongdoings in the presence of the patriarch of Antioch and Bishop Benedict of the town of Edessa,<sup>73</sup> reconciled all discord into love, formed twenty units and took up position to left and right to withstand the enemy and to assist their Christian comrades, and thereby to lighten for them the burden of war. Scarcely were the units drawn up when Sokman approached on the

did attack Edessa before the arrival of the Franks from Antioch (IQ, p. 60; Beaumont, 'Albert of Aachen', p. 127; Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 141 and n. 4).

<sup>69</sup> The Balikh river, Syria.

<sup>72</sup> Al-Raqqa (provincial capital), near the confluence of the rivers Balikh and Euphrates, east of Aleppo, Syria.

<sup>73</sup> Little is known about Benedict, other than his being ordained to the bishopric, along with three other bishops (Tarsus, Misis, and Artah), in 1100 (RC, p. 704; *Historia belli sacri*, RHC Occ iii. 227). Fulcher and Radulf also tell of his capture: FC, pp. 471, 473–6; RC, pp. 710–1.

sagittariorum bellum committere<sup>i</sup> audaci impetu et tubarum horrissono strepitu appropinquabat.<sup>k</sup> Boemundus,<sup>l</sup> Tancradus et omnis militia Antiochie non segnius illi in faciem armis,<sup>m</sup> lorica et galea, ac scutorum testudine ad obsistendum in tubis et cornibus fortiter exclamantes properabant. A sinistris uero Baldwinus de Burg, Gozelinus de Cortona,<sup>74</sup> qui<sup>n</sup> et Turbaisel quod dicitur Bersabee<sup>o</sup> dono ipsius Baldwini in beneficio obtinebat, loricati occurrerunt in lanceis et gladiis et equis rapidissimis,<sup>p</sup> hinc et hinc fortiter simul tubis<sup>q</sup> et cornibus<sup>q</sup> intonantes, et prelia committentes. Boemundus quidem et Tancradus, qui in dextro latere cum hostibus luctabantur, Deo miserante ceperunt preualere, hostes inuadere et sternere, dum uirtus eorum imminuta est, et ipsi fugam inierunt. Ceciderunt Turcorum quingenti milites in eodem prelio, quod in dextro Boemundus agebat; Christiani ferme ducenti interempti sunt. Baldwinus uero de Burg, Gozelinus de Cortona et ceteri egregii milites, plus miliario a Boemundo cum sua acie remoti, audientes Boemundum, Tancradum<sup>r</sup> iam bellum committere et preualere, uelocitate equorum densatas et obsistentes acies rapido in<sup>s</sup> impetu irrumpere et atterere conati sunt, inter aciem Boemundi et Tancradi sociari et misceri ad auxilium feruentes. Sed subito decem milia Turcorum ab insidiis surgentes arcu et sagittis ferociter eis in faciem occurrerunt, grauiter eos assilientes, et sagittis figentes, dum tota manus in fugam uersa est. Ex hiis alii<sup>r</sup> captiuati et<sup>u</sup> occisi sunt, et plures externo exilio abducti.<sup>75</sup>

40. In hoc tam crudeli diffugio clerici decem et octo, monachi uero tres, qui ad corroborandos milites Christi spiritualibus monitis<sup>a</sup> conuenerant, decollati sunt. Benedictus uero episcopus captus et  
616 abductus est; quin ipse Baldwinus princeps | Rohas nimium audius cedis et incaute acceleratus,<sup>b</sup> nec uictrices aquilas<sup>76</sup> Boemundi oportune prestolatus, uictus, captus et abductus est. Ad hec Tancradus, a presenti cede Turcorum gloriose descendens, sed sinistro

<sup>i</sup> committere A      <sup>k</sup> appropinquabant A      <sup>l</sup> ACHN add uero after Boemundus  
<sup>m</sup> om. N      <sup>n</sup> que AH      <sup>o</sup> Barsabee N      <sup>p</sup> uelocissimis A      <sup>q</sup> om. A  
<sup>r</sup> ACHN add et before Tancradum      <sup>s</sup> om. H      <sup>t</sup> alii C      <sup>u</sup> alii N

40      <sup>a</sup> armis ACHN      <sup>b</sup> accelerans H

<sup>74</sup> Joscelin of Courtenay (Loiret, dép. Centre, France) travelled to the East after the First Crusade, according to Orderic Vitalis in 1101. Once there he joined his relative Baldwin of Bourcq in Edessa and was awarded the important lordship of Turbessel. In 1118 he succeeded Baldwin as count of Edessa. See OV, v. 324; FC, p. 471; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 214. The only full-scale study remains R. L. Nicholson, *Joscelyn I: Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, Ill., 1954).

right flank with thirty thousand powerful warriors and archers to join battle with a bold charge and a dreadful blast of trumpets. Bohemond, Tancred, and all the army of Antioch were not sluggish in meeting them head-on with weapons, hauberk, and helmet and a shield roof to resist them, blaring loudly with trumpets and bugles. From the left, wearing armour, Baldwin of Bourcq and Joscelin of Courtenay,<sup>74</sup> who also held as a fief Turbessel, which is called Bersabee, by gift of Baldwin himself, charged with lances and swords and galloping horses, at the same time sounding trumpets and bugles loudly on every side, and joining battle. Bohemond, indeed, and Tancred, who were struggling with the enemy on the right flank, by God's mercy began to prevail, to penetrate the enemy and scatter them, until their strength was diminished and they themselves took flight. Five hundred Turkish soldiers fell in that same battle, which Bohemond fought on the right; almost two hundred Christians were killed. Baldwin of Bourcq, Joscelin of Courtenay, and the other outstanding soldiers, more than a mile distant from Bohemond and his line, hearing that Bohemond and Tancred had already joined battle and won, tried to break and destroy by a swift charge of their galloping horses the massed and opposing battle lines, keen to be joined and mixed in with Bohemond and Tancred's line for reinforcement. But suddenly ten thousand Turks rose from ambush and attacked them fiercely head-on with bows and arrows, assaulting them severely and shooting them with arrows, until the whole army was put to flight. Some of them were caught and killed, and many were taken off into exile in a foreign land.<sup>75</sup>

40. In this very cruel flight eighteen clergy and three monks, who had come here to strengthen Christ's soldiers with spiritual advice, were beheaded. Indeed Bishop Benedict was captured and taken off; even Baldwin himself, prince of Edessa, because he was too greedy for slaughter and hurried heedlessly, and did not wait as he should have done for Bohemond's victory standards,<sup>76</sup> was overcome, captured, and taken off. At this Tancred, coming down triumphantly from his present slaughter of Turks, but dismayed by the unfortunate news, at

<sup>75</sup> Fulcher of Chartres's account of the campaign is much shorter than Albert's. He adds the detail that in the flight to Edessa the army lost its baggage and many drowned trying to cross the river Balikh (FC, pp. 468–77). Radulf of Caen offers little more than a panegyric of Tancred (RC, pp. 710–2).

<sup>76</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia* i. 339; v. 238; see also *HL* v. 599.

nuncio consternatus, sine mora cum suis aduolans,<sup>c</sup> Turcos in Baldwini suorumque strage factos uictores insequitur ut captiuos excuteret, sed maturata uia elapsi sunt. Solus uero<sup>d</sup> episcopus cum tribus tantum militibus liberatus et reductus est. Nocte denique instante et die iam recedente, Boemundus, Tancradus<sup>e</sup> in castra sua sunt relati, cum uniuerso comitatu suo, ad refocillandos artus, nimio bellorum pondere hac<sup>f</sup> die fatigatos.

41. Dehinc primo gallicantu<sup>a</sup> absentia Baldwini comperta, momentaneo metu correpti ad ciuitatem Rohas omnes celeri fuga contenderunt, quatenus ad defendendos muros et menia preuenirent, ne Turcis in uictoria sua precurrentibus ciuitas traderetur. Ciues autem Rohas, qui et ipsi Christiani, casum et interitum suorum audientes, et tam magnifici principis sui abductionem, in lamenta et plorationem sunt uersi, sed ad protegendam urbem uniuersos milites Christianos plurimum consolati sunt. Erat namque dies illa dominica populo Christianorum celeberrima. Altera autem die exorta, Armenici ciues eiusdem urbis, inito consilio cum uniuersis qui conuenerant ad lamentandum tam illustrem principem, Tancradum loco eius restituerunt, dum uiderent si Baldwinus redimi aut liberari posset. Boemundus dehinc, sic Tancrado ad obtinendam urbem et eius principatum loco Baldwini constituto, Antiochiam cum suis prospero itinere reuersus est.<sup>77</sup>

42. Post hec octo diebus euolutis, et Tancrado presidium Rohas et eius menia uigili custodia procurante, Geigremich et Socomannus, successu uictorie sue et captione Baldwini gloriantes, et adhuc altiora sperantes conari, Tancradum uero et eius dominium nunc ab urbe Rohas et omnem Gallorum potentiam facile posse exterminari, nimium aduersus eundem Tancradum indignati, multo plures prioribus contraxerunt copias ab uniuersis locis et regno Turcorum, cum  
617 quibus | in manu forti in campum Rohas ad obsidendas portas et eius menia descenderunt, spaciose tentoria sua locantes. Tot itaque milibus, tot uisis tentoriis, tot diuersis hostium armaturis, Tancradus non modica angustia cepit estuari,<sup>a</sup> eo quod tenuis<sup>b</sup> sibi uirtus esset militum Gallorum ad occurrendum et resistendum tot Turcorum

<sup>c</sup> aduolat *A*<sup>d</sup> om. *ACHN*<sup>e</sup> *ACHN* add et before Tancradus<sup>f</sup> ac *H*41 <sup>a</sup> gallorum cantu *A*42 <sup>a</sup> estuare *AH*<sup>b</sup> temus *C*; tanta non *N*

once sped up with his men and followed the Turks who had been victorious in the destruction of Baldwin and his men in order to seize the prisoners from them, but they had escaped and were well on their way. Only the bishop, with just three soldiers, was freed and brought back. Then, as night was at hand and day already fading, Bohemond and Tancred returned to their camp, with all their company, to refresh their limbs, which were weary from the excessive weight of warfare on that day.

41. Then at first cockcrow it was confirmed that Baldwin was missing. They were seized by instant dread and all made for the town of Edessa in swift flight, so they could get there first to defend the walls and ramparts, lest the town be handed over to the Turks who were galloping ahead in their triumph. Moreover, the citizens of Edessa, who were Christians themselves, hearing about the fate and destruction of their people, and the carrying off of their splendid prince, broke into weeping and wailing, but they greatly encouraged all the Christian soldiers to protect the city. For that day was the Lord's day, most honoured by Christian people. Moreover, when the second day dawned the Armenian citizens of that same town, after taking advice of all those who had come together to mourn so famous a prince, put Tancred in his place until they saw whether Baldwin could be ransomed or delivered. Then Bohemond, once Tancred had thus been appointed to hold the city and its principate in Baldwin's place, had a good journey back to Antioch with his men.<sup>77</sup>

42. Eight days passed after this, and while Tancred was looking after the fortress of Edessa and its ramparts with a watchful guard, Chokurmish and Sokman, boasting of the success of their victory and the capture of Baldwin, and hoping to try for yet greater things, and that Tancred and his rule and all the power of the Gauls could easily be driven out of the city of Edessa, being greatly annoyed with that same Tancred, drew together many more forces than before from all the places and the realm of the Turks, with which they came down in a strong army onto the plain of Edessa to besiege the gates and its ramparts, pitching their tents over a wide area. And so, seeing so many thousands, so many tents, so great a diversity of enemy equipment, Tancred began to suffer considerable torment, because the strength of his Gaulish soldiers was slight to meet and withstand

<sup>77</sup> Radulf of Caen tells how Tancred secured the liberation of Archbishop Benedict (RC, p. 710-11).

adunatis et innumeris legionibus. Quapropter, accepto consilio, urbem fideli custodia muniuit ac, ciues confortans, sine diutina mora se cum hiis aduersariorum turmis configere et uiriliter agere promisit. Qui eius uerba consolatoria intelligentes, et eum uirum esse grandis fiducie et audacie, per muros et menia diffusi uniuersi urbis ciues et milites, hostes oppugnantes <sup>c</sup>expugnabant ac<sup>c</sup> procul repellabant. Seras<sup>d</sup> et portas omni sollertia munire non differebant.

43. Sed dum hinc et hinc diu prelia consererent, et minime Turci ab obsidione<sup>a</sup> recederent, Tancredus uir astutus in omni opere<sup>b</sup> militari, clanculum legationem Antiochiam direxit in hunc modum: 'Domno et auunculo suo Boemundo, magnifico principi Antiochie a Deo constituto, Tancredus prospere agere et ualere. Ex quo a nobis recessisti, et me tutorem ac defensorem ciuitatis Rohas<sup>c</sup> loco fidelis nostri Baldwini prefecisti, Geigremich et Socomannus, readunatis uiribus et copiis suis, repentina obsidione ciuitatem Rohas et eius muros occupauerunt ut, expugnatis turribus et menibus, ciues trucidantes urbem exspolient, me sicut Baldwinum captum tenentes in barbaras nationes abducant. Quapropter confidenter<sup>d</sup> karitatem tuam, quam semper erga fideles Christi habuisti, adeuntes,<sup>e</sup> tribulationes et pericula nostra tibi nota facere decreuimus quatenus mala et angustias nostras intelligens citius accitis<sup>f</sup> sociis et amicis, ab Antiochia et ceteris<sup>g</sup> locis festinato ad subueniendum nobis obsessis et oppressis uiam insistas, Turcorum minas et iactantiam minuas et in Christi nomine a presenti obsidione repellas. Considerare enim te oportet quoniam hac in terra peregrinationis pauci sumus, et ideo nullius consilii causa est ut facile ullo tedio bellorum aut laborum aduersus hostes deficiamus, qui omni cura et studio inuigilant ut nos expugnent et deleant; sed oportune et inopportune alter alterius onera semper<sup>h</sup> portantes,<sup>78</sup> unum sustineamus, in uno proficiamus aduersa et prospera tolerando. Si autem pigritari<sup>i</sup> nos ceperit, aut aliquid indignationis tardauerit, uel negligentes ad confratrum auxilium effecerit, nihil utilius super hoc perspicio quam ut a terra exeamus, hostibus sine intermissione insurgentibus cedamus, nam liquido  
618 patet, cum pauci | simus si diuisi et tedio affecti defecerimus,

<sup>c</sup> et expugnantes A      <sup>d</sup> ACHN add quoque after seras

43    <sup>a</sup> urbe A      <sup>b</sup> om. N      <sup>c</sup> E adds uel Edisse over Rohas      <sup>d</sup> om. A  
<sup>e</sup> adunantes AC; considerantes H; N has adunantes crossed out and adeuntes over  
<sup>f</sup> asscitis AC; ascitis HN      <sup>g</sup> uniuersis A      <sup>h</sup> om. A      <sup>i</sup> pigriteri E

<sup>78</sup> Gal. 6: 2.

so many united and countless legions of Turks. On this account, after taking advice he protected the city with a loyal guard and, comforting the citizens, he promised that before long he and his men would fight these hordes of enemies and perform bravely. They listened to his comforting words, and as they knew he was a man of great courage and boldness, all the citizens of the town and the soldiers spread out along the walls and ramparts to do battle with the enemy, to conquer and drive them far away. They lost no time in protecting the bolts and the gates with utmost ingenuity.

43. But while they were joining battle all over the place, and the Turks were not withdrawing from the siege, Tancred, a cunning man in any military operation, sent a secret legation to Antioch in this way: 'To his lord and uncle Bohemond, splendid prince of Antioch appointed by God, Tancred sends greetings and good wishes. Since you left us and appointed me protector and defender of the state of Edessa in the place of our loyal Baldwin, Chokurmish and Sokman have brought together again their forces and troops and have blockaded with a sudden siege the town of Edessa and its walls so that, when its towers and ramparts have been destroyed, they may slaughter the citizens and plunder the city, holding me captive just like Baldwin and taking me off into barbarous lands. On this account we are approaching you, relying on the love which you have always had towards Christ's faithful, and we have decided to make known to you our troubles and dangers so that, being aware of our ills and torments, you will more quickly summon comrades and friends and hastily make the journey from Antioch and other places to assist us, besieged and beset; you will put an end to Turkish threats and boasting and drive them away from the present siege in Christ's name. For you should reflect that in this land of pilgrimage we are few, and so all the more reason why we should not easily fail through any war-weariness or exertion against enemies who are very carefully and keenly watchful in order to attack and destroy us; but, whether it is convenient or not, always carrying burdens for one another,<sup>78</sup> we shall endure as one, we shall make progress as one, putting up with bad times and good times. If, however, sloth overtakes us, or some trace of wrath impedes us, or makes us neglectful in assisting our brothers, I can see nothing better for us to do than leave this land, yield it to the enemies who are always causing unrest, for it is clearly evident that, since we are few, if we are divided and war-weary we

uiuere et stare ante uirtutem<sup>j</sup> tot inimicorum nequimus.<sup>k</sup> Hiis auditis Boemundus, trecentis raptim collectis equitibus, quingentis uero peditibus, profectus est ad liberationem dilecti nepotis sui Tancradi<sup>l</sup> et catholicorum inhabitatorum ciuitatis Rohas. Sed difficultate<sup>m</sup> montium et<sup>n</sup> itinere dierum septem plurimum tardasse hiis uidebatur, qui cotidianis Turcorum assultibus et oppugnationibus laborabant."

44. Vnde Tancradus et ceteri confratres<sup>a</sup> ciuesque, dum de die in diem multis suspiriis eum expectarent sed nec eo tempore optato ueniente, prorsus desperarent, deuouerunt unanimiter potius mori quam Corruzana exilio deportari, et<sup>b</sup> diuersis penis impie ab impiis cruciari. Et ecce conuocati in unum ciues et milites constituerunt prelium, et ab urbe primo diluculo in armis et turmis procedere, ad castra Turcorum<sup>c</sup> cum silentio properare, dum appropiantes fortiter in tubis et cornibus tumultuarent, hostes adhuc sopore depressos et secure somniantes subito improuisos inuaderent, ac sic minime ad arma contendere ualentes celerrima strage detruncarent. Quod iuxta hoc constitutum adimplentes, mox, prima luce orta, egressi ab urbe in omni armatura et uirtute qua poterant, repentino fragore et clamore uehementi aggressi sunt castra aduersariorum. Quos adhuc hesterno uino sepultos<sup>79</sup> et incautos usquequaque in ore gladii percusserunt, dum corporibus extinctis et sanguineis<sup>d</sup> riuis<sup>e</sup> presentes campi inundarent. Vt autem plerumque diei processit, manus ac uirtus Tancradi amplius cepit preualere,<sup>f</sup> inmanior metus hostes inuadere dum pre nimia strage exterriti usque ad tentoria principum exercitus in fugam cogerentur. Geigremich tandem et Socomannus, uidentes omnia castra suorum attrita et in fugam conuersa, uix in equis cum hiis omnibus qui iuxta se castra locauerant residentes, relictis cunctis tentoriis suis cum ceteris rebus, spoliis et stipendiis, fugam accelerauerunt, semper eos Tancrado multa occisione insequente. Hiis itaque dispersis ac<sup>g</sup> profugis factis, Tancrado uero semper eos a tergo cedente, Dei clementia et nutu Boemundus ipsa eadem die fugientibus cum omni comitatu suo obuiam factus est, sciens quidem quoniam adhuc in nocte potenter campos urbis occupauerant, sed

<sup>j</sup> uirtutes *N*      <sup>k</sup> nequeamus *ACHN*      <sup>l</sup> *om.* *ACHN*      <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> locorum et montium uel *H*      <sup>a</sup> desiderabant *N* (*changed from* liberabant)

44      <sup>a</sup> fratres *A*      <sup>b</sup> *om.* *N*      <sup>c</sup> *om.* *H*      <sup>d</sup> sanguinis *ACHN*      <sup>e</sup> extinctus *N*  
<sup>f</sup> inualescere *A*      <sup>g</sup> et *H*

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* ii. 265.

shall fail; we cannot live and withstand the strength of so many enemies.' When he heard this, Bohemond hurriedly collected three hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry, and set out to relieve his beloved nephew Tancred and the Christian inhabitants of the town of Edessa. But they seem to have been greatly delayed by the difficult mountain terrain and the seven-day journey, and they suffered from the Turks' daily attacks and assaults.

44. As a result of this Tancred and the other brothers and the citizens—who meanwhile waited for him day after day with many sighs, but when he did not come at that time as they desired they utterly despaired—unanimously vowed they would rather die than be carried off into exile in Khurasan, and be wickedly tortured with different torments by those wicked people. And when they were assembled, citizens and soldiers decided on battle: they would swarm out of the city at first light bearing weapons, make their way quickly and in silence to the Turkish camp, then when they got close they would make a great din with trumpets and bugles and suddenly attack the enemy while they were still fast asleep and slumbering soundly, catching them unawares, and so, as they were unable to rush for their weapons, they would cut them down with a swift slaughter. They acted according to this plan, and soon, at first light, they left the city with all the equipment and strength they could, and attacked the enemy camp fiercely with a sudden noise and din. The enemy were still stupefied by yesterday's wine<sup>79</sup> and unprepared, and the Christians put them to the sword everywhere, until the plains around were covered with dead bodies and streams of blood. Moreover, as the day drew on, Tancred's army and strength began to prevail more, and more intense fear to strike the enemy until, terrified by the excessive slaughter, their armies were forced to flee to the tents of the princes. At length Chokurmish and Sokman, seeing that all their camps were destroyed and put to flight, just managed to mount their horses, with all of those who had pitched camp next to them, and, leaving all their tents and the rest of their goods, spoils and revenues, they hastened their flight, with Tancred always pursuing and slaying them. And so, when these were scattered and put to flight, with Tancred always attacking them from the rear, by God's mercy and agreement Bohemond with all his company met the fleeing troops on that very same day, knowing indeed that they had still occupied the city plains in strength and at night, but totally ignorant

quoniam Tancradus cum eis tam matutino prelio<sup>b</sup> conflisset penitus ignorabat. Nunc autem, uelut homo cautus et gnarus bellice artis, ut Turcorum superbiam et uirtutem intellexit defluxisse, et nihil preter  
 619 fugam meditari, Christianorum uictrices aquilas cum magna uoci|feratione insequi plurimum gauisus est, et pariter, admixtis uiribus et copiis suis, eosdem fugientes insecutus per totum diem in cede et captione illorum indeficienter laborasse perhibetur.

45. In hoc itaque diffugio et graui contritione Turcorum Geigremich et Socomannus uix cum paucis euaserunt, sed matrona quedam nobilissima de regno Corruzana, que non modico apparatu opem et uires contulerat, ibidem a Tancrado et sociis eius<sup>a</sup> capta et retenta est. Dein uictoria hac<sup>b</sup> Dei et Domini<sup>c</sup> Iesu Christi clementia sic habita, Boemundus, Tancradus<sup>d</sup> et uniuersi Christiani milites spolia multa Turcorum pacifice sumpserunt, cum quibus ciuitatem Rohas in leticia 'et gloria' magna ingressi sunt.

46. Transactis aliquot post hec diebus, legatio Geigremich et prepotentum regni Corruzana Boemundum, Tancradum in ciuitate Rohas de redemptione capte matrone interpellauit, quatenus Baldwinum de Burg quem tenebant in carcere pro eius restitutione<sup>a</sup> remitterent, aut quindecim milia bisantiorum in eius redditione ab eis mitterentur. Hac legatione Geigremich et tam nobilissime matrone captione<sup>b</sup> usque in Ierusalem diuulgata, regis Baldwini supplex legatio cum multa prece affuit, ad exorandum Boemundum et Tancradum ut Baldwinus confrater et princeps Rohas per captam matronam restitutam restitueretur, et nullam ante hoc pecuniam bonum esse nec debere concupiscere. 'Boemundus, Tancradus<sup>c</sup> benigne regis petitioni super hiis <sup>d</sup>in hoc modo<sup>d</sup> responderunt: 'Domno suo Baldwino regi Christianissimo Ierusalem, Boemundus, Tancradus<sup>e</sup> obsequium sine intermissione. Libenter per omnia tuis parere mandatis de<sup>f</sup> redemptione Baldwini amici et consocii nostri decreuimus, et hec sollicitudo nostra semper fuit et est. Sed hoc tempore de hac re dissimulare et silentio subprimere necesse est, si <sup>g</sup>forte aliquid<sup>g</sup> pecunie cum ipso fratre Baldwino pro hac matrona restituenda extorquere possimus,  
 620 qua nimium<sup>h</sup> anxie indi|gemus ad remunerandos milites assiduis

<sup>a</sup> tempore A

45 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> om. N <sup>c</sup> A adds nostri after Domini <sup>d</sup> ACHN add et before Tancradus <sup>e</sup> om. A

46 <sup>a</sup> redemptione N <sup>b</sup> capte A <sup>c</sup> Qui ACHN <sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> A adds et before Tancradus <sup>f</sup> in A <sup>g</sup> quid A <sup>h</sup> nimis C

of the fact that Tancred had fought such an early-morning battle with them. Now, however, like the careful man and expert in the craft of war that he was, as he found out that the 'Turks' arrogance and strength had ebbed away, and that they thought of nothing except flight, he greatly rejoiced to follow the victory standards of the Christians with a great shouting, and equally, when they had combined their forces and troops, he pursued those same fugitives and is said to have laboured without ceasing for the whole day in their slaughter and capture.

45. In this flight and great destruction of the Turks Chokurmish and Sokman only just escaped with a few men, but a certain noblewoman from the realm of Khurasan, who had brought aid and forces and considerable equipment, was captured and detained in that place by Tancred and his comrades. Then, having thus won this victory by the mercy of God and Lord Jesus Christ, Bohemond, Tancred, and all the Christian soldiers peacefully took many Turkish spoils, with which they entered the town of Edessa in happiness and great glory.

46. Some days passed after this, and then a legation from Chokurmish and the magnates of the kingdom of Khurasan addressed Bohemond and Tancred in the state of Edessa about the ransom of the captured woman, suggesting that they would send back Baldwin of Bourcq whom they were holding in prison in return for her restitution, or that fifteen thousand bezants would be sent by them for her return. When this legation from Chokurmish and news of the noblewoman's capture was relayed to Jerusalem, a humble petition arrived from King Baldwin to beseech Bohemond and Tancred that Baldwin their brother Christian and prince of Edessa should be restored by way of the restoration of the captured woman, saying that no amount of money was more important, nor should they covet it. Bohemond and Tancred replied graciously to the king's petition on these matters in this way: 'To their lord Baldwin, most Christian king of Jerusalem, Bohemond and Tancred send unceasing obedience. We have freely decided to obey your commands in all things concerning the ransom of Baldwin our friend and comrade, and this is and always will be our concern. But at this time it is necessary to dissemble and keep quiet about this matter, to see if we can find a way to extract some money as well as our brother Baldwin himself in return for the restoration of this woman, for we are very sadly in need of funds to repay the

laboribus nobiscum insudantes.' 'Bona enim et blanda<sup>i</sup> satis hec illorum fuere responsa, sed nequaquam in eis<sup>j</sup> fides fuit aut ueritas,<sup>j</sup> aut aliqua uoluntas uirum redimendi, propter ambitionem ciuitatis et eius tributorum, que de diuersis negociis et rerum commutatione que tantum infra menia aguntur, ad quadraginta milia bisantiorum singulis annis computantur, absque hiis redditibus<sup>k</sup> quos plurima castella et regiones ad eandem ciuitatem pertinentes largiuntur. Sic regi amica responsione et promissione satisfaciens, Boemundus quidem Antiochiam rediit, Tancradus uero ad tuendam et munendam ciuitatem Rohas remansit.<sup>80</sup>

47. Anno dehinc sequenti post captionem Baldwini de Burg, anno uero regis Baldwini quinto,<sup>81</sup> Boemundo non solum Italiam sed et Galliam profecto ad adquirendas uires et commouendos principes aduersus Alexim<sup>a</sup> regem Grecorum, Tancrado autem Antiochie uice auunculi<sup>b</sup> relicto ad tuendam ciuitatem, eiusdemque Tancradi custodia in Rohas disposita, Brodohan princeps magnificus ciuitatis Halapie<sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup>et frater Turcorum,<sup>d</sup> occasione assumpta, ab amicicia et foedere Tancradi in dolo recedens, loca et ciuitates ad urbem Antiochie appendentes grauiter depredatus est, quin episcopo ciuitatis Albara effugato, ac plurimis ecclesiis Dei adnichilatis, non tamen preda et<sup>e</sup> strage hac satiari<sup>f</sup> potuit, sed ad ultimum decem milia equitum, uiginti<sup>g</sup> peditum de terra sua produciens, ad assiliendam urbem Antiochie et expugnandum Tancradum in superbia et iactantia magna profectus est. Tancradus autem uirtutem et exercitum illius<sup>h</sup> intolerabilem et copiosum accreuisse intelligens, quantulumque<sup>i</sup> cum suis est perterritus, sed tamen sine dilatione Turbaisel, Rohas et Maresch nuncia<sup>j</sup> dirigens, uniuersos scilicet catholicos uiros qui erant in circuitu ad auxilium uocauit, quorum conuentum Antiochie fieri decreuit. Vt autem conuenerunt ad mille equitum et nouem milia peditum, sermo episcopi Antiochie factus est ad uniuersos,<sup>82</sup> ne in multitudine aduersariorum dubitent, sed in nomine et uirtute Dei

<sup>i i</sup> Blanda enim et bona *H*

<sup>j j</sup> ueritas fuit *A*

<sup>k</sup> redditibus *ACH*

47 <sup>a</sup> Alexum *A* <sup>b</sup> *ACHN* add sui after auunculi <sup>c</sup> Alapie *AHN* <sup>d d</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>e</sup> ac *ACHN* <sup>f</sup> saturari *ACHN* <sup>g</sup> *ACHN* add et before uiginti (triginta *A*)  
<sup>h</sup> eius *ACHN* <sup>i</sup> quantumcumque *ACHN* <sup>j</sup> nuncios *ACHN*

<sup>80</sup> Albert is the only source for the elaborate story of the proposed exchange of prisoners. There is nothing implausible in the idea that Tancred wished to continue to enjoy the revenues of Edessa; it is more likely than the version in the Anonymous Syriac account, which is that Tancred was too angry to help (Anon. Syriac, p. 80).

soldiers who are sweating with us in hard labours.' These replies from them were smooth and flattering enough, but there was no good faith or truth in them at all, nor any intention of ransoming the man, on account of their ambition to have the state and its revenues from various business and commutation of things, so many of which had been enacted within the ramparts that they added up to forty thousand bezants every single year, not counting those revenues which many castles and districts belonging to that same town bestowed. Satisfying the king in this way with a friendly reply and a promise, Bohemond, indeed, went back to Antioch; Tancred stayed to protect and defend the state of Edessa.<sup>80</sup>

47. Then in the year following the capture of Baldwin of Bourcq, the fifth year of King Baldwin's reign,<sup>81</sup> Bohemond set out not only for Italy but also for Gaul to recruit forces and to set in motion the princes against Alexios, king of the Greeks; moreover, Tancred was left in Antioch in his uncle's stead to protect the state, and guardianship of Edessa was bestowed on that same Tancred. Ridwan, splendid prince of the state of Aleppo and brother of the Turks, took the opportunity fraudulently to abandon his friendship and treaty with Tancred, and he plundered heavily places and towns which belonged to the city of Antioch, and the bishop of the town of Albara was even put to flight, and a good many of God's churches destroyed, but yet he could not be satisfied by this plunder and slaughter, but in the end he led out ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry from his land, and set out in pride and great arrogance to attack the city of Antioch and overcome Tancred. Tancred heard that his strength and army had grown irresistible and overwhelming, and he and his men were as terrified as could be, but yet he sent the news at once to Turbessel, Edessa, and Marash, that is to say he called on all the Christian men who were in the area for assistance, appointing Antioch to be their meeting place. As some thousand cavalry and nine thousand infantry assembled, a sermon was preached by the bishop of Antioch to all of them,<sup>82</sup> that they should not be hesitant because of the horde of adversaries, but should confidently withstand the enemy in God's name and strength, being sure of victory with

<sup>81</sup> 1105.

<sup>82</sup> Bernard of Valence (départ. Drôme, France) had accompanied Adhémar of Le Puy on the First Crusade. He was bishop of Artah in 1100 before becoming patriarch of Antioch. See OV, v. 356; T. S. Asbridge and S. B. Edgington, *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars* (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 34–42.

confidenter<sup>k</sup> hostibus resistant, de uictoria certi Deo auxiliante. Triduo de hinc ieiunio indicto et peracto ex pontificis ammonitione, Tancradus usque ad pontem Farfar cum decem milibus equitum et peditum descendit, ubi hospitio per noctem remorati sunt. Crastina autem die radiante, Tancradus exurgens, exurgentesque<sup>l</sup> sui, factis aciebus, erectis uexillis, Artesiam in loricis, galeis, scutis et lanceis profecti sunt, ubi Brodohan cum inestimabili equitatu et apparatu occupauerat uniuersam regionem.<sup>83</sup> Hic itaque | comperto aduentu Christianorum et principis illorum Tancradi, acies et cuneos fieri constituit,<sup>m</sup> ac tertia diei hora insistente, utrimque prelium commissum est. Perdurante autem bello et nimia occisione in gladio usque ad horam nonam, auxilio<sup>n</sup> Domini Iesu Christi<sup>o</sup> Christianorum acies inuictissime perstiterunt,<sup>p</sup> gentiles attrite et disperse in fugam pariter uerse sunt. Tancradus uero et sui eas insequentes alios occiderunt, alios captiuatos ac<sup>q</sup> uinctos cum spoliis armorum et equorum tenuerunt. Altera autem die Tancradus, spoliis et armis inimicorum acceptis ac diuisis, in gloria magna et leticia uictorie<sup>r</sup> Antiochiam reuersus est. Vniuersi uero fideles Christi et ciues Antiochie una cum domno patriarcha et episcopo eiusdem ciuitatis gauisi sunt gaudio magno, Deo et Domino Iesu Christo gratias<sup>s</sup> et laudes<sup>t</sup> agentes, cuius pietate et protectione<sup>u</sup> ab hostium multitudine<sup>v</sup> saluatus tam catholicus princeps triumphauit.

48. Anno dehinc secundo postquam Acra ciuitas capta est,<sup>84</sup> uirtus et apparatus magnus regis Babylonie mense Augusto tam in mari quam in arido profectus est ut urbem Iafeth uel Ioppe obsideret, et abhinc nauali exercitu expugnaret. A campestribus uero ciuitatis Ascalonis castrametati sunt ut hinc et hinc a terra et mari subito regionem inuaderent, et sic ex inproviso regem Baldwinum suosque facilius debellarent. Rex Baldwinus interdum Iafeth moram faciebat. Qui statim, uiso nauali exercitu, dolos et machinamenta Babyloniorum intellexit, hac de causa a parte maris eos urbem preoccupasse, ut ipso rege cum suis contra hos ad defensionem uersus aquam laboranti et intento, ceterae copiae gentilium, a campestribus Ascalonis irruentes

<sup>k</sup> confortentur *A*    <sup>l</sup> exurgentes et *ACHN*    <sup>m</sup> disposuit *ACHN*    <sup>n</sup> auxilium *N*  
<sup>o</sup> om. *CHN*    <sup>p</sup> persisterunt *A*    <sup>q</sup> et *A*    <sup>r</sup> om. *A*    <sup>s</sup> om. *H*    <sup>t</sup> a  
 multitudine hostium *A*

<sup>83</sup> Artah, first taken by the crusaders in 1098 (see above, iii. 28–9), was temporarily reoccupied by Ridwan in 1105: see RC, pp. 712, 714–15; Kemal al-Din, p. 593; IQ, pp. 69–70; FC, pp. 485–8.

<sup>84</sup> 1105.

God's help. Then, after a three-day fast was declared and carried out according to the bishop's advice, Tancred went down to the bridge on the river Orontes with ten thousand cavalry and infantry, and there he made his quarters for the night. When the following day dawned, Tancred got up, and his men got up, made their battle lines, raised their banners, and set out, bearing hauberks, helmets, shields, and lances, for Artah, where Ridwan had taken possession of the entire region with his countless cavalry and equipment.<sup>83</sup> When he knew about the approach of the Christians and their prince Tancred, he ordered battle lines and formations to be made, and when the third hour of the day was at hand battle was joined on both sides. Moreover, the battle and very much killing by the sword went on right until the ninth hour, and with the help of Lord Jesus Christ the Christians' lines came through unconquered, while by the same token the gentiles' were destroyed and scattered and put to flight. Tancred and his men pursued them, they killed some and took others captive, to be held in chains, along with spoils of weapons and horses. On the second day Tancred, having received and shared out the enemies' spoils and weapons, returned to Antioch in great triumph and the happiness of victory. All Christ's faithful and the citizens of Antioch, along with the lord patriarch and bishop of that same town, rejoiced with great joy, giving thanks and praises to God and Lord Jesus Christ, by whose devotion and protection so Christian a prince had been kept safe from the horde of the enemy and had triumphed.

48. Then in the second year after the town of Acre was captured,<sup>84</sup> an army of the king of Egypt, great in strength and equipment, set out in August by sea as well as by land to besiege the city of Jafeth or Jaffa and thereafter to overcome it using the naval force. They moved their camp from the plains of the town of Ascalon in order to invade the region suddenly and on all sides by land and sea, and thus to conquer King Baldwin and his men more easily, catching them unawares. Meanwhile King Baldwin was staying in Jaffa. When he saw the navy he at once recognized the tricks and ingenuity of the Egyptians, and realized that they had first blockaded the city from the seaward side for this reason: so that while the king himself was working against them with his men, and intent upon the defence towards the water, the rest of the gentiles' forces would charge from the plains of Ascalon and suddenly conquer the city of Jaffa. But the king, realizing

urbem Iafeth subito expugnarent.<sup>a</sup> Sed rex, fraudem illorum cognoscens, ac uirtutem eorum in campis Ascalonis curriculo trium ebdomadarum accubuisse aduentum uero et pugnam aduersus Iafeth dissimulare ac<sup>b</sup> minime diffamare, nec ipse socios inuitare et arma congregare obdormiuit, quatenus per totum id spacium temporis paratus et munitus haberetur et illis quocumque die descendentibus et ipse simul<sup>c</sup> cum suis copiis ad resistendum occurrere ualeret. Hugo de Tabaria, Rorgus de Caiphas, Gunfridus<sup>d</sup> de Turri Daud,<sup>85</sup> Hugo de Sancto Abraham,<sup>86</sup> Eustachius Granarius,<sup>87</sup> Gutmannus de Brussella castello Brabantie, Lithardus de Cameraco ciuitate Gallie, Pisellus de Tuorna,<sup>e</sup> <sup>88</sup> Baldwinus de Hastrut<sup>f</sup> castellis Flandrie, hii omnes a rege inuitati ad auxilium undique contractis copiis equitum et peditum Christianorum conuenerunt. Affuit etiam<sup>g</sup> in eodem regis comitatu quidam Turcorum adolescens, miles |  
622 strenuus, Mahumeth nomine,<sup>89</sup> in armis et numero Turcorum centum sagittariorum, qui uictrici sui auaricia et industria a paterna sede<sup>h</sup> et a terra Damascenorum expulsus, nunc cum rege foedus percussit quatenus in omni militari auxilio fidelis et promptus illi haberetur, quo et ipse regis opem sic contra Damascum assequi mereretur. Videntes autem legiones Sarracenorum quoniam regi doli et insidie innotuissent, et nunc se preuidens manum Christianorum undecumque ad opem contraxisset, mouerunt castra a campis Ascalona,<sup>i</sup> et usque ad locum qui dicitur Habilin<sup>j</sup> <sup>90</sup> in superbia multitudinis sue profecti sunt.

49. Quorum aduentum rex ut presensit,<sup>a</sup> et proculdubio iam eos appropriasse, direxit legationem domno patriarche Ierusalem ut sine mora conuocata manu fidelium ad augendas uires et opem contra inimicos properaret. Hic denique regis audito nuncio, pedites centum

48 <sup>a</sup> expugnantes *N* <sup>b</sup> et *A* <sup>c</sup> om. *H* <sup>d</sup> Gunfridus *A* <sup>e</sup> Tuorma *A*  
<sup>f</sup> Hastrot *A*; Hastrut *HN* <sup>g</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>h</sup> *A* adds eiectus after sede  
<sup>i</sup> Ascalonis *A* <sup>j</sup> Abilin *H* and *E* below

49 <sup>a</sup> persensit *N*

<sup>85</sup> Gunfrid is found elsewhere, for example in charters, as Humphrey or Geoffrey of the Tower of David: see RR, nos. 43, 67, 81a, 129a, 245; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 206–7; H. E. Mayer, 'Die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ci (1985), 64–81, at p. 67.

<sup>86</sup> Hugh came from Rebecques near Théroutanne (départ. Pas-de-Calais, France): see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 212–13; J. Riley-Smith, 'The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095–1100', *English Historical Review*, xciii (1983), 721–36 at p. 736.

their trickery, and that their strength had been settled on the plains of Ascalon for a period of three weeks to disguise and not to proclaim their approach and their strike against Jaffa, was not sluggardly himself in summoning his allies and assembling weapons, so that he would be prepared and protected during this entire period of time, and whatever day the enemy descended he would himself be able to go out and fight them together with his forces. Hugh of Tiberias; Rorgus of Haifa; Gunfrid of the Tower of David;<sup>85</sup> Hugh of St Abraham;<sup>86</sup> Eustace Granarius;<sup>87</sup> Gutmann of Brussels, a castle in Brabant; Lithard of Cambrai, a city in Gaul; Pisellus of Tuorna<sup>88</sup> and Baldwin of Heestert, both from castles in Flanders: all of these were summoned by the king to his assistance and they gathered together from everywhere armies of Christian cavalry and infantry and came. Also in that same company of the king was a certain Turkish youth, an active soldier, Mahumeth by name,<sup>89</sup> whose strength in weapons and number was a hundred Turkish archers. He had been driven out of his father's home and from the land of Damascus because of his greed and diligence for victory for himself and he had now struck an agreement with the king that he would be loyal and prompt in all military assistance to him, and for this he would himself be rewarded by the king's help subsequently against Damascus. Moreover, when the Saracen hosts saw that the king was aware of their tricks and traps, and that he now had the foresight to bring together an army of Christians from all over the place to aid him, they moved their camp from the plains of Ascalon, and set out in the arrogance of their great numbers to the place which is called Habilin.<sup>90</sup>

49. As the king knew beforehand of their approach and that they had certainly arrived already, he sent a legation to the lord patriarch of Jerusalem, telling him to summon the army of the faithful at once and to hasten to bring reinforcements and assistance against the enemy. Then when he had heard the king's message, the patriarch collected

<sup>85</sup> Eustace probably came from Beaurain-Château, in the county of Saint-Pol (départ. Pas-de-Calais, France) and, since this is his first appearance, he probably served with Baldwin in Edessa. He and his family later rose to great prominence in the kingdom of Jerusalem. See A. Murray, 'A note on the origin of Eustace Grenier', *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, vi (1986), pp. 28–30, and *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 193–5.

<sup>88</sup> This is the only narrative reference to Pisellus, though a 'Pisellus vicecomes' is found in the charters: RR, nos. 43, 52, 56a, 57, 59, 76a, 79, 80, 87, 134, 291, 983; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 220–1.

<sup>89</sup> Bektāsh (or Ertash) ibn Tutush was brother of Duqāq of Damascus and disappointed in his hopes of the succession: IA, pp. 223–4, 229.

<sup>90</sup> Yibna (Arabic); Yavne (Hebrew). Habilin gave its name to the powerful Ibelin family.



et<sup>b</sup> quinquaginta colligens, arma aptauit, iter aduersus Ramnes insistens, sicut ex mandato regis illi constitutum est. Post hec rex et uniuersi fideles ad id belli negocium adunati, communione dominici corporis et sanguinis muniti, ad sex milia<sup>91</sup> in 'die Veneris' urbem Iafeth egressi sunt, Lithardo Cameracense, quia prudens et fidelis erat, cum uiris trecentis contra uirtutem et nauales assultus in ipsa ciuitate relicto. Rex itaque cum omni comitatu suorum egressus in tubis, armis et signis, ac Ramnes descendens, sabbato illic moram fecit, prestolatus domnum patriarcham Euermarum cum omni ecclesia<sup>d</sup> Ierusalem. Patriarcha uero iam suscepto, et ceteris fratribus Ierusalem, orto mane dominice diei, rex acies quinque ex equitibus et peditibus ordinauit ad committenda prelia cum hostibus; ipse uero in extrema acie inter equites ad corroborandos et exhortandos suos inperterritus mansit. Pauci quidem equites, numero centum sexaginta, circumsteterunt illum.<sup>e</sup> Nec mirum si pauci, propter assiduam equorum<sup>f</sup> hac in terra<sup>f</sup> defectionem. Hiis ita a rege ordinatis, et signo sancte<sup>g</sup> crucis cunctis Christianis a domno patriarcha sanctificatis, signa et uexilla tolluntur, tube et cornua incessanter perstrepunt. Rex et sui ad castra aduersariorum<sup>h</sup> contendere parant, quatenus bellum anticipantes non ultra infidelium turmas impune descendere paterentur. Gentiles quoque, iam regem tam<sup>i</sup> proximum adesse et eius  
623 copias comperientes, pariter et ipsi a castris in ar | mis, signis et equis et intolerabili stridore tubarum<sup>j</sup> processerunt, in multitudine graui quadraginta milium occurrentes,<sup>k</sup> non minus et ipsi bellum committere festinantes. Nec mora, dum sic uterque exercitus in campo appareret, tube hinc et hinc fortiter insonuerunt, agmina fidelium et infidelium atrociter<sup>l</sup> commiserunt a primo mane dominice diei que est extrema mensis Augusti,<sup>92</sup> usque ad horam nonam, dum<sup>m</sup> Dei gratia et misericordia Sarraceni infirmati, fugam arripientes, a facie Christianorum se cedentium et persequentium Ascalonam repedare et intrare contenderunt.

<sup>b</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>c</sup> sexta feria ACHN    <sup>d</sup> manu ACHN    <sup>e</sup> eum A    <sup>f</sup> om. C  
<sup>g</sup> om. A    <sup>h</sup> inimicorum A    <sup>i</sup> om. A    <sup>j</sup> cornium A    <sup>k</sup> occurrerunt N  
<sup>l</sup> grauius A    <sup>m</sup> tum ACHN

one hundred and fifty infantry and equipped them, and made the journey towards Ramla, just as was laid down for him in the king's command. After this the king and all the faithful who had come together for this transaction of war, forearmed by communion of the Lord's body and blood, left the city of Jaffa on a Friday, numbering some six thousand,<sup>91</sup> leaving in that very city Lithard of Cambrai, because he was a wise and loyal man, with three hundred men against their strength and naval attacks. So the king left with all his company of men, with trumpets, weapons, and flags, and marched down to Ramla, staying there on the Saturday and waiting for the lord Patriarch Evremar with all the Church of Jerusalem. Once the patriarch had been welcomed, and the rest of the Jerusalem brothers, on the Sunday morning the king organized five divisions from the cavalry and infantry to join battle with the enemy; he himself remained in the rearguard among the cavalry to strengthen and urge on his men undauntedly. Only a few cavalry, one hundred and sixty in number, surrounded him. It was not surprising there were so few, on account of the severe lack of horses in this land. When the battle lines had been drawn up by the king in this way, and all the Christians blessed by the lord patriarch with the sign of the holy cross, flags and banners were raised and trumpets and bugles blared continuously. The king and his men prepared to make for the enemy camp, so that by starting the war first they would no longer allow the swarms of infidel to come down with impunity. The gentiles also, realizing that the king and his forces were already so close, themselves likewise marched forth from the camp with weapons, flags, and horses and an intolerable din of trumpets, and met them in the very great number of forty thousand, they too hurrying no less to join battle. At once, while both armies appeared thus on the field, trumpets on all sides sounded loudly, the forces of the faithful and the infidel fought terribly from early morning on the Sunday which is the last in August,<sup>92</sup> until the ninth hour, when by God's favour and mercy the Saracens were weakened and took flight, and they struggled to retreat to and enter Ascalon before the Christians, who were cutting them down and pursuing them.



<sup>91</sup> Not unusually, sources differ greatly in their estimates of numbers. The most important are Fulcher, who says 500 knights, 2,000 foot, and a number of mounted men, and Ibn al-Athir, who gives 1,300 horse and 8,000 foot (FC, p. 496; IA, i. 774 [addendum to p. 229]). For discussion of this and the whole campaign, see W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 47.

<sup>92</sup> 27 Aug. 1105.

50. In hoc siquidem prelio ceciderunt septem milia gentilium; cecidit et ammiraldus Ascalone. Ammiraldus uero Acre, ammiraldus quoque Assur, qui uita a rege impetrata et<sup>a</sup> ciuitatibus<sup>b</sup> redditis Ascalonam ante hunc annum confugerant, cum omnibus exuuiis<sup>c</sup> suis capti sunt. Rex autem, hac Dei et Domini Iesu Christi opitulatione uictoria accepta, cum inmensis spoliis inimicorum in gloria magna Ioppen regressus est. De cuius comitatu tantummodo centum perierunt, cum milite egregio Reinardo Virdunense,<sup>93</sup> quem rex et uniuersa ecclesia planxerunt planctu magno, catholicas exequias illi exhibentes. Erat uero adhuc naualis exercitus in latere urbis, qui uictoriam suorum affuturam sperantes, et peregrinorum fugam et<sup>d</sup> contritionem, urbem subito irrumpere deuouerant, sed, uiso capite decollati ammiraldi et primi Ascalonis, et fuga ac<sup>e</sup> strage Ascalonitarum et Babyloniorum comperta, tristes et desperati a statione urbis Iafeth uelocibus remis amouerunt, Triplamque in spe refugii nauigantes ac inibi pernoc-  
tantes, facto mane Ascalonam et Babyloniam nauigio reuersi sunt. Comes autem de Sartengis, Willelmus nomine,<sup>94</sup> qui, mortuo Reimundo comite et auunculo suo, terram et ciuitates de Camolla hereditario sanguine possidens successit, et nunc post auunculi obitum plurimo assultu eandem urbem Triplam uel Tripolim debellabat de nouo presidio quod dicitur Mons Peregrinorum, quod et ipse Reimundus multo robore firmauerat, nihil huic nauali exercitu<sup>f</sup> Triple hospitato aduersari aut contradicere portum<sup>g</sup> potuit, propter aquarum fiduciam quam habebant, et urbis intolerabilem multitudinem que illis in litore ad auxilium semper affluebant. Plurimo tamen conatu et infestatione reditum eorum<sup>h</sup> idem comes  
624 impedire moliebatur, nunc fundibulariis,<sup>i</sup> nunc sagittariis, | sed hii<sup>j</sup> aquis nimis freti, sine contradictione et lesione Ascalonam potenter applicuerunt.

51. Igitur post bellum et uictoriam quam rex Habilin que est inter Ascalonam et Ramnes adeptus est, siluit terra regis, et metus magnus corda Ascalonitarum et Babyloniorum concussit, quoniam totiens a rege in manu<sup>a</sup> paucorum<sup>b</sup> uicti ceciderint ac fugerint,<sup>b</sup> et nulla eis spes

50    <sup>a</sup> a N  
<sup>f</sup> exercitui N

<sup>b</sup> ciuibus C  
<sup>g</sup> om. ACHN

<sup>c</sup> eximiis N  
<sup>h</sup> illorum A

<sup>d</sup> atque CHN  
<sup>i</sup> fundibulariis A

<sup>e</sup> et A  
<sup>j</sup> in N

51    <sup>a</sup> om. N

<sup>b b</sup> ceciderunt uicti et fugerunt A

50. In fact seven thousand gentiles fell in this battle; the amir of Ascalon also fell. The amir of Acre and also the amir of Arsuf, who had been granted their lives by the king and had surrendered their towns and fled together to Ascalon before this year, were captured with all their spoils. Moreover, the king, having received this victory by the assistance of God and Lord Jesus Christ, returned to Jaffa in great triumph with enormous quantities of plunder from the enemy. Only a hundred of his company died, with the eminent soldier Reinard of Verdun,<sup>93</sup> whom the king and the whole Church mourned with great grief, giving him a Christian funeral. There was still the navy beside the city, and since the infidels hoped their men would be victorious and the pilgrims destroyed and put to flight, they had vowed to make a sudden attack on the city, but, when they saw the head of the executed amir and chief of Ascalon, and heard about the flight and slaughter of the Ascalonites and Egyptians, they were sad and despairing and rowed away swiftly from their position near the city of Jaffa, sailing to Tripoli in the hope of refuge and spending the night there, then next morning sailing back to Ascalon and Egypt. Moreover, the count of Cerdagne, William by name,<sup>94</sup> who succeeded to the land and towns of Camolla after Count Raymond his uncle died, possessing them by right of heredity, and who now after his uncle's death was waging war with very great vigour against that same city of Tripla or Tripoli from the new fortress which is called Mount of Pilgrims, which Raymond himself had established very strongly, could do nothing to oppose or deny entry to the harbour to this navy which anchored at Tripoli because they were such confident sailors, and because of the unbearable multitude from the city which always flocked to their assistance on the shore. Nevertheless, that same count tried with great effort and trouble to impede their return, now with slings, now with archers, but these men were too confident on the water and they made strongly for Ascalon without hindrance or harm.

51. Therefore, after the war and the victory which the king achieved at Habilin, which is between Ascalon and Ramla, the king's land was quiet and a great terror struck the hearts of the Ascalonites and the Egyptians, since so often they had been beaten by the king with an army of few and they had fallen or fled, and there was no hope for

<sup>93</sup> Not otherwise known.

<sup>94</sup> William Jordan, count of Cerdagne (French)/Cerdanya (Catalan), a district straddling the Pyrenees.

ultra resistendi aut uiuendi 'ante faciem' eius sit. In hoc itaque merore et desperatione dum sederent, et iam curriculo octo mensium quiescerent, uineas excolerent, regemque interdum cessare ab armis gauderent, ipsumque mutua pace et donis placare feruerent, sed frustra omnia temptarent, nisi urbem Ascalonam in manu eius redderent, uerni menses processerunt, quando sata, fruges, uinee et omnis spes anni in florem et fructus parturiunt, et messem affuturam in proximo promittunt. Hiis ita<sup>d</sup> omnibus in commodum et plenitudinem apparentibus, et<sup>e</sup> omnibus campis Ascalona iam ad messem properantibus, rex ab Ierusalem et omnibus locis sibi auxiliantibus milites atque arma copiosa contraxit, ac tempore rogationum,<sup>95</sup> quo illis in regionibus omnia sata festinant ad messem, occupauit terram Ascalonitarum, uineas, ficus, cuiusque generis arbores succidens in manu robusta, quin sata, que equorum, <sup>f</sup>camelorum ceterorumque<sup>f</sup> armentorum pabulo deuastare<sup>g</sup> non suffecit, flamma combussit ut uel hoc saltem incomputabili damno gens dura et indomabilis ad subdenda colla molliretur. Sic uniuersa regione non solum populari manu, sed et incendio uastata, rex reditum Ierusalem cum parte exercitus aptauit, uiamque per montana uniuersi insistentes qui erant in comitatu, immenso stridore tubarum et cornuum<sup>h</sup> intonantes, uniuersa loca montium et uallium in circuitu non paruo terrore concusserunt, per que in uirtute sua transituri erant. Hoc inestimabili fragore tanti exercitus plurime fere ab antris suis et a<sup>i</sup> desertis montium stupefacte ac<sup>j</sup> exterrite, insolito errore uiarum<sup>96</sup> hac et illac uagabantur. Nec mirum, cum nec auium uolatus tumultum populi uociferantis sufferret, sed altis uocibus attonite ac lapse ab aere in medium uulgus<sup>k</sup> a uolatu deficiebant. Itaque dum sic ab antris diuerse fere pauide errarent et hanc uociferationem inauditam mirarentur, contigit infelici casu quandam<sup>l</sup> timidam dammulum de montanis exire et ceco errore inter populum fugam maturare. Hanc<sup>m</sup> mox anteriores exercitus ut uiderunt, grauiter eam circumquaque equorum uelocitate oppresserunt, hii ut preuentam caperent, hii ut participes uenationis haberentur.

<sup>c</sup> in conspectu ACHN    <sup>d</sup> itaque N    <sup>e</sup> atque ACHN    <sup>f</sup> camelorumque et ceterorum A    <sup>g</sup> om. H    <sup>h</sup> cornium A    <sup>i</sup> om. N    <sup>j</sup> et ACHN    <sup>k</sup> om. A  
<sup>l</sup> quadam A    <sup>m</sup> Quam ACHN

<sup>95</sup> Began 30 Apr. 1106.

<sup>96</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia* iv. 91.

them to resist or to live in his sight any longer. They sat in this sadness and hopelessness, and were now quiet for a period of eight months, while they cultivated their vineyards, and meanwhile they rejoiced that the king desisted from battle, and they were keen to keep him happy with mutual peace and gifts, but they were trying everything in vain, unless they would surrender the city of Ascalon into his hands, and meanwhile the spring months advanced, when crops, fruits, vines, and all the hope of the year burgeon into flower and fruit, and promise a harvest will happen very soon. So as all these things were appearing in appropriate and full measure, and all the plains of Ascalon hastening now to the harvest, the king drew together soldiers and plentiful weapons from Jerusalem and all the places rendering him aid, and at Rogationtide,<sup>95</sup> when in those regions all the crops hasten to the harvest, he took possession of the land of the Ascalonites, with a strong army cutting down vineyards, figs, and trees of every sort, and it did not even satisfy him to lay waste the crops, which were fodder for horses, camels, and other beasts: he burnt them with flames so that at all events the hard and untamable race would be broken by this unreckonable harm and would yield their necks. So, with the entire region laid waste not only by the people's army, but also by fire, the king set about his return to Jerusalem with part of the army, and as all who were in his company made their way along the road through the mountain terrain, sounding a very loud blast of trumpets and bugles, all the places were struck by considerable fear in the mountains and valleys around, which they marched across in their strength. Very many wild animals were stunned by this unbelievable din of so large an army, and terrified out of their caves and from the mountain wildernesses, and they wandered here and there, mistaking paths<sup>96</sup> they did not usually use. No wonder, since the flight of birds could not bear the clamour of the shouting people, but were amazed by the loud voices and fell from the air into the middle of the crowd from mid-flight. And so, while various terrified beasts were wandering from their caves and marvelling at this incredible shouting, a timid little deer unfortunately happened to come out of the mountains and attempted to flee blindly among the people. As soon as the vanguard of the army saw her they hunted her down from all sides with galloping horses, some to head her off and catch her, some behaving as if they were taking part in a hunt.

625 52. Inter hos dum feram hanc ad montana festinantem armiger nobilissimi iuuenis Arnolfi, probi equitis ac principis de castello Aldenardis,<sup>97</sup> acrius urgeret,<sup>a</sup> et feram assequi ferueret, cingula equi illius in eadem cursus contentione rupta est, et sic ab equo corruens, humi prostratus ab insecutione quieuit. Equus uero illius circumuociferantium<sup>b</sup> strepitu attonitus, ad montana rapido cursu et inmoderato tetendit, nullius approximationis aut apprehensionis patiens, donec inter fauces montium euadens non ultra comparuit. Ad hec contenderunt complures ad querendum caballum fugitium, contendit et Arnolfus. Sed diu quesito et minime reperto, tedioque per montium difficultates affecti, repedauerunt uniuersi. Solus Arnolfus, quem cura caballi<sup>c</sup> sollicitabat, et qui armigeri amministratione et officio carere non poterat, longius prosecutus est ad querendum equum ut forte inuentum reduceret. Sed graui fortuna aduersante, equus repertus est, iuuenis quidem<sup>d</sup> gloriosus non ultra ad suos reuersus est. Affuerunt namque illic latentes Arabitarum insidie, qui ab Ascalona descenderant in montium latebrosa cacumina, uidere et intelligere de combustione et populatione regionis et aliquibus aduersari sibi incaute de exercitu occurrentibus, in ultione predarum et flammaram quas passi sunt. Hii nobilissimum iuuenem per montium iuga ac decliua<sup>e</sup> solum ac inermem uagari considerantes, subitis clamoribus et armis aggressi sunt. Quem frustra ac<sup>f</sup> diu, gladio educto, resistere ac defendere<sup>g</sup> conantem, tandem longa et assidua inpugnatione uexatum ac fatigatum<sup>h</sup> trans iecur et precordia lanceis et sagittis confixum, in multo sanguine ab equo cadentem peremerunt, sed caput eius precisum in signum uictorie Ascalonam<sup>i</sup> intulerunt. Caballus denique illius, per fauces et abrupta montium discurrens, nequaquam comprehendi a gentilibus potuit, donec montana egressus, ad exercitum regis<sup>j</sup> repedauit, domni ac sessoris sui sanguine foedatus, patenter mortis illius omnibus indicio<sup>k</sup> factus. Hunc etenim ut rex et uniuersi de cetu Christianorum uiderunt sanguine madentem, Arnolfum proculdubio armis Ascalonitarum incaute cecidisse retulerunt. Nec mora per montana diffusi ad persequendos et inuestigandos hostes, solum Arnolfum <sup>l</sup>mortuum

52    <sup>a</sup> urgeret *N*    <sup>b</sup> uociferantium *A*    <sup>c</sup> equi *C*    <sup>d</sup> autem *A*    <sup>e</sup> decliua *CN*  
<sup>f</sup> *om. ACHN*    <sup>g</sup> *ACHN add se before defendere*    <sup>h</sup> defatigatum *ACHN*  
<sup>i</sup> Ascalona *E*    <sup>j</sup> *om. A*    <sup>k</sup> iudicio *A*    <sup>l</sup> iacentem sine capite ac mortuum *E*

52. The squire of the very noble youth Arnolf, excellent knight and prince of the castle at Oudenaarde,<sup>97</sup> was driving this beast hard as she hastened among them to the mountains. He was eager to pursue the beast, but his horse's girth was broken in that same striving to gallop, and so he fell from his horse, was laid out on the ground and was kept back from the hunt. His horse was terrified by the din of those shouting around him, and he made for the mountains at a fast and unrestrained gallop, not allowing anyone to get near him or catch him, until he escaped among the mountain defiles and was no longer visible. At this, several hurried to look for the fugitive steed, Arnolf among them. But the horse was long sought and not found, and everyone retreated, wearied by the difficult mountain terrain. Only Arnolf, who was worried by anxiety for his horse, and who could not do without the assistance and service of his squire, went on longer looking for the horse so that if by chance he found him he might bring him back. However, by great misfortune, the horse was found but the splendid youth never again returned to his men. For there was an ambush of Arabs hiding in that place, who had come down from Ascalon into the mountain peaks full of hiding places, to see and find out about the burning and laying waste of the region and to oppose anyone who met them unawares from the army, as revenge for the plunder and flames they had suffered. They watched the very noble youth wandering alone and unarmed through the mountain ridges and slopes, and attacked him with sudden shouts and weapons. He tried long and in vain to resist and defend with drawn sword, but at length, when he was distressed and tired from a long and fierce fight, they pierced him with lances and arrows through liver and lungs, and killed him with much bloodshed as he fell from his horse, and they cut his head off and took it back to Ascalon as a token of victory. Then his horse, running about through the defiles and steep slopes of the mountains, could not be caught by the gentiles at all, and he went on until he came out of the mountains and made his way back to the king's army, stained with the blood of his lord and rider, being clear proof to all of his death. Truly, as the king and all the company of Christians saw this horse dripping with blood, they registered for certain that Arnolf had fallen heedlessly to the weapons of the Ascalonites. They spread out at once through the mountainous terrain to pursue and search out the enemy, but they found only

<sup>97</sup> Arnolf II of Oudenaarde (Oost-Vlaanderen, Belgium). See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 184.

et sine capite iacentem<sup>l</sup> inuenerunt; Arabitas nequaquam persentire potuerunt. Qui corpus exanime suscipientes Ierusalem detulerunt, catholicas exequias illi exhibentes in ualle Iosaphat apud ecclesiam Latinam sancte Marie matris Domini Iesu, ubi honorifice<sup>m</sup> "sepultus est." Fleuit super eum rex fletu magno<sup>98</sup> in die | exequiarum, fleuerunt et uniuersi principes exercitus. Fleuit et amarissimis lacrimis super eum nobilis uxor comitis Baldwini Hainaucorum, eo quod socius et conuiator eius de terra longinqua Gallie descendisset ad adorandum in Ierusalem.<sup>99</sup> Non sit mirum si tot magnorum fletum et planctum hic adolescens meruerit, qui omnibus affabilis et notus habebatur, et qui numquam ab aliqua militari actione sinistra laude declinauit. Tercia abhinc die orta postquam tam illustris miles sepulture traditus est, Ascalonite per internuncios requisitum caput illius Ierusalem remiserunt,<sup>n</sup> cum litteris in uno crine illius dependentibus, et uerba in hunc modum continentibus: 'Ascalonite regi Baldwino caput extincti militis et uiri nobilissimi non alia amoris causa remittunt, nisi ut dolor eius et illud intuentium renouetur et augeatur, et ut cognoscant quoniam tanti uiri perditio omni eorum damno et combustioni nequaquam possit comparari et appreciari, et in tanti militis decollatione non ultra Ascalonitas damna sua uelle recordari aut dolere.'<sup>p</sup>

<sup>m</sup> *ACHN add et before honorifice*  
*add Explicit liber nonus after dolere*

<sup>n</sup> " sepelierunt *N*

<sup>o</sup> retulerunt *C*

<sup>p</sup> *CH*

<sup>98</sup> 4 Kgs. (2 Kgs.) 20: 3.

<sup>99</sup> Ida of Louvain's husband Baldwin of Hainaut was killed in an ambush near Nicaea while on a mission to Alexios Komnenos in 1098 (above, v. 3), but Ida did not know

Arnolf lying dead and without his head; they could not see the Arabs at all. They took up the lifeless corpse and carried it back to Jerusalem, granting him Christian funeral rites in the valley of Jehosaphat at the Latin church of St Mary mother of Lord Jesus, where he was honourably buried. The king wept over him with a great weeping<sup>98</sup> on the day of his funeral, and all the princes of the army wept too. The noble wife of Count Baldwin of Hainaut also wept over him with bitterest tears, because he was a comrade and fellow traveller of hers who had come down from distant Gaul to worship in Jerusalem.<sup>99</sup> It should not be surprising if this young man deserved so much weeping and wailing of important people, since he was considered courteous and friendly by all, and he never came away from any military engagement with an unfavourable reputation. On the third day after this famous soldier had been consigned to the grave, the Ascalonites sent back to Jerusalem by way of intermediaries his head which had been demanded, with a letter hanging from one lock of his hair, containing words to this effect: 'The Ascalonites send back to King Baldwin the head of the dead soldier and very noble man, not for any reason of love, but so that his grief and that of those seeing it may be renewed and increased, and so they may know that the destruction of such a man cannot in any way be compared and valued against all the damage and burning, and by beheading such a soldier the Ascalonites are saying they no longer want their losses to be remembered and grieved.'

whether he was dead or held captive, so 'out of love for God and her husband, with great effort and expense' she travelled to the East where, unfortunately, she found no comfort or certainty: *Gisleberti Chronicon Hanoniense*, MGH SS xxi. 504.

## LIBER DECIMVS

631 1. Eodem quoque tempore, in anno septimo regni Baldwini regis catholici Ierusalem,<sup>1</sup> plurima multitudo naualis exercitus catholice gentis Anglorum, circiter septem milia, nauibus quas buzas appellant, cum cetera manu de regno Danorum, Flandrie <sup>a</sup>et Antwerp,<sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup>longo ambitu maris<sup>b</sup> aduecta ad portum ciuitatis Iafeth anchoras fixerunt, moram <sup>c</sup>sibi fieri illic<sup>c</sup> constituentes dum regis licentia et conductu accepto Ierusalem<sup>d</sup> secure eos<sup>e</sup> ire et adorare licuisset. Ex hiis illustriores ac<sup>f</sup> facundiores regem adeuntes in hunc modum locuti sunt: 'Viuat rex in Christo, et prosperetur regnum ipsius de die in diem! De terra longinqua regni Anglorum, Flandrie ac Danorum uiri et<sup>g</sup> milites Christiane professionis per aquam nimiam inmensi<sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup>et spaciosi<sup>i</sup> maris huc adnauimus, Dei opitulatione, causa adorandi in Ierusalem et uidendi sepulchrum Domini. Et ideo clementiam tuam super hoc precaturi conuenimus, quatenus tua gratia et conductu Ierusalem pacifice possimus ascendere, adorare et reuerti.'

2. Rex, clementer uniuersum precatum eorum audiens, concessit eis conductum uirorum fortium armatorum qui eos secure ab omni impetu et insidiis gentilium per notas semitas perduxerunt usque<sup>a</sup> in Ierusalem et uniuersa loca sancta. Perducti uero peregrini et noui aduene Christi, illic in templo <sup>b</sup>dominici sepulchri<sup>b</sup> uota sua Domino<sup>c</sup> reddentes, in atriis domus Domini,<sup>2</sup> cum gaudio magno sine aliquo obstaculo<sup>d</sup> Ioppen reuersi sunt. Vbi regem reperientes, auxilio illi<sup>e</sup> adesse in omnibus deuouerunt, ad quecumque animus illius uerter-

632 etur. Qui be|nigne uiros commendans et hospitari precipiens, nequaquam de hoc tam subito se posse respondere profitetur<sup>f</sup> donec, conuocatis optimatibus<sup>g</sup> suis ac<sup>h</sup> domno patriarcha, consilium iniret, quid utilius et<sup>i</sup> oportunius insistere ualeret, et non frustra tam

1    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> Antwerpie A; et Antwerpie H    <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> om. H    <sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup> ibi facere H; fieri illic (sibi om.) N    <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> ACHN add in before Ierusalem    <sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> eis A    <sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> et ACHN    <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> ac H  
<sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> om. N    <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup> om. H

2    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> om. A    <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> Domini A    <sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup> om. A    <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> impedimento A    <sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> sibi ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> fatetur A    <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> A adds omnibus before optimatibus    <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> a H    <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup> quid A

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin's seventh regnal year ran from July 1106 to July 1107. As Fulcher says that

## BOOK TEN

1. Also at the same time, in the seventh year of the reign of Baldwin the Christian king of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> an exceedingly great navy of the Christian people of the English, around seven thousand men, in ships which they call busses, with another force from the kingdom of the Danes, from Flanders and Antwerp, sailed in after taking the long sea route and anchored in the harbour of the town of Jaffa, deciding they should delay there until they had received the king's permit and safe conduct and had been allowed to go and worship in Jerusalem in safety. The most eminent and eloquent of them came to the king and spoke in this way: 'Long live the king in Christ, and may his kingdom prosper day after day! From the distant land of the English kingdom, from Flanders and Denmark we men and soldiers of the Christian faith have sailed here through the waters of the exceedingly vast and extensive sea, with God's assistance, for the sake of worshipping in Jerusalem and seeing the Lord's sepulchre. And so we have come together to beseech your mercy on this matter, and ask that by your favour and safe conduct we can peacefully go up to Jerusalem, worship and return.'

2. The king listened to all their plea with indulgence and granted them an escort of brave, armed men who led them, safe from all attack or ambush from the gentiles, along known paths all the way to Jerusalem and all the holy places. Once Christ's pilgrims and new visitors had been brought to that place, they fulfilled their vows to the Lord in the temple of the Lord's Sepulchre, in the courts of the house of the Lord,<sup>2</sup> and returned to Jaffa with great joy and without any hindrance. There they found the king and they vowed to be of assistance to him in all things, to whatsoever his mind might incline. He graciously commended the men and ordered them to be given hospitality, claiming he had no idea how to reply to such a sudden offer as this until he could consult an assembly of his magnates and the lord patriarch as to what he could undertake most usefully and advantageously, so that he would not trouble so willing an army to no

Hugh's death (below, x. 6) took place 'aestivo tempore' 1106 (FC, pp. 509-11), then events in these chapters must be dated to the first weeks, July-Sept. 1106.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. 115 (116): 19.

uoluntarium uexaret exercitum. Et ideo post paucos dies, domno patriarcha, Hugone de Tabaria, Gunfrido<sup>j</sup> custode ac preposito turris Dauid accitis,<sup>k</sup> et ceteris maioribus milicie sue, conuentum in ciuitate Ramnes habere disposuit, ut consuleret cum eis quid utilius agere debuisset.

3. Quibus statuto die collatis et diuersa sentientibus ac<sup>d</sup> referentibus, tandem uisum est uniuersis sanius esse consilium, quatenus urbs Sagitta, que est Sydon, hoc tempore obsideretur si forte Dei auxilio copiis<sup>b</sup> et uiribus noui exercitus terra et mari superari posset. Dehinc uniuersi qui aderant et hanc obsideri poscebant, eo quod esset una ex hiis ciuitatibus gentilium que assidue rebellabant, a rege commendati et ammoniti sunt ut quisque in sua rediret et se ad hanc expeditionem rebus necessariis et armis prouiderent. Recesserunt singula in sua. Recessit et Hugo de Tabaria,<sup>c</sup> uir bellator precipuus aduersus gentiles<sup>d</sup> impetus, qui bellis et insidiis non die, non nocte in terra gentilium fatigari potuit, quamdiu uita incolumis fuit. Dein quoque statim imperauit legatio regis uniuerse multitudini Anglorum ne tentoria aut<sup>e</sup> classes amouerent<sup>f</sup> a ciuitate Iafeth, sed regis mandatum sine tedio illic expectarent. Aperuit quoque eadem<sup>g</sup> legatio uniuersis quoniam rex et omnis primatus ipsius decreuerint<sup>h</sup> urbem Sagittam terra et mari obsidere et expugnare, et illic eorum opem et uires necessarias haberi, et hac de causa regem et patriarcham ad ciuitatem Acram, que est Ptolomaida, descendere, machinas et mangenas edificare ad expugnanda menia et eius habitatores, eos uero interim Iafeth habitare dum regis iussio innotescat. Sic fieri iuxta mandatum regis uniuersi concesserunt, et eius legationem in portu Iafeth prestolari et per omnia obedire usque ad sanguinem responderunt.

633 4. Rex Acras cum patriarcha et omni domo sua descendit, et machinas et plu|rima tormentorum<sup>a</sup> genera per dies quadraginta fabricans et componens, ordinansque omnia ad unguem<sup>3</sup> fieri que ad assultum urbis aptiora uidebantur. Hoc itaque regis studium et intentio ut sonuit<sup>b</sup> in auribus inhabitatorum urbis Sagitte, et intolerabiles copias

<sup>j</sup> Gunfrido *A. N* has Godefrid- later.

<sup>k</sup> ascitis *ACHN*

3 <sup>a</sup> et *A* <sup>b</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> Tabaria *CE* here, but *Tabaria* later. <sup>d</sup> hostiles *H*  
<sup>e</sup> uel *ACHN* <sup>f</sup> amouerent *N* <sup>g</sup> idem *CHN* <sup>h</sup> decreuerunt *A*

4 <sup>a</sup> tormentaorum *A* <sup>b</sup> insonuit *A*

<sup>3</sup> Classical phrase: Lewis and Short, s.v. 'unguis'.



purpose. And so after a few days, when the lord patriarch, Hugh of Tiberias and Gunfrid the guardian and commander of the Tower of David had been summoned, and the other leaders of his army, he arranged to hold an assembly in the town of Ramla, so that he might consult them as to what he might most usefully do.

3. When they had assembled on the appointed day and were airing their different feelings and experiences, at length it seemed to them all that a more sensible plan was for the city of Sagitta, which is Sidon, to be besieged at this time, so that perhaps with God's assistance it could be conquered by the troops and forces of the new army by land and sea. Then everyone who was there and demanding that this city be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the gentiles which was offering fierce resistance, was commended by the king and they were instructed that each should return to his own and provide himself with necessary supplies and arms for this expedition. Each returned to his own. Hugh of Tiberias also went back, a man especially warlike against the attacks of the gentiles, who in the land of the gentiles could not be tired by battles and ambushes by day or by night, as long as he was alive. Then, as well, the king's legation immediately ordered the whole host of English not to move their tents or fleets away from the town of Jaffa, but tirelessly to await the king's command there. That same legation revealed to all that the king and all his leading men had decreed that the city of Sidon was to be besieged and conquered by land and sea, and that their help and forces were considered to be necessary in that place, and for this reason the king and patriarch were going down to the town of Acre, which is Ptolomaida, and building siege engines and mangonels to attack the ramparts and the city's inhabitants, while in the meantime they stayed at Jaffa until the king's command became known. Thus everyone agreed it should be done according to the king's orders, and they replied that they would wait for his legation in Jaffa harbour and would obey him in all things even to the point of shedding their blood.

4. The king went down to Acre with the patriarch and all his own household, and he spent forty days constructing and building siege engines and many kinds of hurling machines, and ordering everything which seemed appropriate for the attack on the city to be completed to perfection.<sup>3</sup> And so, when news of this keenness and exertion of the king reached the ears of the inhabitants of the city of Sidon, and they heard that irresistible troops of armed soldiers had assembled at Jaffa

armatorum Iafeth ad auxilium regis confluisse, uehementer sunt exterriti, metuentes sic in ore gladii regis consumi et subiugari, quemadmodum alie ciuitates, Cesarea, Assur, Acra, Cayphas, Tabaria, attrite et subiugate sunt. Et ideo inito consilio, plurimam pecuniam bysantiorum regi per secretarios intercessores sponderunt, sed et singulis<sup>c</sup> annis grande talentum dare, si non modo ciuitatem eorum obsidens et expugnans parceret uite eorum. Hec igitur negocia de die in diem inter regem et ciues Sagitte agebantur, et regem de redemptione ciuitatis et salute sua sollicitabant, ampliora nunc et nunc dona offerentes. Rex uero, sicut homo anxius et sollicitus de conuentione solidorum quos debebat militibus, totus pecunie intendebat, uerumtamen quoniam fideles Christi metuebat, ne sibi obicerent, minime hanc adhuc contingere audebat.

5. Interea Hugo de Tabaria, accitis<sup>a</sup> copiis ducentorum equitum, peditum<sup>b</sup> uero quadringentorum, secessit in terram Grossi Rustici, nomine Sueth,<sup>c</sup> ditissimam auro et argento, armentis fecundissimam, conterminam<sup>d</sup> regioni Damascenorum, ubi inauditas opes et armenta depredatus est, que sibi ad obsidionem Sagitte sufficerent, de quibus etiam regi et sociis<sup>e</sup> largiter impertiret. Preda autem hac usquequaque direpta et abducta usque ad ciuitatem<sup>f</sup> Belinas, quam dicunt Cesaream Philippi,<sup>5</sup> Turci qui Damasci habitabant, Sarraceni pariter incole<sup>g</sup> regionis, hoc comperto, undique per turmas affluentes, Hugonis comitatum insecuti sunt ad excutiendam predam, et usque ad montana per que Hugonis pedites predam ducebant profecti sunt. Illic grauis tumultus utrimque exortus est. Hii ut predam retinerent obsistebant; hii ut<sup>h</sup> excuterent totis uiribus conabantur, dum tandem, Turcis et Sarracenis preualentibus,<sup>i</sup> preda excussa et reducta est.

6. Quod subito Hugo et sui equites intelligentes, qui in latere montium erant, sine mora inter angustas<sup>a</sup> et scopulosas fauces laxis  
634 frenis reuolant, plurimum cum | hostibus committentes et suis

<sup>c</sup> *H adds in before singulis*

5    <sup>a</sup> *ascitis ACN*    <sup>b</sup> *peditorum H*    <sup>c</sup> *Suet A*    <sup>d</sup> *conterminatam A*    <sup>e</sup> *A adds eius after sociis*  
<sup>f</sup> *inualescentibus A*    <sup>g</sup> *ciuitates N*    <sup>h</sup> *om. A*    <sup>i</sup> *A adds eam after ut*

6    <sup>a</sup> *angustias H*

<sup>5</sup> Suwaydā is a town (the Greek Dionysias) 80 miles south-east of Damascus. Albert has transferred the name to the Hawrān, the fertile plain south of Damascus. In his description of the 'cave de Sueth' D. Nicolle derived the name from the Arabic 'sawad', meaning

to assist the king, they were extremely terrified, fearing they were to be put to the sword by the king and conquered, in the same way that other towns—Caesarea, Arsuf, Acre, Haifa, Tiberias—had been destroyed and conquered. And so they took counsel and they promised the king, by way of confidential representatives as intermediaries, a very large sum in bezants, but also to give a large sum every single year, if only he would not besiege and conquer their town and he would spare their lives. And so these negotiations went on day after day between the king and the citizens of Sidon, and they pestered the king about the ransom of the town and their own safety, offering greater and even greater gifts. The king, as a man worried and concerned about the pay he owed his soldiers, was greatly tempted by the sum of money, but yet since he feared that Christ's faithful might oppose him he did not as yet dare to take it.

5. Meanwhile, Hugh of Tiberias had assembled an army of two hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry and withdrawn into the land of the Fat Peasant, called Suweida,<sup>4</sup> which was very wealthy in gold and silver, abounding in cattle, bordering upon the region of the Damascenes, where he plundered vast riches and herds, which would supply him for the siege of Sidon and which he might also amply share with the king and his allies. However, after this plunder had been snatched everywhere and carried off as far as the town of Baniyas, which they call Caesarea Philippi,<sup>5</sup> the Turks who lived in Damascus, and the Saracens likewise who inhabited the region, realized what was happening and they assembled in hordes from all sides and pursued Hugh's company to wrest the plunder from them, and set out for the mountain regions through which Hugh's footsoldiers were taking the plunder. There a violent uproar arose on both sides. The one side was resisting in order to hold on to the plunder; the other side was trying with all its might to seize it from them, until at last the Turks and Saracens won and the plunder was seized and taken back.

6. Hugh and his cavalry, who were on the mountainsides, suddenly found this out and at once they sped back at a gallop among the narrow and rocky defiles, engaging the enemy fiercely in battle and

'cultivated zone': "Ain al Habis: The cave de Sueth", *Archéologie médiévale*, xviii (1988), 113–40, at p. 117. See also Mayer, *Montréal*, pp. 21–6.

<sup>5</sup> Baniyās (Arabic) in the Golan Heights, not to be confused with the Banyas, or the Caesarea, on the coast.

peditibus subuenire<sup>b</sup> uolentes. Sed casu infelici male pugnatum est. Nam Hugo, lorica exutus, mox mediis periculis illatus, et solito more gentiles impugnans et multans, sagitta a tergo trans pectus et iecur illius infixi, inter manus suorum uitam exalauit.<sup>6</sup> Ad hec gentilium turmis cum preda excussa regressis, ac diuisis per obscuras et difficiles semitas asperorum collium, milites Hugonis corpus extinctum gestatorio impositum in ciuitatem Nazareth,<sup>c7</sup> que est iuxta montem Thabor, attulerunt, ubi in multo fletu et planctu tam egregius princeps et fortis athleta honorifice et catholice sepultus est. Frater uero eiusdem<sup>d</sup> Hugonis, Gerardus nomine,<sup>8</sup> graui tunc infirmitate laborabat. Qui, fratris audito interitu, pre dolore ualidius molestia corporis illi adaucta, et ipse post dies octo morte occubuit, et iuxta fratris speluncam more fidelium appositus est.

7. Post tam nominatorum procerum<sup>a</sup> lacrimosas exequias, rex, occasione assumpta mortis horum uirorum et primorum sui exercitus, pecuniam pro dilatione obsidionis urbis Sagitte oblatam clam omnibus suscipere concessit,<sup>b</sup> dissimulans tamen pacem cum Sarracenis facere, sed opus quod cepit uelle perficere. Vnde, missa legatione Iafeth, Anglicos milites ammonuit ut nauigio Acram descenderent, secum<sup>c</sup> de obsidione et assultu urbis Sagitte agerent et tractarent. Qui ad regis iussionem exurgentes, uelis purpureis et colore diuersi generis insignitis protinus in altis malis buzarum expansis,<sup>d</sup> ac uexillis suis ostreis et sericis erectis, uenerunt, et in litore urbis anchoras iactantes hospitati sunt. Rex uero crastina die secretariis et consciis suis accitis<sup>e</sup> et Anglorum Danorumque primoribus dolorem suum aperuit de Hugonis interitu et illius fratris occasu, et quantam in illis bellicarum rerum fiduciam habuerit, et ideo nunc eis <sup>f</sup>defectis ac<sup>f</sup> mortuis necessario oportere obsidionem urbis Sagitte differre,<sup>g</sup> et hoc tempore exercitum conuocatum relaxare. Hac regis sententia in populo iam diuulgata, dilapsus est exercitus, quin Angli, Dani, Flandrienses, uelis et remis iterato nauigio, salutato rege in terram natiuitatis sue reuersi sunt.

<sup>b</sup> *om. H*      <sup>c</sup> *Nazaret A*      <sup>d</sup> *om. A*

7    <sup>a</sup> *principum ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> *consensit ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> *ACHN add atque before secum*  
<sup>d</sup> *extensis A; expensis N*      <sup>e</sup> *ascitis CHN*      <sup>f</sup> *deficientibus et A*      <sup>g</sup> *differre AC*

<sup>6</sup> Fulcher's brief notice also reports that Hugh was killed by an arrow. Ibn al-Athir does not name Hugh; he writes of a terrible battle between the Turks and one of the principal Frankish counts (FC, p. 511; WT, pp. 502-3; IA, pp. 229-30).

<sup>7</sup> Al-Nāsira (Arabic); Naserat (Hebrew).

wanting to help their footsoldiers. But by an unlucky chance the fight went badly. For Hugh, who had taken off his hauberk, was soon carried into the midst of the fray, and in his usual way he was attacking and injuring the gentiles when an arrow pierced him from behind, penetrating his heart and liver, and he breathed his last in the arms of his men.<sup>6</sup> At this, when the hordes of gentiles had gone back with the plunder they had seized, and gone separate ways along the dark and difficult paths on the rugged slopes, Hugh's soldiers put his dead body on a stretcher and carried it into the town of Nazareth,<sup>7</sup> which is next to Mount Tabor, where this eminent prince and brave champion was given an honourable Christian burial amidst much weeping and wailing. And this same Hugh's brother, Gerard by name,<sup>8</sup> was suffering at that time from a severe illness. When he heard of his brother's death, grief caused his bodily complaint to be greatly worsened, and he himself died after eight days, and he was placed in the tomb next to his brother, as is the custom of the faithful.

7. After the tearful funerals of such renowned nobles, the king, taking advantage of the death of these men and leaders of his army, agreed, unknown to everyone, to accept the sum offered for the lifting of the siege of the city of Sidon, yet he concealed the fact that he was making peace with the Saracens, pretending he wanted to bring to completion the task he had begun. To this purpose he sent a legation to Jaffa to tell the English soldiers to sail down to Acre and to confer and negotiate with him concerning the siege and attack on the city of Sidon. On the king's orders they set sail, spreading before them on the tall masts of the busses sails of purple and marked with different colours, and, lifting their purple-dyed and silken banners, they came and they anchored on the city shore and were quartered there. The following day the king, having summoned his counsellors and confidants and the leaders of the English and Danes, revealed his grief to them concerning Hugh's death and that of his brother, and how he had relied on them in matters of war, and he said that now, with them dead and lost to him, he must of necessity defer the siege of the city of Sidon and stand down at this time the army he had called together. When this opinion of the king was made known among the people, the army slipped away, and, indeed, the English, Danes, and Flemings once more set off under sail and oar; they said farewell to the king and returned to their native lands.

<sup>8</sup> This is the only time Gerard is mentioned. See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 200.

635 8. Rex uero a Sagitta quindecim milia bisantiorum pro salute urbis accipiens, cum omni equitatu domus sue Tabariam diuertit ut in ea custodiam fortium uirorum | disposeret, qui terram quam Hugo dono regis obtinuit, uiriliter defendit et expugnauit, magnisque et assiduis preliis adquisitam subiecit, simili uirtute tuerentur, hostes arcerent et transire eos montana nullomodo sustinerent. Quapropter Geruasium, uirum illustrem et nobilissimum de regno occidentalis Francie ortum,<sup>9</sup> bellis gnarum et assuetum, loco Hugonis restituit ac prefecit Tabarie et uniuerse regioni, sciens eum fidelem et bello acerrimum contra omnes gentilium, Sarracenorum aut Turcorum, Damascenorum incursus.

9. Interea dum rex in hiis negotiis illic moram ageret, uiri Ascalonite eius absentiam comperientes, et noui exercitus recessum, Hugonis ac fratris eius interitum, legationem Sur que est Tyrus, et Sagitte que est Sydon, Baruch<sup>a</sup> quoque que est Baurim,<sup>b</sup> cum festinatione dirigunt, ut in armis et copiis in unum die statuto conferantur, et sic Ramnes que est Rama, et Iafeth que est Ioppe in impetu assilientes, uiros Christianorum incautos aggrediantur, alios interimentes, alios captiuos abducentes. Qui usquequaque iuxta legationem Ascalonitarum conuenientes, ad septem milia equitum annumerati, in fortitudine uehementi in planiciem camporum Assur<sup>c</sup> et Ramnes subitis clamoribus irruerunt, ubi peregrinos, incautos et tante multitudinis nescios, iuxta fluuium qui Assur et Ramnes<sup>d</sup> interfuit,<sup>10</sup> reperientes, mense Octobre,<sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>die Mercurii,<sup>f</sup> ipso natali beati Dionisii martyris,<sup>11</sup> lanceis et sagittis fortiter incurrerunt, quorum non minus quam quingenti detruncati ac<sup>g</sup> decollati sunt.

10. Hac in potentia et uirtute armorum suorum tot peregrinis attritis, nimium gloriantes Ascalonite et ceteri gentiles regni Babylonie mox affuerunt in campestribus Ramnes ut expugnarent urbem et eius habitatores bello lacerarent, si forte aliqui prodirent<sup>a</sup> ex ea, prout

9 <sup>a</sup> Barym *N*      <sup>b</sup> Barrim *N*      <sup>c</sup> *E* adds uel Arsit above Assur      <sup>d</sup> Rannes *N*  
<sup>e</sup> Octobri *A*      <sup>f</sup> *f* feria quarta *ACHN*      <sup>g</sup> et *N*

10 <sup>a</sup> *om. N*

<sup>9</sup> Gervase was advocate of the church of Mont-Nôtre-Dame and brother of Hugh, lord of Bazoches-sur-Vesle (dép. Aisne, France). As Gervase 'de Basilica' he is also found in Guibert of Nogent (GN, pp. 347; 349-50; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 201-2).

<sup>10</sup> Nahr al-Futrus (Arabic); Yarkon (Hebrew).

<sup>11</sup> St Dionysius, who was martyred c.250, was especially important as being responsible

8. The king received from Sidon fifteen thousand bezants for the safety of the city, and then he turned aside with all the cavalry of his household to Tiberias so that he might deploy there a garrison of strong men, who would protect with like strength the land which Hugh had held by the king's gift and had bravely defended and fought for and, once secured, had subdued by great and constant battles, and who would fend off the enemy and in no way suffer them to cross the mountain regions. For this purpose he appointed in Hugh's place Gervase, a famous and very noble man who was born in the realm of western France,<sup>9</sup> skilful and practised in war, and set him over Tiberias and the whole district, knowing him to be loyal and very zealous in war against all attacks of the gentiles, whether Saracens or Turks or Damascenes.

9. Meanwhile, while the king was delaying in that place to deal with these things, the Ascalonite men got to know of his absence, and of the retreat of the new army, and the death of Hugh and his brother, so they hastily organized a legation to the people of Sur (which is Tyre) and Sagitta (which is Sidon), also Baruch (which is Beirut), instructing them to assemble with weapons and forces on an appointed day and launch an assault on Ramnes (which is Ramla) and Japhet (which is Jaffa), so that they would come upon the Christian men unawares, kill some, and take others captive. They came from everywhere in response to the Ascalonites' legation, numbering some seven thousand cavalry, and with sudden shouts they charged in violent strength onto the level plains of Arsuf and Ramla, where they surprised the pilgrims, who were heedless and unaware of so great a horde, next to the river which flows between Arsuf and Ramla,<sup>10</sup> and in the month of October, on a Wednesday, the very feast of blessed Dionysius the martyr,<sup>11</sup> they attacked strongly with lances and arrows and no fewer than five hundred of the pilgrims were butchered and beheaded.

10. With so many pilgrims destroyed by the power and strength of their weapons, the Ascalonites and the other gentiles from the kingdom of Egypt triumphed exceedingly, and they soon appeared on the plains of Ramla to attack the city and provoke its inhabitants to

for the conversion of Gaul. His feast day was 9 Oct., which in 1106 fell on a Tuesday and in 1107 on a Wednesday. Fulcher places these events in 1107. Nevertheless, Hagenmeyer prefers 1106 (FC, pp. 515-17 n. 5), which fits in with Albert's 'Meanwhile . . .' at the beginning of this chapter.

636 solitum semper eorum audacia habebat<sup>b</sup> re|sistere. Erant<sup>c</sup> hac die Christiani ciues et milites inprouisi et immunes;<sup>d</sup> equites uero non amplius<sup>e</sup> octo in urbis defensione et tutione reperti sunt. Qui, cum defensore suo, quodam Baldwino nomine,<sup>12</sup> nimium perterriti, omnes uires et apparatus regis Babylonie adesse arbitantes, sine mora in equis celerrimis octo equites urbem egressi sunt, ac Iafeth introeuntes nunciauerunt Rotgero de castello Roiset,<sup>f</sup> qui urbi Iafeth preerat, et ceteris conchristianis,<sup>g</sup> quoniam Ascalonite et tota uirtus Babylonie<sup>h</sup> campestris urbis Ramnes occupassent, et proculdubio eos sine intermissione ad<sup>i</sup> urbis Iafeth menia properare. Hoc audito, quotquot erant equites in urbe Iafeth et pedites ex<sup>j</sup> subita ammonitione Rotgeri a porta urbis accincti armis processerunt inobuiam<sup>k</sup> appropinquantis hostis<sup>k</sup> ut menia et urbis introitum inimicis omni armorum genere et uirtute prohiberent.

11. Verum Ascalonite et Arabite, ex industria in latibulis montium qui ex aduerso sunt copias suas abscondentes, premiserunt uiros<sup>a</sup> in<sup>b</sup> equo et<sup>b</sup> lancea et sagitta<sup>c</sup> peritissimos, ut cursu rapidissimo usque ad urbis ianuam aduolantes uiros urbis longius protraherent donec in insidias incidentes, undique eos circumuenirent et, a latibulis erumpentes, nescios et incautos alios trucidarent, alios uero captiuarent. At Rotgerus suiue commilitones in armis parati obuam exeuntes, cum Arabitis conflagere non abstinuerunt, ac,<sup>d</sup> plurimum diei equestri contentione et discursu consumentes, graui uulnere uexati et multo labore exhausti sunt. Tandem Christianis ex prospero successu longius insequentibus, Arabitis uero interdum ex industria cedentibus, hostiles copie a montanis progresse, usquequaque nimie et innumerabiles apparere et appropriare ceperunt. Sed Christiani, licet hoc bellum a Babylonia transmissum estimauerint,<sup>e</sup> nequaquam formidine concuti potuerunt, fortiter resistentes et in Domino Iesu spem uite ponentes, pro cuius nomine et amore omnem cognationem carnis et sanguinis reliquerunt.

<sup>b</sup> erat A      <sup>c</sup> N adds autem after erant      <sup>d</sup> immuniti A      <sup>e</sup> N adds quam after  
amplius      <sup>f</sup> Royseth N      <sup>g</sup> Christianis N      <sup>h</sup> Babyloniorum A      <sup>i</sup> ab N  
<sup>j</sup> et N      <sup>k</sup> appropinquantis hosti C; appropinquantibus hosti HN

11      <sup>a</sup> om. N      <sup>b</sup> equis (et om.) ACHN      <sup>c</sup> sagittis H      <sup>d</sup> et A  
<sup>e</sup> estimauerunt N

<sup>12</sup> Little is known about Baldwin's background, but this is the first mention of the founder of an important dynasty in the Latin East: see Mayer, 'The origins of the lordships', pp. 543-4. Mayer demonstrates that at this point Ramla was part of the royal

battle, if any happened to come forth from it, as it was always their custom to fight back boldly. This day the Christian citizens and the soldiers were unprepared and unprotected; indeed no more than eight cavalry were found to defend and protect the city. These, with their defender, one Baldwin by name,<sup>12</sup> were very frightened indeed, thinking all the forces and armament of the king of Egypt were at hand, but without delay the eight knights rode out of the city on swift horses and they entered Jaffa and announced to Roger of the castle of Rozoy, who was in charge of the city of Jaffa, and to the rest of their fellow Christians, that the Ascalonites and the whole strength of Egypt had taken possession of the plains of the city of Ramla, and they were certainly fast approaching the ramparts of the city of Jaffa even then. When they heard this, on Roger's immediate command as many cavalry and infantry as were in the city of Jaffa left the city gates fully armed to meet the approaching enemy, and by means of all sorts of strength of weapons to bar the ramparts and deny entry into the city to their adversaries.

II. But the Ascalonites and Arabs, taking pains to conceal their forces in hiding places in the mountains which were opposite Jaffa, sent men in advance who were very skilled on horseback with lance and arrow, to gallop up to the city gate and lure men some distance out of the city until they fell into an ambush, and then they would surround them on all sides and, bursting out of their hiding places, catch them unawares and unprepared, slaughtering some, taking others captive. But Roger and his comrades were ready with their weapons and rode out to meet them, and did not refrain from fighting with the Arabs, and, taking up the greater part of the day with a cavalry contest and running battle, they were afflicted with serious wounds and worn out by the great struggle. At length, when the Christians had won the day and were pursuing for some distance, and while the Arabs in the meantime were deliberately retreating, the enemy troops came out of the mountains and began to appear on all sides in vast, countless numbers and to draw near. But the Christians, although they thought this war force had been sent from Egypt, were not at all intimidated, but fought back strongly and put their hope of life in Lord Jesus, for whose name and love they had relinquished all their kindred of flesh and blood.

domain, with Baldwin the castellan, and only later did he become Ramla's seigneur. Murray suggests he may be identical with Baldwin of Heestert: *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 187.

12. Ad hec quidam Gerardus<sup>13</sup> eques de domo regis Baldwini, qui partem redditus ciuitatis Iafeth pro militari obsequio obtinebat, mediis  
 637 Christianorum turmis | equo uelocissimo affuit, uirtutem et copias inimicorum <sup>a</sup>intolerabiles adeo<sup>a</sup> asserens ut numquam presens Christianorum manus nunc has sufferre possit,<sup>b</sup> et ideo consultius esse equites et pedites in urbis tutamina redire et menia defensare. Huius itaque uerba diffidentie alii<sup>c</sup> uiri uehementer indignabantur, et formidolosos factos ad uocem Gerardi arguebant, stare et repugnare adhortantes; alii uero <sup>d</sup>Gerardi consiliis<sup>d</sup> adquiescere nunc, absente rege, acclamabant, nimio terrore concussi. Hoc etenim discidio in momento et ictu oculi<sup>14</sup> sic cetus Christianorum disturbati ac diffusi,<sup>e</sup> communem inierunt fugam uersus urbem<sup>f</sup> Iafeth, quemadmodum apes a facie turbinis auolare et dispergi solent.

13. Sarraceni autem et Arabite, uidentes uiros formidine defecisse fugamque <sup>a</sup>ad urbem<sup>a</sup> arripuisse, non parce equos urgentes fugitiuos insequuntur. Quos atrociter lanceis et sagittis infigunt, preter eos qui in porta ciuitatis euaserunt. Rotgerus uero et Gerardus ceterique Christianorum milites, equorum uelocitate elapsi, in impetu fuge tardos ac miseros pedites conculcabant, nec erat fas ulli aut spacium frena retinendi a facie insequentis et eos percutientis. Sola spes uiuendi porta urbis erat eam intrare contendentibus. Sic tandem hiis graui insecutione urgentibus, hiis uero in grandi pressura portam obtinentibus, quidam Christianorum lento cursu tardiores exclusi, ante ianuam et muros urbis armis impiorum gentilium occubuerunt, et ad quadraginta ibidem decollati sunt.

14. Hanc quippe<sup>a</sup> uictoriam Ascalonite adepti, nullam modo urbis menibus uim inferre conati sunt, sed capita decollatorum auferentes, gauisi<sup>b</sup> prospero euentu belli, in terminos Ramnes reuersi sunt, in tubis et bucinis, in superbia magna castellum Arnolphi<sup>15</sup> obsidentes,

12 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> innumerabiles adeo et intolerabiles (intolerabilis N) ACHN; <sup>b</sup> posset H  
<sup>c</sup> alteri A <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> Gerardo A <sup>e</sup> diffusi A; C has diffusi altered from diffusi <sup>f</sup> om.  
 ACHN

13 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN

14 <sup>a</sup> itaque H <sup>b</sup> gauiso N

<sup>13</sup> Probably Gerald the Chamberlain whose name appears in documents 1108–15: RR, nos. 52, 59, 68a, 76b, 80; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 199–200.

<sup>14</sup> 1 Cor. 15: 52.

<sup>15</sup> Castellum Arnaldi, or C. Arnulfi, now Yalu, west of Jerusalem, was rebuilt in 1132–3

12. At this point a certain Gerard,<sup>13</sup> a knight of King Baldwin's household, who held a part of the revenue of the city of Jaffa in return for military service, arrived in the midst of the throngs of Christians on a very swift horse, claiming the strength and forces of the enemy were so irresistible that the present band of Christians could never withstand them, and therefore it was more sensible for the cavalry and infantry to return inside the protection of the city and defend the ramparts. Because his words were so lacking in confidence, some men were violently angry, reproving those who were made fearful by Gerard's speech and exhorting them to stand and fight; others indeed were now, in the absence of the king, shouting their agreement with Gerard's advice, struck by very great terror. On account of this disagreement, in a moment and the blink of an eye<sup>14</sup> the companies of Christians were thus upset and scattered, and they all took flight towards the city of Jaffa, resembling bees which fly away and scatter before a whirlwind.

13. Moreover, the Saracens and Arabs, seeing that the men had deserted because of fear and had taken flight towards the city, pursued the escaping soldiers, urging on their horses without restraint. They pierced them hideously with lances and arrows, except those who escaped inside the town gate. Roger and Gerard and the other Christian soldiers, getting clear by the speed of their horses, trampled down slow and wretched footsoldiers in the rush of their flight, and there was no possibility or space to rein in their horses before those who were pursuing and cutting them down. The only hope of survival was the city gate for those who were struggling to enter it. So at length, with one lot of people bearing down heavily in pursuit, another reaching the gate in a great press, some Christians, who arrived later because of their slow pace, were shut out, and they fell victim to the weapons of the wicked gentiles before the gate and walls of the city, and some forty were beheaded in that place.

14. In fact, after the Ascalonites had won this victory they did not try to force their way through the city ramparts at all, but returned into the territory of Ramla, carrying off the heads of the decapitated soldiers, rejoicing at the fortunate outcome of the battle, sounding horns and trumpets, and besieging in their great arrogance Castle Arnolf,<sup>15</sup> which

according to William of Tyre (WT, pp. 639–40). For a description of its later history and surviving remains see R. D. Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 106–7, no. 231.

quod uersus Ierusalem in montanis ad tuendam regionem iussu catholici regis muris et menibus edificatum prominebat. Illic biduo obsidionem facientes, et minas manganarum ac<sup>c</sup> machinarum promittentes,<sup>d</sup> adeo uiros inhabitantes exterruerunt ut Gunfridus, custos ac prepositus arcis et turris Ierusalem, qui et huic Arnolfi presidio  
 638 nunc<sup>e</sup> preerat, uix uita im|petrata<sup>f</sup> dextras Sarracenorum quereret,<sup>f</sup> se in deditionem redderet ac presidii ianuam hostibus aperiret. Hii<sup>g</sup> ingressi statim muros presidii diruerunt, inuentos in ore gladii percusserunt, solum Gunfridum uite reservantes, captum Ascalona<sup>h</sup> perduxerunt.

15. Dehinc<sup>a</sup> a die hac Mercurii<sup>a</sup> post natale sancti Dionisii martiris sexta feria inchoante,<sup>16</sup> Ascalonite triumpho suo letati et exaltati, octo galidas aptantes, in eis uiros sagittarios ac robustissimos constituerunt, qui usque Iafeth nauigio applicarent, estimantes aliquas Christianorum naues<sup>b</sup> sibi occursare quibus aduersari captione aut submersione ualerent. Et ecce in impetu magno et tubarum sonitu, orto mane, Ioppe applicantes nauim<sup>c</sup> immanissimam quam appellant dromonem,<sup>d</sup> diuersis rebus et uite necessariis onustam, in portu urbis a longe speculantur. Quam undique aggressi nimia inpugnatione exspoliauerunt, duos solummodo uiros ad custodiendam nauim relictos, sagittis<sup>e</sup> confixerunt. Ciues uero Christiani urbis Iafeth, considerantes Sarracenos preualere et custodes dromonis mortificasse, rebus eam exspoliassse, subuenire in lancea, arcu et fundibulis<sup>f</sup> properauerunt, quousque nauis illa pergrandis excussa et retenta est.<sup>g</sup> Hanc<sup>h</sup> uero nauiculam, que dromoni ad alleuiandum semper adhibebat, Sarraceni in uirtute sua abruperunt,<sup>i</sup> quam etiam multis diuitiis oneratam abduxerunt.

16. Igitur tam graui<sup>a</sup> casu et infortunio bis et ter Christianis fratribus et eorum ciuitatibus disturbatis, subito fama per omnia uolitans auribus regis Baldwini in regione et ciuitate Tabarie grauius insonuit, que uehementer eum de omnibus que acciderant commouit, eo quod, dimissis sociis et copiis, urbibus et locis Sarracenorum pepercisset, et

<sup>c</sup> et A      <sup>d</sup> facientes A      <sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f f</sup> a Sarracenis dextras inquireret A  
<sup>g</sup> Qui ACHN      <sup>h</sup> Ascalonam ACHN

15      <sup>a a</sup> ab hac quarta feria ACHN      <sup>b</sup> H adds uires uel before naues      <sup>c</sup> nauem  
 CEHN      <sup>d</sup> drumonem A      <sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> fundibulis A      <sup>g</sup> om. N      <sup>h</sup> Eam  
 ACHN      <sup>i</sup> abruptam A

16      <sup>a</sup> grandi H

had been built with walls and ramparts in the mountainous region towards Jerusalem and stood out there to protect the district on the orders of the Christian king. By making a siege there for two days, and threatening mangonels and siege engines, they terrified the men living there to such an extent that Gunfrid, the guardian and commander of the citadel and tower of Jerusalem, who was now also in charge of this Castle Arnolf, was only just able to save his life, and he sought the Saracens' right hands: he surrendered himself up and opened the gate of the fortress to the enemy. When they entered they at once demolished the fortress walls and put people they found to the sword, keeping only Gunfrid alive, whom they took off captive to Ascalon.

15. Then as the sixth day was beginning after this Wednesday which was the feast of St Dionysius the martyr,<sup>16</sup> the Ascalonites rejoiced and were elated by their triumph, and they took eight galleys, stationing in them men who were archers and very tough, who would sail all the way to Jaffa, for they thought that they would run into some Christian ships which they would be able to engage and capture or sink. And at daybreak, as they were sailing to Jaffa with great might and sounding of trumpets, they suddenly spotted from a distance a huge ship which they call a dromon, laden with various things and vital supplies, in the city harbour. They attacked it from all sides with a great assault and plundered it, shooting with arrows the two men who were all that had been left to guard the ship. The Christian citizens of the city of Jaffa, seeing the Saracens prevailing and the guards of the dromon killed, and the ship plundered of its cargo, hastened to relieve it with lances, bows, and slings, until the enormous ship was seized and held. But the Saracens snatched away with all their might a little ship, which was all along sticking close to the dromon to unload it, and as it was also laden with great riches they took it away.

16. After the Christian brothers and their towns had been troubled two or three times by such serious misfortunes and reverses, the bad news, speeding through everything on the way, suddenly reached the ears of King Baldwin in the region and city of Tiberias, and he was seriously disturbed about everything which had happened because, having sent away his comrades and troops, he had spared the cities

<sup>16</sup> 15 Oct. 1106(?).

quoniam sic eum<sup>b</sup> in fraude predictae pecunie<sup>c</sup> circumuenire presumpsissent.<sup>17</sup> Vnde sine mora Iafeth reuersus, quingentis equitibus in galea et lorica contractis, peditibus uero ad sex milia, Ascalonam  
 639 in | ultione<sup>d</sup> suorum proficisci disposuit,<sup>e</sup> et usque ad locum Palmarum, qui est conterminus castello Beroart,<sup>f</sup><sup>18</sup> quod duobus miliaris distat <sup>g</sup>a ciuitate Ascalona<sup>g</sup> profectus est.

17. Illic in loco eodem consilio habito cum suis, considerabat quia hoc tempore<sup>a</sup> nihil contra Ascalonam assultus eius proficerent, uel in satis uel in uineis, <sup>b</sup>siue in<sup>b</sup> arboribus populandis, eo quod radicitus regione ante hos dies sepius<sup>c</sup> uastata, igne et preda nihil intactum extra urbem reliquissent. Ciues uero et milites Arabite nequaquam a menibus urbis ullos suorum procedere permiserunt, de quibus rex uindicta suorum accepta, iram animi sui mitigaret, et ideo Ierusalem cum domno patriarcha, ultione suorum dilata, reuersus est. Eodem anno Rorgus, qui dono regis ciuitati Cayphas<sup>d</sup> preerat, infirmitate ualida occupatus,<sup>e</sup> longo tempore languit, dum tandem molestia corporis adaucta, finem uite fecit, et in stillicidio porticus ecclesie dominici sepulchri honorifice et catholice locatus<sup>f</sup> est.

18. Eodem quoque tempore quo rex Baldwinus Sagittam obsidere distulit, Anglicosque milites remisit, Hugo de Tabaria in arcu Turci et sagitta occidit,<sup>a</sup> quidam princeps<sup>19</sup> ciuitatis nomine<sup>b</sup> Femie,<sup>20</sup> qui longe et late inmensa potestate terre in circuitu preerat, eo quod Christianis et peregrinis satellitibus largus et propicius habebatur, a quodam Sarraceno, Bothero nomine,<sup>21</sup> qui secum in militari obsequio et conuentione solidorum morabatur, plurimum inuidie et indignationis pertulit, dum tandem quadam die, uisa oportunitate sue malicie, in falsa fide ab eo<sup>c</sup> Bothero cenandi gratia inuitatus, fraude

<sup>b</sup> om. N      <sup>c</sup> A adds ipsi after pecunie      <sup>d</sup> ultionem A      <sup>e</sup> uoluit ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> Beroat A; Berwert N      <sup>g</sup> ab Ascalona ciuitate A

17      <sup>a</sup> CHN add in before tempore      <sup>b</sup> uel N      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> om. H  
<sup>e</sup> correctus A      <sup>f</sup> sepultus ACHN

18      <sup>a</sup> occiditur N      <sup>b</sup> om. C      <sup>c</sup> eodem ACHN

<sup>17</sup> See above x. 4, 7. As Baldwin had kept the pact secret, he could not now accuse Sidon of treachery without revealing his own duplicity.

<sup>18</sup> Castellum Beroart, now Mīnāt al-Qal'a (Arabic)/Horvat Ashdod Yam (Hebrew), was an early Muslim fort near Ashdod which may have been occupied by the Franks in the later 12th c.: see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 72, no. 153. This 'place of palms' is evidently a different one from that in AA vii. 41.

<sup>19</sup> Identified as Khalaf ibn Mulā'ib: *RHC Occ* iv. 639, note (a); IA, p. 232.

and places of the Saracens, and because they had thus dared to deceive him by the treacherous offer of money mentioned above.<sup>17</sup> So he returned to Jaffa at once, called up five hundred cavalry in helmet and hauberk, and some six thousand infantry, and arranged to set out for Ascalon to avenge his men, marching as far as the place 'of palms', which borders on Castle Beroart,<sup>18</sup> which is two miles from the town of Ascalon.

17. There in that same place he took counsel with his men, and he reflected that at this time an attack on Ascalon would not be much use, whether he laid waste crops or vines, or indeed trees, because the district had already frequently been totally devastated, and they had left nothing untouched by fire and looting outside the city. The Arab citizens and soldiers did not allow any of their men to come out from the ramparts of the city at all, on whom the king could inflict revenge for his men and soothe the anger of his heart, and so he returned to Jerusalem with the lord patriarch, postponing revenge for his men. In this same year Rorgus, who commanded Haifa by the king's gift, suffered from a serious illness; he was sick for a long time, until at length his body's affliction increased and he made an end to his life, and he was given an honourable and Christian burial in the courtyard of the narthex of the church of the Lord's Sepulchre.

18. Also at that same time when King Baldwin put off besieging Sidon, and sent back the English soldiers, and Hugh of Tiberias died by the bow and arrow of a Turk, a certain prince<sup>19</sup> of the town called Apamea,<sup>20</sup> who ruled over the land around with immense power far and wide, because he was considered generous and kind by his Christian and pilgrim subjects, put up with a lot of ill-will and provocation from a certain Saracen, Botherus by name,<sup>21</sup> who stayed with him in military service and by a money agreement, until eventually one day Botherus saw an opportunity to vent his spite, and the prince was invited by him to a feast in false faith, and he was

<sup>20</sup> The classical Greek city, Afāmiya (prov. Hama, Syria): R. Burns, *Monuments of Syria* (London, 1992), pp. 45–50.

<sup>21</sup> According to the *Recueil* edition, Albert's 'Botherus' was 'Abu Taher es-Saigh', the leader of the Assassins in Aleppo. Nicholson suggests a missionary, Abu'l-Fath: *RHC Occ* iv. 639, note (b); Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 158. Ibn al-Qalanisi says the assassination was the work of 'a party of the Bāṭiniya, dispatched from Aleppo by the man known as Abū Tāhir the Persian goldsmith . . . His emissaries acted in collusion with one of their missionaries known as Abu'l-Fath of Sarmīn, who was living in Afāmiya' (IQ, pp. 72–3). The date the news reached Damascus was 3 Feb. 1106, which reinforces the case for 1106 for the events mentioned in the opening sentence of this chapter.

et absconsis in domo insidiis circumuentus, ab illius complicitibus  
 640 interemptus est. Eo autem sic | in dolo perempto, ciues ciuitatis, tam  
 crudelis facinoris ignari,<sup>d</sup> nimia ira aduersus Botherum exarserunt,  
 sepe animati in ultionem sui principis et illorum contritionem et  
 expulsionem qui in eum manum mittere ausi sunt.

19. Botherus igitur, in una turrium ciuitatis firmissima hospitatus,  
 ciues habens suspectos, et eo precipue quod Christiani essent,  
 Brodohan<sup>a</sup> principi ciuitatis Halapie<sup>b</sup> occulte nuncios direxit, ut  
 subito congregatis copiis descendens, ciuitatem Femiam occuparet  
 et expugnaret, et,<sup>c</sup> adinuicem dextris datis, ciuitatem et regionem  
 obtinerent. Hec Christiani et Armenici ciues intelligentes, exterriti  
 sunt uehementer, eo quod rursum dominio gentilis tyranni Brodohan  
 subderentur, et sub manu traditoris Botheri constituti seruili iure<sup>d</sup>  
 premerentur. Quapropter, sine dilatione consilio accepto, Tancrado  
 nuncios dirigunt, eo quod uir Christianus et bellator precipuus fuerit,  
 quatenus assumptis uiribus et sociis, ad eos transiens, primatum  
 ciuitatis et regionis apprehenderet, ac deinceps obtineret. Qui ilico  
 septingentis<sup>e</sup> collectis equitibus, mille uero peditibus, ad ipsam  
 ciuitatem profectus, minime <sup>f</sup>a ciuibus<sup>f</sup> intromissus est. Vniuersos  
 enim ciues et primos urbis Botherus, traditor sceleratus, blandis  
 promissis et magnis muneribus corruerat, ac minis et terroribus  
 animos<sup>g</sup> et corda<sup>g</sup> cunctorum infregerat.

20. Tancradus quidem, uidens sibi ciues auersos, ante urbis menia  
 tentoria locauit ac, trium ebdomadarum spacio illic consummato,<sup>a</sup> in  
 uniuersis assultibus suis nequaquam proficere potuit. Sic omnes  
 traditor auertit. Ieiunium tunc quadragesimale, iam mediatum,  
 processerat. Igitur Tancradus, uidens quia nihil hoc tempore profi-  
 ceret, amotis castris Laodiciam et Antiochiam reuersus<sup>b</sup> est. Non  
 longe ante hoc Laodiciam obsederat ac, superatam sibique subiectam,  
 de manu regis Grecorum et suorum custodia in suam redegit  
 potestatem.<sup>22</sup> Post hec celebratis diebus octo sancti Pasche ritu et

<sup>d</sup> gnari *N*

19 <sup>a</sup> Brodoan *CH* <sup>b</sup> Alapie *AH* <sup>c</sup> atque *ACHN* <sup>d</sup> conditione *ACHN*  
<sup>e</sup> quingentis *N* <sup>f f</sup> om. *H* <sup>g g</sup> om. *A*

20 <sup>a</sup> consummato *H* <sup>b</sup> profectus *A*

treacherously surrounded by an ambush hidden in his home, and was killed by Botherus's henchmen. After he was treacherously killed in this way, the townspeople, caught unawares by so cruel a crime, were inflamed by a great anger against Botherus and were frequently motivated to avenge their prince and to destroy and drive out those who had dared to lay hands on him.

19. Botherus, who was quartered in one of the strongest towers of the town, considered the citizens suspect, and especially so because they were Christians, so he secretly sent messengers to Ridwan prince of the city of Aleppo, to come down at once with his assembled forces and seize and conquer the city of Apamea, and, when they had pledged right hands on both sides, they would possess the city and the region. When the Christians and Armenian citizens realized this they were desperately afraid, for the reason that they would again be subjected to the rule of the gentile tyrant Ridwan, and they would be made slaves by law and oppressed under the hand of the traitor Botherus. On this account, having taken advice without delay, they sent messengers to Tancred, because he was a Christian man and an exceptional warrior, asking him to assemble forces and allies and come across to them, and seize the overlordship of the city and region, and then it would be his. Tancred assembled seven hundred cavalry on the spot, and one thousand infantry, and marched to that very town, where he was not admitted by the citizens. For Botherus, wicked traitor, had bribed all the citizens and important people of the city by coaxing promises and large gifts, and had broken everyone's spirits and hearts by threats and intimidation.

20. Tancred, indeed, seeing that the citizens had turned against him, pitched his tents before the city ramparts and, having spent a period of three weeks there, he was unable to succeed in any of his attacks at all. Thus the traitor repulsed everyone. Then Lent, already half over, came to an end. Therefore Tancred, seeing that he would make no progress at this time, struck camp and returned to Latakia and Antioch. Not long before this he had besieged Latakia and brought it back into his power, conquered and subject to him, from the hand of the king of Greece and the protection of his men.<sup>22</sup> After this, holy

<sup>22</sup> Albert is mistaken and Tancred did not recover Latakia until after 1108: see Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae*, ii. 905–6; Anna Komnene demonstrates Byzantine control in 1105 and at the treaty of Devol, 1108 (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 56, 125–39; trans. Sewter, pp. 371–2, 428, 431); Nicholson, *Tancred*, p. 160 n. 3.

honore Christiano,<sup>c</sup> Tancradus, readunatis usquequaque sociis et uiribus, Femiam<sup>d</sup> descendit, undique machinas et mangelas applicans, ut sic forte superata ciuitas in manu sua et non in manu Brodohan redderetur, ciues cum traditore punirentur.<sup>23</sup>

- 641 21. Interea dum frustra assultibus et machinis circa hanc laboraret, et minime ciues absterret, diesque plurimi iam preterirent, duo filii principis ciuitatis in fraude occisi, qui, patris morte audita, uix de manu Botheri in umbra noctis elapsi Damascum effugerant, apud cognatos suos illic moram facientes propter metum Botheri et Brodohan, nunc audientes quia denuo Tancradus Femiam obsederat, et Brodohan nihil aduersus eum<sup>a</sup> poterat, nuncios Tancrado miserunt, quoniam sibi in auxilium et ultionem sanguinis patris eorum<sup>b</sup> uenirent, si utile et<sup>c</sup> acceptum sibi suisque uideretur.<sup>24</sup> Tancradus autem, nunciis eorum auditis et benigne remissis, libenti animo eos sibi in auxilium affuturos annuit, foedus cum eis percutiens de omnibus que circa urbem<sup>d</sup> et aduersus ciues et Botherum acturus esset. Hii uero, iuxta quod deuouerant centum milites tam Turcos quam Arabitas<sup>e</sup> assumptes,<sup>f</sup> Femiam usque ad<sup>g</sup> castra Tancradi uenerunt, cui in hoc modo locuti sunt: 'Terra et ciuitas hec sedes patris<sup>h</sup> et antecessorum nostrorum fuit, sed inuidia et auaricia Botheri ab hac eiecti sumus, exules facti, et ideo nunc a te refugium et auxilium querimus, foedus inimus, fidem firmamus<sup>i</sup> ut<sup>j</sup> si hec menia apprehenderis, non inuidemus, nihil spei in eius recuperatione gerimus, sed cum beniuolentia omnia tibi concedimus; nobis post hec que tibi in animo uidentur pro militari obsequio<sup>k</sup> facias et rependas.<sup>k</sup> Sic dextris datis super hiis omnibus Tancradum beniuolum et sibi satisfaciendum reppererunt.<sup>l</sup>

22. Nec mora assultus assidui et iactus lapidum sine intermissione<sup>a</sup> a foris<sup>a</sup> fiunt, sed frustra omnia uidentur fieri, dum tandem uallo tota circumfoditur ciuitas, ne cui deintus aliquo patente exitu, ciues fame

<sup>c</sup> Christianorum ACHN

<sup>d</sup> Phemiam E

21 <sup>a</sup> eam A <sup>b</sup> sui H <sup>c</sup> om. A <sup>d</sup> A adds et eius menia after urbem  
<sup>e</sup> Arabitas et Turcos H <sup>f</sup> sumentes ACHN <sup>g</sup> in H <sup>h</sup> A adds nostri after  
 patris <sup>i</sup> seruamus ACHN <sup>j</sup> om. ACHN <sup>k</sup> facies et rependes ACHN  
<sup>l</sup> inuenerunt A; reppererunt C

22 <sup>a</sup> afforis A

<sup>23</sup> Tancred's biographer stresses that he was besieging Latakia too at this time; thus his army was divided and only a very small force took Apamea: RC, p. 715.

Easter Week was celebrated according to the Christian rite and honour, and Tancred, having reassembled his allies and forces from everywhere, went down to Apamea, bringing siege engines and mangonels to bear on all sides, so that the town would be overpowered and surrendered into his hands and not into Ridwan's hands, and the citizens punished along with the traitor.<sup>23</sup>

21. Now, while he was labouring in vain with attacks and siege engines around this town, and was not making any impression on the citizens at all, and already very many days were passing, two sons of that prince of the city who had been treacherously killed (who, when they heard of their father's death had only just escaped from Botherus's hands in the darkness of night and fled to Damascus, staying there with their relations because of their fear of Botherus and Ridwan) heard that Tancred had renewed his siege of Apamea, and that Ridwan had been able to do nothing against him, so they sent messengers to Tancred, asking that they might come to him to assist him and avenge the blood of their father, if it seemed useful and acceptable to him and his men.<sup>24</sup> Tancred, moreover, heard their messengers and graciously returned them, and agreed willingly that they should come to his assistance, concluding a treaty with them concerning everything which he was to do around the city and against the citizens and Botherus. In accordance with their promise, they took a hundred soldiers, as many Turks as Arabs, and came to Apamea right into Tancred's camp, and they spoke to him in this way: 'This land and city was the seat of our father and our ancestors, but we were thrown out of it by Botherus's envy and greed, and made exiles, and so we are now seeking refuge and assistance from you; we are entering into a treaty, confirming our faith, so that if you should gain possession of these ramparts, we are not begrudging, nor are we nursing any hopes of its recovery, but we concede everything to you with goodwill; after these things which seem to be your intention you may take us and pay us for military service.' When they had pledged right hands thus on all these matters they found Tancred well disposed and satisfactory to them.

22. At once there were constant attacks and an unceasing bombardment of stones from outside, but everything seemed to happen without result, until at last the entire town was surrounded by an

<sup>24</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi names only one suppliant, Musbih ibn Mulā'ib (IQ, p. 74).

sic artati, et traditor qui in ea habitabat, in manum et ditionem<sup>b</sup> Tancradi redderentur. Quod et actum est. Ciues namque et idem traditor fame intolerabili oppressi, et uim Tancradi ultra sufferre non ualentes, sibi parcere rogauerunt, dextrasque sibi dari, ciuitatis<sup>c</sup> portas aperire promittentes. Dehinc Tancradus, a suis consilio accepto, eo quod longo obsidionis tedio fatigati essent, et iam usque  
 642 ad Augusti mensem conse|dissent, petitioni Botheri et ciuium urbis adqueiuit, uidelicet ut Bothero dextram daret, ciuibus parceret, patefactam sibi urbem pacifice intraret, redditamque obtineret. Et ita factum est.<sup>d 25</sup>

23. Filii autem principis "in dolo"<sup>a</sup> occisi hec indignantes Tancradum obnixe precati<sup>b</sup> conuenerunt, dicentes non tam nefarium hominem et tam nequam traditorem debere ab aliquo recipi, aut uite reseruari, sed omnino de terra deleri. Quibus Tancradus in omni mansuetudine sic respondit: 'Fidem quam promisimus isti, quem satis peruersum scio ac periurum, non Christiani moris est uiolare, sed nostrum est omni populo fidem et ueritatem seruare, 'et ideo<sup>c</sup> huic concedimus uitam cum salute membrorum. Complices uero illius, quibus non indulsimus, in manu uestra siue ad uitam siue ad mortem habeantur, in ultione sanguinis patris uestri, cum primum ab hac obsidione pedem auerterimus, et noster exercitus in sua reditum parauerit. Vobis autem in omnibus commodis uestris manus mea non deficiet.'

24. Post hec uerba Tancradus, ciuitate sibi tradita, et tutela suorum in ea constituta, Antiochiam cum Bothero et ceteris obsidibus remeauit, in fide data et suscepta. Filios uero in dolo occisi principis in regione ciuitatis Femie plurimis prefecit locis. Hii autem filii, in regione hac post descessum Tancradi commorantes, complices Botheri interemerunt reos patris sui interitus, aliosque<sup>a</sup> conscios ac<sup>b</sup> reos eiusdem necis crebris insidiis comprehensos aut menbris debilitauerunt aut laqueo iugulatos suffocauerunt.

<sup>b</sup> deditionem *H*      <sup>c</sup> om. *A*      <sup>d</sup> *ACHN* add tradita ciuitate after est

23    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> om. *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> precatum *ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup> ideoque *ACHN*

24    <sup>a</sup> alios *A*      <sup>b</sup> et *ACHN*

<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi dates the surrender of Apamea 14 Sept. 1106. His account agrees closely with Albert's: he says that Musbih b. Mulā'ib had escaped the coup at Apamea, had taken refuge with Tancred, and urged him to return to the siege because he knew of the shortage of provisions. Abu'l-Fath was put to death, but Abu Tahir and others were held for ransom (IQ, p. 74).

entrenchment, so that with no way out open for anyone inside—the citizens who were hence suffering from hunger, or the traitor who was living in it—it would be surrendered into Tancred's hands and authority. And this was done. For indeed the citizens and that same traitor were suffering from unendurable hunger, and could withstand Tancred's might no longer, so they asked him to spare them, and for right hands to be pledged, promising to open the gates of the town. Then Tancred, having taken advice from his men, because they were exhausted by the long and wearisome siege and they had already been encamped there right up to the month of August, agreed to the petition from Botherus and the citizens of the town, that is to say, that he should pledge his right hand to Botherus, spare the citizens, enter peacefully into the city made open to him, and obtain a surrender. And so it was done.<sup>25</sup>

23. However, the sons of the prince who had been treacherously killed were indignant at this and they came to Tancred pleading with all their might, saying that such a wicked man and evil traitor should not be received by anybody, or his life spared, but should be wiped off the face of the earth. Tancred replied to them very mildly, thus: 'It is not the Christian custom to break the promise I made to that man, who I know well enough is wicked and lying, but to keep our faith and truth with all people, and so we granted this man his life and the safety of his limbs. His accomplices, to whom we have not given that favour, may be held in your hands either to live or to die, in vengeance of your father's blood, since we shall have taken the first step away from this siege and our army will be prepared to return home. Moreover, my hand shall not fail to bestow all rewards on you.'

24. After these words, and once the city was handed over to him and his guardianship was established in it, Tancred returned home to Antioch with Botherus and the rest of his hostages, in accordance with the pledge given and received. He put the sons of the prince who had been treacherously killed in charge of very many places in the region of the town of Apamea. These sons, moreover, who stayed in this region after Tancred's departure, killed Botherus's accomplices who were guilty of their father's murder, and they caught other conspirators and culprits in that death in numerous traps and either crippled their limbs or choked them with a noose around the neck.

25. Dehinc, post mortem Hugonis, rex Baldwinus a Tabaria et terra Sueth eodem anno, celebrato ibidem natali<sup>a</sup> Domini, Ptolomaidam reuersus est, anno regni sui | octauo,<sup>26</sup> ut quiesceret a labore itineris, cum<sup>b</sup> statim illius innotuit auribus quoniam princeps et rex ciuitatis Damasci,<sup>27</sup> de genere Turcorum, arma et apparatus contraxisset ad obsidendam Tabariam, et Geruasium loco Hugonis restitutum expugnare decreuisset, et regis uirtutem non ultra timere. Hoc audito, rex, subito paucis assumptis copiis, circiter centum quadraginta equites, ad resistendum Turcis properauit et, maritima relinquens quindecim sociis adolescentulis in armis et equo peritissimis ex ceteris electis, ad montana tendens, totum exercitum et uires Turcorum explorare audacter precessit. Erat autem uirtus Turcorum ad tria milia uirorum pugnatorum. Iam quidem omnibus exploratis copiis et uisis tentoriis, caute per deuia et notas semitas ad societatem suorum reuersus est.

26. Vix arma sunt deposita, uix equi frenis et sellis spoliati, et ecce quinque Turci assunt in castris regis, facto uespere, qui<sup>a</sup> legati ceterorum de diuersis negociis et pace componenda plurimum loquentes et agentes; tandem benigne suscepti, muneribus<sup>b</sup> quoque preciose uestis et uasorum argenteorum bysantiorumque onerati, et amicis uerbis a rege commendati, post plurimum sermonis ad castra suorum redierunt. Hac igitur gratia et honore hii quinque a rege honestati, ex tunc et deinceps parti illius nimium fauere ceperunt, uirtutem uero<sup>c</sup> et apparatus illius septies magnificare et inter cetum Turcorum extollere quam uidissent, uolentes reddere illi dignam uicem omnium bonorum et donorum que eis rex largitus est. Turci itaque et eorum ductores, hec a suis intellegentes, et multum eis de omnibus que referebant credentes, magna formidine concussi fugam inierunt, undique celum et terram nocte operiente.

27. Hoc a delatoribus rex comperto, insecutus est eos prima diei aurora exurgente, donec per regionem et muros Damascenorum fugiendo dilapsi<sup>a</sup> sunt. Hiis uero in sua tutamina elapsis et clausis,

25    <sup>a</sup> natale *H*                    <sup>b</sup> cui *A*

26    <sup>a</sup> om. *A*                    <sup>b</sup> *A* adds cum before muneribus                    <sup>c</sup> quoque *H*

27    <sup>a</sup> elapsi *H*

<sup>26</sup> Baldwin's eighth Christmas as king was 1107, but this was probably 1106: see notes above.

25. Then, after Hugh's death, King Baldwin returned to Acre from Tiberias and the land of Suweida, having celebrated Christmas there, in that same year, the eighth of his reign,<sup>26</sup> in order to rest from the labour of travelling. But at once it came to his ears that the prince and king of the city of Damascus,<sup>27</sup> a Turk by race, had assembled weapons and equipment to besiege Tiberias, and had determined to conquer Gervase, who had been appointed to Hugh's place, and no longer to fear the king's strength. When he heard this, the king immediately took his few troops, around a hundred and forty cavalry, and hastened to fight the Turks. He left on the coast fifteen young comrades, chosen from the rest, who were experienced with weapons and on horseback, and he made for the mountainous regions, where he went ahead boldly to investigate the size of the army and forces of the Turks. Moreover, the strength of the Turks was some three thousand warriors. Now, indeed, once all the troops were investigated and the tents seen, he returned carefully to his company of men by means of out-of-the-way places and known footpaths.

26. Their weapons had only just been lain aside, their horses only just relieved of reins and saddles, when suddenly five Turks appeared in the royal camp, at evening time, who were envoys of the rest and were talking a lot and dealing with various negotiations and the arrangement of a peace; at length they were graciously received; being also laden with gifts of precious clothing and silver vessels and bezants, they were favoured with friendly words by the king, and after a great deal of discussion they returned to their camp. As these five had been treated by the king with favour and honour, from then on they began to incline much more towards his side, to multiply his strength and equipment sevenfold and to extol among the horde of Turks what they had seen, wanting to return to him a worthy exchange for all the goods and gifts the king had bestowed on them. And so the Turks and their leaders, hearing these things from their men, and putting great faith in them as to all the things they reported, were struck by great dread and took flight while night was covering heaven and earth on all sides.

27. When the king heard this from informers, he pursued the Turks as first light of day was breaking, until they slipped away and made their escape through the district and the walls of Damascus. When

<sup>27</sup> Named in x. 53 as 'Dochinus' and in xi. 1 as 'Hertoldinus': Zāhīr al-Dīn Tuḡtigin, Turkish atabeg of Damascus 1104–28.

644 rex reditum suum abhinc fieri constituit, donec | post dies aliquot  
Bethleem ueniret, ubi in die Epiphanie Domini sollempniter cor-  
onatus est.<sup>28</sup> Dehinc<sup>b</sup> post biduum Ierusalem ascendit. Vbi diebus  
octo moram faciens in diuersis negociis militaris rei, Iafeth deinde  
Naplīs,<sup>29</sup> quam dicunt Samariam, quam idem Baldwinus rex sine  
apparatu bellico subiecit, profectus est ad disponendas et tuendas has  
ciuitates, ne aliqua uersutia et dolus hiis aduersari posset. Post hec,<sup>c</sup>  
post dies nouem de uniuersis locis per circuitum sociis conuocatis,  
rediit Ierusalem mense Februario ubi, capite ieiunii inchoante, in  
monte Syon, Christiano more, cinere asperso capite de manu  
Baldwini episcopi Cesaree Cornelii,<sup>30</sup> ritum quadragesimalem peregit.

28. Sic<sup>a</sup> itaque initiato tempore quadragesimali, proxima die quin-  
gentis militibus assumptis, ex consilio cuiusdam Syri, nomine  
Theodori,<sup>31</sup> cui innotuit quoniam Turci a Damasco descendissent  
ad tria milia in antiqua ualle Moysi<sup>32</sup> ad quoddam presidium  
firmandum, ne cui de gente regis illic negociandi causa uia pateret,  
iter mouit ad destruendum presidium quod Turci, rogatu et consensu  
Arabum, illic collocauerant ad interdicendum transitum uniuersis  
Christianis. Dehinc octo diebus per fetentia flumina Sodome et  
Gomorre et loca deserta ac per montium difficultates gradiens, cum  
uniuersis sociis suis graui defectione oppressis, ad habitationem  
quorundam Syrorum Christianorum peruenit, ubi hospitio demor-  
atus ac<sup>b</sup> satis refocilatus <sup>c</sup>et uniuersi ipsius sequaces sunt.<sup>c</sup> Intelligens  
itaque quoniam Christiani essent, sacerdotem illorum accersiuit,  
sciscitatus ab eo de nouo presidio et Turcorum intentione, ac de  
omnibus ab eo<sup>d</sup> consilium requisiiuit. Qui diluculo exurgens, cum rege  
in fide et ueritate triduo iter fecit, ductor uie et regionis illi factus,  
dum tandem rex conductu illius<sup>e</sup> in loco tuto non longe a presidio et  
Turcis hospitio requieuit.

29. Altera uero<sup>a</sup> die illucescente, idem sacerdos et conuiator surgens  
645 castra Turco | rum intrauit, aliterque eis omnia referens quam essent,

<sup>b</sup> Dein ACHN      <sup>c c</sup> Exinde ACHN

28    <sup>a</sup> Hic C      <sup>b</sup> et A      <sup>c c</sup> cum uniuersis suis quieuit A      <sup>d</sup> illo ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> ipsius ACHN

29    <sup>a</sup> autem N

<sup>28</sup> King Baldwin's coronation had been in Bethlehem at Christmas 1100. There was apparently a formal crown-wearing ceremony as part of the Christmas festivities.

<sup>29</sup> Nābulus (Arabic), in the Samaritan region.

<sup>30</sup> 27 Feb. 1107 (or 18 Feb. 1108).

<sup>31</sup> Not otherwise known.

they had escaped and were enclosed in their strongholds, the king decided to make his return from there, and after some days he came to Bethlehem, where he was solemnly crowned on the day of the Lord's Epiphany.<sup>28</sup> Then after two days he went up to Jerusalem. There he spent eight days in various business of a military nature, and set out for Jaffa, then Nablus,<sup>29</sup> which they call Samaria, which that same Baldwin had overcome without warlike equipment, in order to make arrangements for the protection of these towns, so that he might not be opposed by any cunning or trickery from them. After nine days he called together his comrades from all the places round about, and he returned to Jerusalem in the month of February where, as it was the beginning of the fast, he carried out the Lenten ceremony on Mount Sion, according to the Christian custom, having his head sprinkled with ash from the hand of Baldwin, bishop of Caesarea Corneli.<sup>30</sup>

28. When Lent had thus begun, the next day he took five hundred soldiers, on the advice of a certain Syrian, Theodore by name,<sup>31</sup> who was aware that some three thousand Turks had come down from Damascus into the ancient Valley of Moses<sup>32</sup> to establish a certain fortress, so that no way would be open to the king's people who were in that place for the sake of business, and he made a move to destroy the fortress which the Turks, at the request and with the consent of the Arabs, had sited there to bar the way to all Christians. Then he marched for eight days through the stinking rivers of Sodom and Gomorra and the desert places and the steep slopes of the mountains, he and all his comrades afflicted by severe exhaustion, and he arrived at the dwelling place of certain Syrian Christians, where he stopped as a guest and was adequately refreshed, as were all his followers. Therefore, realizing that they were Christians, he summoned their priest, and he asked him about the new fortress and the 'Turks' intention, and sought advice from him about everything. The priest got up at dawn, and he made a three-day journey with the king in faith and truth, having become his guide to the way and the region, until at length the king, guided by him, rested in a safe place not far from the fortress and the Turks.

29. When another day was dawning, that same priest and fellow traveller got up and entered the Turkish camp, and, reporting

<sup>32</sup> Wādī Mūsā, close to Petra (Ma'an region, Jordan); later the site of a castle, now al-Wu'aira: Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 105, no. 230.

in hunc modum locutus est: 'Rex Baldwinus, cum ingenti manu ab Ierusalem descendens, tantillum mansionis quod nobis erat deuas-  
tauit, nos dispersi sumus, de quibus solus ego ad uos perueniens uix  
aufugit, ut nunciarem uobis ne eius arma et copias<sup>b</sup> expectetis. Non  
enim amplius eius comitatus et apparatus a uobis habetur quam  
miliarii unius interuallo.' Hoc denique audito nuncio, tantus metus  
uniuersorum corda ex Dei uoluntate infixit ut sine mora tentoria sua  
ibidem relinquentes uniuersi fugam maturarent. Vix uero tenebre  
sunt remote, uix mane illuxit, et ecce rex Baldwinus in sonitu  
tubarum et armorum strepitu uallem descendit, sed Turcorum  
neminem repperit,<sup>c</sup> neminem occidit, neminem cepit. Nam tota  
nocte illa non lente fugam inierunt.

30. Arabite autem, quorum consilio Turci a Damasco illuc conue-  
nerant, uite diffidentes, in cauis montium et cecis<sup>a</sup> latebris subito ut  
mures absconsi a facie regis disparuerunt, cum armentis et omni  
suppellectili quod illuc in auxilium edificandi presidii congesserant.  
Rex uero cum exercitu suo uallem descendens, cauationes totius  
regionis perlustrans, ora cauernarum fixis tentoriis obsedit. Sed nec  
sic uiros cogere ualens ut prodirent, tandem igne et fumo suscitato  
ante ora cauearum, uniuersos exire artauit. Quorum mox alii armis  
extincti, alii capti et<sup>b</sup> ad sexaginta abducti sunt, omnibus spoliis  
eorum de antro sublatis, cum asinis plurimis, bobus, ouibus et hircis.<sup>c</sup>

31. Rex igitur, hiis prospere gestis, cum omni manu sua et preda  
quam acceperat, regressus est usque ad torrentem Iordanis, Syros  
confratres et conchistianos e cunctis locis regionis congregans, et ad  
sexaginta secum adducens<sup>a</sup> propter metum Arabitarum, ubi preda  
inter regem et milites diuisa est. Deinde biduo transacto, rex cum  
preda sua, que illi in terciam partem iuxta diuisionem contigerat,<sup>b</sup>  
Ierusalem ascendit, cui in iocunditate et leticia uniuersi Christia-  
norum peregrini et ciues occurrerunt. Post hec quatuor diebus  
euolutis, ab Ierusalem Iafeth descendens ibidem aliquam moram  
646 egit. Sed<sup>c</sup> et Acras ueniens, plurimum illic | de negotio regni sui

<sup>b</sup> uires *A*      <sup>c</sup> reperit *AHN*

30    <sup>a</sup> ceteris *N*      <sup>b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> yrcis *A*; hircis *CHN*

31    <sup>a</sup> abducens *C*      <sup>b</sup> contigerit *N*      <sup>c</sup> Sic *N*

everything to them otherwise than it really was, he spoke in this way: 'King Baldwin, coming down from Jerusalem with an enormous army, destroyed the trifling dwelling which was ours; we were scattered and I was the only one of us who managed to escape and come to you, to warn you not to wait for his weapons and forces. For his company and equipment are no further than the distance of one mile from you.' Then, when this warning was heard, by God's will so great a fear was inspired in the hearts of all that at once they left their tents in that place and everyone made his escape. Scarcely had darkness disappeared, scarcely had morning dawned, when suddenly King Baldwin came down the valley with a blast of bugles and a clashing of weapons, but of the Turks he found no one, he killed no one, he captured no one. For they had taken flight all that night, and not slowly.

30. Moreover, the Arabs, on whose advice the Turks had assembled there from Damascus, feared for their lives, and they vanished before the king, having immediately hidden in mountain caves and blind lurking places like mice, together with their herds and all the goods they had gathered in that place to help in the building of the fortress. The king came down the valley with his army, surveying the caves of the entire region, and blockaded the mouths of the caverns by pitching tents. But he was not able in this way to force the men to emerge, so at length fire and smoke were stirred up in front of the mouths of the caves, and all were obliged to come out. Some of them were soon killed by weapons, others were taken prisoner and some sixty were taken off, all their spoils having been taken out of the cave, with very many donkeys, oxen, sheep, and goats.

31. When these things were successfully done, the king, with all his army and the booty he had taken, assembled from places all over the region Syrian brothers and fellow Christians, and he took some sixty with him on account of their fear of the Arabs, and returned as far as the river Jordan, where the booty was shared out among the king and the soldiers. Then after two days the king went up to Jerusalem with his booty, which had been allocated to him according to the share-out as a third part, and all the Christian pilgrims and citizens met him with joy and happiness. After this four days passed, and he went down from Jerusalem to Jaffa where he stayed for a while. But he also came to Acre, transacting there a great deal of business of his kingdom, then as Easter was drawing near, on that very feast of the

tractans, Pascha propinquante,<sup>33</sup> in ipsa cena Domini Ierusalem repedauit, ubi in hac sacra sollempnitate dominice resurrectionis gloriose et catholice coronatus est. Post dies uero octo, iterato itinere, per castella et ciuitates Ptolomaydam descendit, quin et Tabariam profectus est, ut suos aduersus Turcorum insidias et minas militari solatio corroboraret.<sup>d</sup>

32. Et ecce Ascalonite, gaudentes eius<sup>a</sup> absentia, ad tria milia exierunt in planiciem camporum ciuitatis Ramnes. Sed nihil illic in facto suo proficientes, in ira magna uenientes Ioppen obsederunt. Hec fama tam crudelis in auribus regis, iam de Tabaria Ptolomaidam reuersi, ut innotuit, sexaginta milites, uiros armis et bello strenuos, nauigio Iafeth ad subueniendum ciuibus direxit, et ut eis nunciarent quoniam sine mora rex adunata manu eos subsequeretur. Audientes siquidem ciues quoniam auxilium regis preuenisset, et rex in breui subsequeretur, portas aperientes egressi sunt ad resistendum inimicis ac, utrimque committentes, Sarracenorum duodeuiginti ceciderunt, Christianorum uero tredecim occisi sunt. Reliqui autem Sarracenorum, estimantes regis presentiam adesse, et ideo ciues audacius nunc resistere, Domino Iesu suis<sup>b</sup> prosperante, fugam inierunt. Quos Christiani fortiter insequentes, solummodo sexaginta equos illorum<sup>c</sup> in sagitta et lancea percusserunt, nullum tamen ex hiis apprehenderunt. Nec mora rex, sicut promiserat, Iafeth uenit in magno apparatu armorum, sed uictoria Deo opitulante a<sup>d</sup> suis ciuibus anticipata, optata requie illic cum suis usus est.

33. Quatuor deinde diebus transactis, rex Ierusalem rediit ut dis-  
poneret regnum et sic aliqua quiete frueretur. Cum subito illi ad aures  
peruenit quoniam rursus Ascalonite, Turcis in conuentione soli-  
dorum a Damasco accitis,<sup>a</sup> presidium firmare decreuissent ad  
expugnandum castellum quod dicitur ad sanctum Abraham et  
destruendum, quod tunc quidam Waltherus,<sup>b</sup> cognomine Mahumeth,<sup>34</sup>  
post mortem Rorgii dono regis susceptum tuebatur. Hoc rex sinistris  
647 nunciis | comperiens, septuaginta probis militibus electis et assump-  
tis, illuc festinata uia secessit et apud sanctum Abraham nocte

<sup>d</sup> roboraret A

32 <sup>a</sup> A adds de before eius <sup>b</sup> suos H <sup>c</sup> eorum ACHN <sup>d</sup> om. N

33 <sup>a</sup> ascitis ACHN <sup>b</sup> Waltherus CH

<sup>33</sup> 11 Apr. 1107 (2 Apr. 1108).

Lord he retraced his journey to Jerusalem, where he wore his crown in a glorious and Christian ceremony on this holy festival of the Lord's resurrection.<sup>33</sup> After eight days he travelled once more and went down through the castles and towns to Acre, and even set out for Tiberias, in order to strengthen his men with soldierly encouragement against the ambushes and threats of the Turks.

32. All at once the Ascalonites, rejoicing in his absence, came out to the number of three thousand onto the level plains of the town of Ramla. But as they drew no profit from their deeds there, they came in great wrath and besieged Jaffa. When such cruel news reached the ears of the king, now that he had returned to Acre from Tiberias, he despatched sixty soldiers, men prompt with weapons and war, by ship to Jaffa to assist the citizens, and to tell them that the king would be following them at once when he had assembled an army. Indeed, when the citizens heard that the king's reinforcements had come ahead, and the king would follow shortly, they opened the gates and went out to fight the enemy and, with battle joined on both sides, eighteen Saracens fell; thirteen Christians were killed. The rest of the Saracens, moreover, thinking the king was present in person—which was why the citizens were now resisting more boldly, with Lord Jesus favouring his own—took flight. The Christians pursued them bravely, but they hit only sixty of their horses with arrows and lances and caught none of them at all. At once the king, just as he had promised, came to Jaffa with much equipment of weapons, but as victory was already won by his citizens, with God's help, he took a much desired rest there with his men.

33. Then when four days had passed the king returned to Jerusalem to make arrangements for his kingdom in such a way that he might enjoy some rest. But suddenly the news reached his ears that once again the Ascalonites, having summoned Turks from Damascus for an agreed payment, had decided to establish a fortress to attack and destroy the castle which is called St Abraham's, which at that time one Walter, surnamed Mahumeth,<sup>34</sup> who had received it by gift of the king after Rorgus's death, was defending. When the king ascertained this from the bad news, he selected seventy excellent soldiers to take with him and he withdrew there by a hasty journey and spent the

<sup>34</sup> Walter Mahumeth is presumed to have been a convert from Islam who perhaps adopted his godfather's Christian name. He is found witnessing royal charters 1104–15; see RR, nos. 43, 52, 76b, 79, 80, 134; Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 75 and n. 94.

hospitio quieuit. Mane uero cuiusdam sexte ferie exorto, laxatis equis et frenis, in impetu magno et cornuum<sup>c</sup> stridore uociferantiumque tumultu, Ascalonitarum castra inuadit, quos inscios ac tam repentino turbine stupefactos protinus in fugam coegit.

34. At<sup>a</sup> sui Christiani, auaricia rerum hostilium excecati, et in tentoriis inimicorum nimium studentes ad congreganda spolia et asportanda, belli et armorum obliti sunt. Ascalonite uero et Turci hec considerantes quoniam magis prede quam fugitiuis hostibus intenderent, usquequaque readunati prelium cum eis committentes, quinque de egregiis militibus regis peremerunt, inter quos Hugo de Casel,<sup>35</sup> Albertus<sup>b</sup> Apostolius cognomine<sup>36</sup> armis extincti reperti<sup>c</sup> sunt. Verum rex Deo auxiliante uix recuperatis uiribus suorum inualescens uictoriam tandem adeptus est. Nam triginta ex inimicis in gladio eius ceciderunt, sexaginta capti et abducti, alii diffugio elapsi sunt. Rex uero et sui camelos triginta tres,<sup>d</sup> equos sexaginta octo, cum preda et tentoriis multis Ierusalem adduxerunt,<sup>e</sup> in leticia et exultatione super hac uictoria iocundati.<sup>f</sup>

35. Interea Ascalonite, sue contentionis minime obliti, Ierusalem in armis et copiis confluerunt, per diem illic in equorum discursibus cum pueris regis<sup>a</sup> confligentes. Sed quinque illorum post plurimum contentionis sue cum equis et spoliis<sup>b</sup> illic capti fuisse<sup>c</sup> referuntur. Christianorum uero pedites, qui illis<sup>d</sup> ad resistendum processerant, septem decollati fuisse<sup>e</sup> perhibentur. Siluit post hec regnum et terra regis usque ad Augusti mensem. Nam terrores et mine gentilium multum repressae sunt.

648 36. Post hec diebus aliquot transactis, nunciatum est regi quoniam negociatores Babylonie affuturi essent trans flumen Iordanis in umbra et silentio noctis, ac descensuri ad Sur, Baurim, Sagittam<sup>a</sup> et Damascus ad mutuandas<sup>b</sup> merces, et multum prede posse cum capere ex hiis et gentis sue inopie ex hac posse subuenire.<sup>c</sup> Qui, omnibus ex ordine auditis, sexaginta milites assumens et de nocte consurgens ad oram fluminis descendit. Sed mercatorum copias

<sup>c</sup> cornium A

34 <sup>a</sup> Et AN <sup>b</sup> Aelbertus N <sup>c</sup> om. H <sup>d</sup> ui N <sup>e</sup> abduxerunt HN  
<sup>f</sup> iocundatius E

35 <sup>a</sup> om. H <sup>b</sup> A adds suis after spoliis <sup>c</sup> esse C <sup>d</sup> illic H <sup>e</sup> om. A

36 <sup>a</sup> ACHN add et before Sagittam <sup>b</sup> mutandas H <sup>c</sup> inopiam ex hac subleuare ACHN

night quietly at St Abraham. When the morning dawned of a certain Saturday, the horses were given free rein, and in a great charge and blaring of bugles and din of shouting men he invaded the Ascalonites' camp and while they were taken unawares and stupefied by so sudden a commotion he immediately forced them to flee.

34. His Christian followers, blinded by greed for the enemies' goods, and too eager to collect and carry off spoils in the tents of their adversaries, forgot all about war and weapons. The Ascalonites and the Turks, watching this and seeing that they were more keen in pursuit of booty than of the escaping enemy, came together again from all sides and joined battle with them, and they killed five of the king's outstanding soldiers; among them Hugh of Cassel<sup>35</sup> and Albert nicknamed the Apostle<sup>36</sup> were found killed by weapons. But the king, having only just recovered his forces, with God's help, grew stronger, and at length he seized victory. For thirty of the enemy fell to his sword, sixty were captured and taken away, while others escaped in flight. The king and his men took back to Jerusalem thirty-three camels, sixty-eight horses, with booty and many tents, rejoicing over this victory in happiness and exultation.

35. Meanwhile the Ascalonites, not at all forgetful of their fight, flocked to Jerusalem with weapons and supplies, fighting running battles on horseback there for a day with the king's retainers. But after a great deal of fighting five of them are reported to have been taken prisoner there with their horses and spoils. Seven of the Christian infantry, who had come forth to fight them, are said to have been beheaded. After this the kingdom and the king's lands were peaceful until the month of August, for the gentiles' alarms and threats were greatly curbed.

36. Some days passed after this, and it was announced to the king that merchants from Egypt would arrive across the river Jordan in the darkness and still of the night, and that they would be going down to Tyre, Beirut, Sidon, and Damascus to trade goods, and that he could take a lot of booty from these men and could help his people's need by this. In due course, when he had heard everything, he took sixty soldiers and got up by night and went down to the edge of the river. But, seeing that the numbers of the merchants were too great, he put

<sup>35</sup> Cassel (départ. Pas-de-Calais, France).

<sup>36</sup> Not otherwise known.

uidens esse nimias, facie ad faciem cum eis conflagrare distulit, sed ab eis clam nunc declinans, non mora extremos fortiter inclamans et incurrens undecim gladio strauit, quadraginta captiuos tenuit. Camelos uero undecim zucra oneratos, quatuor similiter<sup>d</sup> pipere onustos et ceteris pigmentis rebusque preciosis, septendecim uero<sup>e</sup> oleum et mel portantes, Ierusalem captos adduxit.<sup>f</sup> Quorum habundantia tota regio peregrinorum releuata et confortata est.

37. Post hec, in anno octauo regni regis Baldwini,<sup>37</sup> Gozelinus de Turbaysel, miles fidelissimus, Baldwinum<sup>a</sup> de Burg, cuius dono<sup>b</sup> pro militari obsequio terram et regionem obtinebat, de manu Geigremich,<sup>c</sup> 38 Turci potentissimi, centum milia bysantiorum dans,<sup>39</sup> redemit, que ab omnibus principibus et uiris Christianis, paruis et magnis, et uniuersis locis<sup>d</sup> et ciuitatibus<sup>d</sup> fidelium plurima prece impetrata collegit. Sic itaque Baldwino redempto et in ciuitatem Rohas cum omni honore relato, Tancrado autem ab eadem ciuitate, quam in custodiam susceperat, exeunte, semper inimicie et inuidia inter utrosque principes adeo excreuerunt, ut, congregata manu, alter alteri preda et insidiis nocere et aduersari non abstineret.<sup>e</sup>

649 38. Tandem quadam die hic ab Antiochia, hic a Rohas in apparatu et armis cum copiis egressi grauiter prelium commiserunt. Sed ex Baldwini societate plurimi cesi et exuperati sunt ac plures capti. <sup>a</sup>Baldwinus autem<sup>a</sup> uix a<sup>b</sup> campo effugiens, in ciuitate Tuluppe<sup>40</sup> a Tancrado et suis obsessus est.<sup>c</sup> Gozelinus uero, qui a campo et hostibus uix euaserat,<sup>d</sup> sciens Baldwinum a Tancrado obsessum, ad Geigremich profectus est, multum instans et obsecrans<sup>e</sup> ut subueniret Baldwino, sibi mutua gratia confederato, et a Tancradi obsidione tam nominatissimum et cognatum regis Ierusalem liberaret.<sup>f</sup> Qui statim quadraginta<sup>g</sup> milibus Turcorum accitis,<sup>h</sup> ad Tuluppam se uenturum

<sup>d</sup> om. H      <sup>e</sup> uero om. N      <sup>f</sup> abduxit H

37    <sup>a</sup> Baldwini A      <sup>b</sup> A adds et after dono      <sup>c</sup> Giegremich A; Gegermich EN  
<sup>d</sup> om. A      <sup>e</sup> abstinere H

38    <sup>a</sup> Ipse uero Baldewinus ACHN      <sup>b</sup> in A      <sup>c</sup> om. N      <sup>d</sup> euasit A  
<sup>e</sup> supplicans A      <sup>f</sup> liberare H      <sup>g</sup> sexaginta A      <sup>h</sup> ascitis A

<sup>37</sup> i.e. before July 1108.

<sup>38</sup> In fact Chökürmish had died in 1106, and Joscelin was now being held by Čawli Saqawu, who had captured Mosul, probably in 1107.

<sup>39</sup> The sources disagree on the size of the ransom: Ibn al-Athir says 20,000 gold pieces; Matthew of Edessa 30,000 *dahekans*; Anon. Syriac 70,000 *dinars* (IA, p. 261; ME, p. 201; Anon. Syriac, p. 81). Anon. Syriac names the mediator as 'Najm ad-Dawla Malik ibn Salim', and Usamah ibn-Munqidh attests to the friendship between him and Joscelin:

off fighting with them face to face, but instead secretly turned aside from them, and, shouting loudly and attacking the rearguard, he at once laid out eleven with his sword, and took forty prisoner. He took captive to Jerusalem eleven camels loaded with sugar, four similarly burdened with pepper and the other spices and precious things, and seventeen carrying oil and honey. The entire land of the pilgrims was relieved and strengthened by the plentiful supply of these things.

37. After this, in the eighth year of King Baldwin's reign,<sup>37</sup> Joscelin of Turbessel, most loyal knight, ransomed Baldwin of Bourcq, by whose gift he held the land and region in return for military service, from the hand of Chokurmish,<sup>38</sup> a very powerful Turk, giving a hundred thousand bezants,<sup>39</sup> which he collected from all the princes and Christian men, small and great, and all the places and cities of the faithful, obtaining them by urgent beseeching. And so, when Baldwin had been ransomed in this way and taken back with all honour to the city of Edessa, and when Tancred was leaving this same city, which he had taken under his protection, the enmity and envy that had always existed between the two princes increased so much that each assembled an army and did not hold back from harming and opposing the other by looting and ambushes.

38. At last, one day, the one came out from Antioch and the other from Edessa, with their troops equipped and armed, and they joined battle in earnest. But very many from Baldwin's company were cut down and overcome and many were taken prisoner. Moreover, Baldwin only just escaped from the field and was besieged in the town of Tuluppa<sup>40</sup> by Tancred and his men. Joscelin, who had barely escaped from the field and from the enemy, knew that Baldwin was besieged by Tancred, so he set out for Chokurmish, urging and beseeching him insistently to assist Baldwin, who was allied to him by mutual favour, and deliver from Tancred's siege so very renowned a man and relative to the king of Jerusalem. At once Chokurmish summoned forty thousand Turks and decreed that it was to be made known throughout all the region that he would come to Tuluppa to

Usamah, pp. 119–20. Anon. Syriac further tells that Joscelin raised 25,000 dinars and offered himself as surety for the rest of the sum. When he was brought into Čawli's presence the amir was so impressed by him that he remitted the rest of the ransom and the two swore a lifelong alliance.

<sup>40</sup> Dülüuk (prov. Gaziantep, Turkey). Matthew of Edessa says Baldwin fled to Ravendel while Joscelin took refuge in Turbessel; Ibn al-Athir that both fled to Turbessel (ME, p. 201; IA, p. 261).

in Baldwini liberatione<sup>i</sup> statuta die per omnem regionem notum fieri decreuit, qua undique ad eum copie sue illuc conuenirent. Tancradus hanc Turci constantiam in Baldwini liberatione intelligens, castra mouit<sup>j</sup> ab obsidione, et Baldwinus in ciuitatem<sup>k</sup> Rohas, preteritorum malorum immemor, in leticia et exultatione regressus est.<sup>41</sup>

39. Eodem quoque tempore Cunradus, stabularius Heinrici tercii Romanorum imperatoris, uir preclarus in omni actione militari, ex legatione et petitione ipsius imperatoris facta ad regem Grecorum, regis uero facta ad regem Babylonie, a carcere et uinculis eductus est et ob causam dilectionis et mutue retributionis Alexi regi magno Grecorum restitutus est.<sup>42</sup> Rex Alexis, Cunrado uiuo et incolumi recepto, plurimum gausus est, quem magnificis donis honoratum Heinrico imperatori Romanorum, super omne<sup>a</sup> aurum et argentum, super ostra et lapides preciosos acceptum, remisit, nil dulcius et preciosius uidelicet in auro et argento, in ostro et lapidibus preciosis arbitrans posse illi sufficere.

650 40. Post hec, in anno secundo restitutionis Cunradi,<sup>43</sup> Boemundus, a diuersis regnis Gallie et Italie collecto exercitu Christianorum, nauigio Valonam descendens, hanc subito occupauit, uniuersaque loca que in circuitu erant de regno Grecorum superata subiugauit.<sup>44</sup> Hiis subiugatis, Dyrachium, ciuitatem magnam, rebus et omni uirtute ciuium ac militum potentissimam, diuertit, et in circuitu murorum tabernacula extendens, in multitudine graui obsedit.<sup>a 45</sup> Erant enim illi duodecim milia equitum pugnatorum<sup>b</sup> sexaginta milia peditum<sup>c</sup> uirorum bellatorum.<sup>46</sup>

41. Cunradus, ab imperatore Grecorum remissus, tunc in Italia moram fecit, propter graues discordias que inter domnum imperatorem Heinricum filiumque eius Heinricum quintum regem inuidia et iniquorum consilio exorte erant, ne, in aliquo eorum fauore

<sup>i</sup> liberationem ACHN

<sup>j</sup> amouit H

<sup>k</sup> ciuitate E

39 <sup>a</sup> A adds et after omne

40 <sup>a</sup> E adds ciuitatem before obsedit

<sup>b</sup> ACHN add et after pugnatorum

<sup>c</sup> om. A

<sup>41</sup> Albert's account is corroborated by Anon. Syriac: 'The Turks fled, the men of Antioch pursued and quickly slew them; Baldwin and his men fled and this was the end of the fight. After a time they agreed and made peace and great amity was restored' (p. 82).

<sup>42</sup> For Conrad's capture, see above, ix. 8.

<sup>43</sup> Bohemond's invasion was in Oct. 1107 (see below n. 45).

deliver Baldwin on an appointed day, when his troops would come together from all sides to him in that place. When Tancred realized this steadfastness of the Turk for Baldwin's deliverance, he moved his camp away from the siege, and Baldwin returned in happiness and rejoicing into the city of Edessa, forgetful of past ills.<sup>41</sup>

39. At that same time as well, Conrad, constable to Henry III, emperor of the Romans, a man distinguished in all military action, as a result of a legation and petition of the emperor himself made to the king of the Greeks, and made by the king to the king of Egypt, was brought forth from prison and fetters and on account of love and mutual obligation was restored to Alexios the great king of the Greeks.<sup>42</sup> King Alexios rejoiced greatly to receive Conrad alive and unharmed, and he honoured him with splendid gifts and sent him back to Henry, emperor of the Romans, as something more acceptable than all gold and silver, than purple dyes and precious stones, that is to say, Alexios thought he could furnish Henry with nothing sweeter or more precious in gold or silver, in purple or precious stones.

40. After this, in the year following Conrad's restoration,<sup>43</sup> Bohemond sailed down to Avlona with an army of Christians he had gathered from the different kingdoms of Gaul and Italy, and he took possession of the town in no time at all, and overcame and subdued all the places in the vicinity which belonged to the kingdom of the Greeks.<sup>44</sup> Once these were subdued, he turned aside to Durazzo, a great town, most powerful in possessions and all the strength of its citizens and soldiers, and he spread his tents around the walls, and besieged it with a great multitude.<sup>45</sup> For he had with him twelve thousand mounted warriors and sixty thousand fighting foot soldiers.<sup>46</sup>

41. Conrad, sent back by the emperor of the Greeks, then stayed in Italy, on account of the serious disagreements which had arisen between his lord Emperor Henry and his son King Henry V because of envy and the counsel of evil men, and lest by showing any partiality

<sup>44</sup> Bohemond's attack on Byzantium is described at length by Anna Komnene: AC, ed. Leib, iii. 84-139; trans. Sewter, pp. 369-434. Additional Latin sources include OV, vi. 100-4; WM, i. 693; *Narratio Floriacensis*, RHC Occ v. 361-2; *Annales Baresnes*, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, v. 155.

<sup>45</sup> 13 Oct. 1107: see FC, p. 520.

<sup>46</sup> Fulcher has 60,000 too; but William of Tyre says 40,000. The circumstantial account in the *Annales Baresnes* says 34,000 knights and infantry all told (FC, p. 520; WT, p. 504; *Annales Baresnes*, p. 155).

intendens, alterutrum grauitur molestaret. Obsidione itaque <sup>a</sup>tempore ueris<sup>a</sup> undique locata, Boemundus machinas et tormenta lapidum fieri constituit<sup>b</sup> quibus urbs obpugnaretur. Sic diebus multis menia et turres crebro iactu<sup>c</sup> lapidum minuebat,<sup>d</sup> ciuesque<sup>e</sup> et omnes inhabitantes uehementi assultu uexabat.<sup>f</sup> Ciues uero<sup>g</sup> econtra ollas ereas<sup>h</sup> ignis aqua inextinguibilis fomite refertas<sup>i</sup> machinas intorquebant, ac, diuersa genera incendiorum in omne opus machinarum illius iactantes, sagittis, fundibulis, in omni uirtute resistebant. Nam res illis pro anima erat.

42. Tandem dum<sup>a</sup> plurimo assultu et arte bellica urbem ciuesque uexaret, et iam omne estatis tempus in rebus bellicis complexisset, rex  
651 Grecurum, adunato in|numerabili exercitu, in campo urbis Bothilic<sup>b</sup> 47 descendit ut urbi Dyrachii<sup>c</sup> subueniret, Boemundum ab obsidione et uniuersum comitatum illius effugaret. Locatis itaque imperatoris tentoriis in prefatis locis et campis qui itinere unius dici distant a regione Dyrachii, milites imperatoris, non solum aduene<sup>d</sup> Galli, qui conuentione solidorum imperatori militabant, sed et Turcopoli, Comanite, Pincenarii ad decem milia conglobati, armati et loricati, in lancea et sagitta, Boemundum suosque<sup>e</sup> in castris aggredi statuerunt. Sed Boemundus, a delatoribus re comperta, superuenientibus in aperta camporum planicie occurrit et, prelia in impetu committens, mille in gladio, sagitta et lancea peremit, ceteros in fugam usque ad tentoria imperatoris remisit. Post hec Boemundus grauius assultum ad urbis Dyrachii ruinam iterauit, machinas<sup>f</sup> et tormenta applicans, ut<sup>g</sup> custodes, territi ex noua uictoria quam adeptus est,<sup>h</sup> portas sibi aperirent. Sed urbis defensores minime adhuc minis et assultibus hiis mollescere aut absterreri poterant,<sup>i</sup> sed omni conamine et bellica arte uim inferentibus resistebant.

43. Dehinc die quadam, dum Boemundi copiis uictualia et equorum pabula defecissent, milites trecenti, pedites quingenti ad contrahendas predas in regionem Grecurum directi sunt. Quibus infinita multitudo Turcopolorum, Comanitarum, Pincenariorum militum imperatoris in

41 <sup>a</sup> om. A <sup>b</sup> instituit H <sup>c</sup> iacta A; ictu H <sup>d</sup> minuebant A <sup>e</sup> om. A  
<sup>f</sup> uexabant A <sup>g</sup> om. N <sup>h</sup> eneas ACHN <sup>i</sup> repletas A

42 <sup>a</sup> cum ACHN <sup>b</sup> Bothilice A <sup>c</sup> Dirachio A <sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> et suos  
ACHN <sup>f</sup> machinam N <sup>g</sup> et N <sup>h</sup> fuerat A <sup>i</sup> potuerunt A

47 Possibly Bitola (Macedonia).

he should seriously annoy one or the other. When the blockade had been positioned on all sides, in spring, Bohemond decided engines and stone hurlers should be made, with which the city could be attacked. Thus for many days he weakened the ramparts and towers with a repeated bombardment of stones, and he harassed the citizens and all the inhabitants by the violent attack. The citizens, for their part, stuffed copper pots with kindling of that fire which is inextinguishable by water, and twisted the engines, and, throwing different sorts of fire on all his siege machinery, they fought back with all their might with arrows and slings. For it was a matter of life and death for them.

42. At length, while Bohemond was harassing the city and citizens with a great attack and warlike skill, having already filled the whole of the summer season with affairs of war, the king of the Greeks brought together an innumerable army and came down onto the plain of the city of Bothilia<sup>47</sup> to lend assistance to the city of Durazzo and to put to flight from the siege Bohemond and all his company. And so, when the emperor's tents were pitched in the aforesaid places and plains which are one day's journey from the region of Durazzo, the emperor's soldiers—not only Gaulish foreigners, who fought for the emperor as mercenaries, but also Turcoples, Cumans, Pechenegs—gathered, some ten thousand, armed and armoured, bearing lances and arrows, and they were resolved to attack Bohemond and his men in the camp. But Bohemond, who found out about the matter from spies, met them as they arrived on the open plains and, joining battle by a charge, he killed a thousand by sword, arrow, and lance, and put the rest to flight back to the emperor's tents. After this Bohemond repeated his severe assault on the ruin of the city of Durazzo, bringing up engines and slings, so that the guards, terrified by the recent victory he had achieved, would open the gates to him. But the city's defenders could not yet be softened up or the least bit intimidated by his threats or assaults, but resisted with all their might and warlike skill those who were bringing force to bear on them.

43. Then one day, when victuals and fodder for the horses were in short supply for Bohemond's troops, three hundred knights and five hundred foot soldiers were sent to collect plunder in the region of the Greeks. A countless multitude of Turcoples, Cumans, and Pechenegs, soldiers of the emperor, met them and, joining battle in earnest,

occursum affuit, et, bello grauiter commisso, milites Boemundi ad trecentos illic occisi sunt, plures uero abducti sunt.

44. Dum<sup>a</sup> he contentiones, insidie, cottidiane incursiones, grauissime cedes iam fere per annum hinc et hinc fierent, et Boemundi exercitus diutine obsidionis tedio grauaretur, plurimi subtraherentur, naualis quoque collectio, attenuata pre panis et ceterarum rerum inopia, Italiam renaugasset, imperatoris uero naualis uirtus in omni ciborum et armorum habundantia urbi inmitteretur. Wido filius sororis Boemundi,<sup>48</sup> Willelmus Claret<sup>49</sup> et ceteri primores exercitus, pecunia et blanditiis imperatoris corrupti, Boemundo diuersas et graues |  
652 occasiones<sup>b</sup> opposcentes, nunc ex cibariorum<sup>c</sup> inopia, nunc ex populi dispersione, nunc ex naualis exercitus reuersione, nunc ex imperatoris urbi inmissa opulentia, eum ab obsidione auertere conati sunt et amicitia imperatori confederari.<sup>50</sup>

45. Ad ultimum uero Boemundus, uidens suos defluxisse, plurimos ad auxilium imperatoris migrasse, minus ac minus<sup>a</sup> in assultu urbis eos<sup>b</sup> laborare, consilio suorum credidit, et sic imperatori in magnitudine et pondere ineffabilis<sup>c</sup> auri et argenti, ostri preciosi reconciliatus est.<sup>51</sup> Reconciliatus uero, donis et thesauris infinitis susceptis, nauim<sup>d</sup> ascendens<sup>e</sup> Appuliam<sup>f</sup> regressus est, omnibus deceptis et minime remuneratis qui secum longos labores et belli pondera circa Dyrachium pertulerunt. Hii uero, agnita Boemundi fraudulentia, ab eis recessione, et imperatoris occulta concordia, tristes et dolentes ab obsidione recesserunt, imperatoris exorata clementia ut pacifice per regnum eius usque in Ierusalem uiam eos<sup>g</sup> continuare liceret.<sup>52</sup> Imperator uero, post hanc compositam pacem Constantinopolim

44    <sup>a</sup> Cum CN            <sup>b</sup> opiniones H            <sup>c</sup> ciborum A

45    <sup>a</sup> A adds suos after minus            <sup>b</sup> om. A            <sup>c</sup> inestimabilis A            <sup>d</sup> nauem E  
<sup>e</sup> conscendens A            <sup>f</sup> Apuliam H            <sup>g</sup> om. A

<sup>48</sup> Guy, the half-brother of Bohemond, was in the emperor's service according both to Anna Komnene and the *Chanson d'Antioche*: AC, ed. Leib, ii. 51-4, iii. 102-7, 120-2; trans. Sewter, pp. 188-91, 406-10, 420; *ChA*, lines 901, 984, 996, 997 and *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> Other Western sources do not mention William, but in Anna Komnene he is 'Gelielmos o Klareles': AC, ed. Leib, iii. 116; trans. Sewter, p. 417.

<sup>50</sup> Regarding the emperor's strategy to isolate Bohemond, William of Malmesbury is for once more detailed than Fulcher of Chartres: '[Bohemond was] deceived by the craft and cunning of the emperor, who either weaned his generals away from him by binding them to himself with presents, or despatched them, as I have said, with poison' (WM, p. 693; FC, p. 523). Orderic Vitalis accused Guy of treachery and, like the *Narratio Floriacensis*, he says Guy confessed his betrayal of Bohemond on his deathbed, but Bohemond would not forgive

some three hundred of Bohemond's soldiers were killed there; more, indeed, were carried off.

44. These conflicts, ambushes, daily raids, and severe slaughters had already been going on here and there for nearly a year, and Bohemond's army was wearied by the long siege, and very many were deserting; the fleet, weakened by the shortage of bread and other things, had also sailed back to Italy; while the emperor's navy was sent into the city with a great abundance of food and weapons, when Guy,<sup>48</sup> the son of Bohemond's sister, William Claret,<sup>49</sup> and the other leaders of the army, bribed by the emperor with money and flattery, laid various serious charges against Bohemond—now arising from the lack of food, now from the scattering of the people, now from the return of the navy, now from the riches sent into the city by the emperor—and they tried to turn him away from the siege and bind him in a treaty of friendship to the emperor.<sup>50</sup>

45. In the end Bohemond, seeing that his men had trickled away, that very many had gone over to reinforce the emperor, and that they were working less and less on the assault of the city, trusted his men's advice, and thus he was reconciled to the emperor with an extraordinary quantity and weight of gold and silver, and precious purple.<sup>51</sup> And so, reconciled and in receipt of innumerable gifts and treasures, he embarked on a ship and returned to Apulia, cheating all those who endured with him the long labours and burdens of war around Durazzo, and giving them no reward. They, indeed, recognized Bohemond's deception, his departure from them, and his secret agreement with the emperor, and they withdrew sad and sorrowing from the siege, having entreated the emperor's mercy so that he might permit them to go on their way peacefully through his realm all the way to Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup> The emperor returned to Constantinople after this peace was made and he granted all those travelling through his

him (OV, vi. 104; *Narratio Floriacensis*, p. 362). Anna Komnene reports admiringly that Alexios wrote letters to Guy and other leaders in such a way that he seemed to be replying to treacherous letters from them, and arranged for these letters to fall into Bohemond's hands, in order 'to reduce Bohemond's affairs to chaos' (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 101-4; trans. Sewter, pp. 406-8).

<sup>51</sup> Albert, like other Latin writers, glosses over the treaty of Devoil, 1108, which was a humiliation for Bohemond. It is reported briefly by Fulcher but reproduced in full by Anna Komnene (FC, p. 524; AC, ed. Leib, iii. 125-39; trans. Sewter, pp. 424-34).

<sup>52</sup> Fulcher confirms that most of Bohemond's army continued to Jerusalem, but says they set off by sea (FC, p. 525).

reuersus, omnibus per regnum suum transeuntibus<sup>b</sup> uiam sine ullo impedimento concessit, sicut Boemundo et cunctis primoribus Gallie et Italie illic tunc temporis presentibus iureiurando promisit et affirmauit quando confederati sunt.

46. Eodem quoque anno, autumnali tempore instante,<sup>53</sup> Baldwinus rex contractis undique copiis a mari et terra ex diuersis nationibus regni Italie, uidelicet Pisanorum, Genuensium<sup>a</sup> ac<sup>b</sup> Venediorum, Malfetanorum,<sup>54</sup> omniumque<sup>c</sup> eorum qui more predonum expugnare et exspoliare solent nauigantes, ciuitatem Sagittam obsedit tam mari quam terra in mense Augusto, mangelis et machinis muro a terra in circuitu applicatis,<sup>d</sup> malis uero nauium turritis belloque paratis uersus aquas in manu forti electis, expugnans eam diebus multis, et in uirtute multa<sup>e</sup> suorum sepius eam fortiter assiliens.<sup>55</sup>

653 47. Hac facta et ordinata obsidione, post aliquot dies regi per delatores innotuit qualiter<sup>a</sup> quedam matrona, locuples<sup>b</sup> nimis, de regno Arabie, cum innumerabili grege camelorum, bouum, ouium et hircorum, trans Iordanem<sup>c</sup> secus montana propter pingua pascua accubisset, et cum ea uiros circiter quingentos, diuites in armentis et pecore, illic cum omni clientela sua in tuto consedissee. Qui ilico Willelmum clam accitum,<sup>d</sup> filium Roberti Nortmannorum principis,<sup>56</sup> Ierusalem remisit ut militibus quos in ciuitate tuenda reliquerat<sup>e</sup> assumptis, cum peditibus trans Iordanem festinaret, atque Arabes,<sup>f</sup> Sarracenos incautos et in tuto gregem pascentes inuaderent,<sup>g</sup> et<sup>h</sup> uiros ac<sup>i</sup> feminas cum uniuerso grege captiuarent.<sup>j</sup> Ille uero iuxta edictum regis Ierusalem accelerans,<sup>k</sup> ducentos equites, simul quingentos pedites assumpsit, cum quibus uada Iordanis preteriens,<sup>l</sup> subito irruit cum omni manu sua in custodes camelorum, sed resistentes<sup>m</sup> et plurimum<sup>n</sup> se<sup>n</sup> gregemque suum<sup>n</sup> defendentes in arcu et sagitta Sarracenos reppererunt.<sup>o</sup> Tandem Willelmus et sui preualentes, solum duobus uiris egregiis ex suis peremptis, plurimos

<sup>b</sup> transeundi *H*

46 <sup>a</sup> *H* adds et before Genuensium

<sup>b</sup> om. *A*; et *N*

<sup>c</sup> et omnium *A*

<sup>d</sup> applicitis *H*

<sup>e</sup> om. *A*

47 <sup>a</sup> quoniam *A*

<sup>b</sup> *H* adds nobilis et before locuples

<sup>c</sup> Iordanem *AE*

<sup>d</sup> accitum *ACHN*

<sup>e</sup> relinquerat *H*

<sup>f</sup> Arabas *A*

<sup>g</sup> inuaderet *ACHN*

<sup>h</sup> ac

*ACHN*

<sup>i</sup> et *ACHN*

<sup>j</sup> captiuaret *ACHN*

<sup>k</sup> acceleratis *H*

<sup>l</sup> transiens *A*

<sup>m</sup> plurimumque *A*

<sup>n</sup> suumque gregem *ACH*; suisque gregem *N*

<sup>o</sup> inuenerunt

*A*; reppererunt *CHN*

<sup>53</sup> Autumn 1107.

<sup>54</sup> The Amalfitans are associated with the other Italian cities for the first time.

realm passage without any hindrance, just as he had promised on oath and affirmed to Bohemond and all the leaders of Gaul and Italy present in that place at that time when they entered into the alliance.

46. Also in that same year, at the beginning of autumn,<sup>53</sup> King Baldwin assembled forces from all sides, from land and sea, from different nations of the realm of Italy, that is to say Pisans, Genoese and Venetians, Amalfitans,<sup>54</sup> and all those who were accustomed to attack and despoil at sea in the manner of pirates, and besieged the town of Sidon by sea as well as by land in the month of August; mangonels and engines were brought up to surround the wall by land, and the selected masts of ships turreted and ready for war were a strong navy on the seaward side, and he stormed it for many days, and repeatedly attacked it strongly with the great force of his men.<sup>55</sup>

47. When this siege was mounted and organized, after some days the king learnt from spies that a certain woman, very wealthy indeed, from the kingdom of Arabia, had settled across the Jordan near the mountains with a countless herd of camels, oxen, sheep, and goats, on account of the rich pasture, and with her about five hundred men, wealthy in flocks and herds, had settled in safety in that place with all her household. He summoned there secretly William, son of Robert prince of the Normans,<sup>56</sup> and sent him back to Jerusalem to collect the soldiers whom he had left to protect the city, and hurry across the Jordan with the infantry and attack the Arabs and Saracens unawares while they were grazing their herd in safety, and capture men and women with the whole herd. William made haste to Jerusalem in accordance with the king's command and collected two hundred cavalry together with five hundred infantry, with whom he crossed over the waters of the Jordan and suddenly charged with all his army at the camel guards, but they found the Saracens fighting back and fiercely defending their herd with bow and arrow. At length William and his men prevailed, with only two eminent men on their side lost,

<sup>53</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi corroborates Albert's account of the siege: after the Franks had invested the city by land and sea and built a wooden assault tower, 'the Egyptian fleet arrived to defend it, and gained a victory over both the Genoese fleet and the land forces. News also reached the Franks of the approach of the 'askar of Damascus for the defence of Sidon, whereupon they withdrew and returned to their own places' (p. 87).

<sup>56</sup> William was an illegitimate son of Robert Curthose, who had participated in the first crusade. After the defeat of his father by Henry I in 1106 William arrived in the East, more or less as a refugee. (In the *Recueil* edition he is confused with Robert's only legitimate son, William Clito, who was, however, born only in 1102: *RHC Occ* iv. 653, note a) See RR, no. 52; OV v. 282; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, p. 237.

ex gentilibus occiderunt,<sup>p</sup> plures captiuantes cum puellis<sup>q</sup> et pueris tenellis<sup>r</sup> et matrona nobilissima prememorata. Camelos uero ad quatuor milia cum ceteris armentis Ierusalem, predam scilicet inestimabilem, adduxerunt, quorum mutuatione plurimum aurum acceptum iussu regis militibus diuisum est.

48. Interea rex quandam turrin ciuitatis Sagitte ampliori assultu et crebro iactu lapidum dum irrumpere conaretur, et iam fere hanc perforasset, consilio Arnolfi, clerici et cancellarii regis, animus repressus est, ne hanc ulterius iactus lapidum totiens quassatam attereret. Dicebat enim tam egregium opus minime duobus milibus bisantium posse reedificari, et hanc sine ruina et lapidum iactura post dies paucos in manu regis traditam reserari. Erat et alia turris in qua apostate et preuaricatores fidei ex Prouincia de comitatu Reimundi ad defensionem positi resistebant, qui ligno dominico quod rex ab Ierusalem detulerat<sup>a</sup> ad protegendum populum Dei deridentes  
 654 illudebant, ac sibi<sup>b</sup> econtrario | crucem facientes, et in culmine eiusdem turris figentes, sputo et urina ipsi insipientes et maligni inhonorare presumebant. Quod dominus<sup>c</sup> rex et omnis populus deplorantes, Deum celi flebili uoce inuocant ut aperiens fontem misericordie sue, apostaticis<sup>d</sup> uiris et stultis Sarracenis demonstrare uelit, quod non recte agentes, diuine maiestati blasphemiam inferre<sup>e</sup> presumpsissent. Mox eorum exauditis precibus, absque hominum labore sic turris illa concussa est et diruta, iam uespere mundo imminente, ut lapis super lapidem non remaneret,<sup>57</sup> et increduli homines, ruina illius suffocati, obruerentur. Rex et sui, hanc Dei potentiam uidentes, per hanc turrin ciuitatem intrare<sup>f</sup> disponebant. Sed quia nox uespere incumbebat, consilio inter se habito, dilatum est dum dies<sup>g</sup> illucesceret.

49. Verum nocte eadem a regno Babylonie uiri et arma copiosa, in multitudine quinquaginta nauium et triremium octo quos dicunt catts, affuerunt auxilio ciuibz Sagitte, in tubis et cornibus Ptolomaydam applicantes, sed per diem a turbine uenti sibi contrarii aliquantulum<sup>a</sup> impeditum iter eorum est. Quod prepositus ciuitatis

<sup>p</sup> extinxerunt *H*<sup>q</sup> pusillis *N*<sup>r</sup> teneris *H*48 <sup>a</sup> attulerat *A*  
*ACHN*<sup>b</sup> se *N*  
<sup>f</sup> introire *C*<sup>c</sup> pius *ACHN*  
<sup>g</sup> om. *A*<sup>d</sup> apostatis *A*<sup>e</sup> irrogare

and they killed many of the gentiles, taking many prisoner, with girls and delicate boys and the noble woman recorded above. They led off to Jerusalem some four thousand camels with the rest of the cattle, in other words an incredible amount of booty, as price of which a great deal of gold was received which was shared among the soldiers on the king's orders.

48. Meanwhile, the king was trying to breach a certain tower of the town of Sidon with a fierce attack and a constant bombardment, and had already almost breached it, when on the advice of Arnulf, clerk and chancellor of the king, he restrained his enthusiasm, lest a further bombardment of stones destroy the tower which had been battered so often. For Arnulf said that so outstanding a piece of work would cost at least two thousand bezants to rebuild, and if it was not ruined and subjected to a bombardment of stones it could be taken by storm and handed over into the king's hands after a few days. There was also another tower in which apostates and violators of the faith from Provence, from Raymond's company, had been stationed and were fighting for its defence, and they were mocking and laughing at the Lord's Wood which the king had brought down from Jerusalem to protect God's people, and they were making for themselves an upside-down cross, and fixing it on the top of that same tower, even daring wickedly to dishonour it by spitting and urinating on that very cross. The lord king and all the people wept bitterly at this and called on God in heaven in a tearful voice to open the spring of his mercy and show the apostates and the stupid Saracens that they were not acting rightly when they dared to commit blasphemy against the divine majesty. Soon their prayers were granted, and thus without men's labour that tower was struck down and destroyed, just as evening threatened the earth, so that stone did not remain upon stone,<sup>57</sup> and the unbelieving men were suffocated and overwhelmed in its destruction. The king and his men, seeing this power of the Lord, arranged to enter the town by way of this tower. But because it was evening and night was falling they held a council among themselves and put it off until day dawned.

49. But that same night men and plentiful arms arrived from the kingdom of Egypt, to the extent of fifty ships and eight triremes that they call 'cats', to assist the citizens of Sidon; they put in to Acre with trumpets and bugles, but their voyage was somewhat held up for a

<sup>57</sup> Matt. 24: 2; Mark 13: 2; Luke 19: 44 and 21: 6.

Accaron intelligens, regi noctu festinata legatione fecit innotescere, quominus prouisis hostilis turbo nocere posset. Mane uero orto, a Tripoli ciuitate<sup>58</sup> pariter multitudo nauium in manu forti<sup>b</sup> et armatura Babyloniiis uires addidit, quatenus portum ui obtinentes stationem fidelium nauium et regis obsidionem amouerent. Christiani uero, uidentes a longe in manu forti et intolerabili gentiles applicare, a portu egressi sunt ut resisterent ac, plurimo naualis belli impetu cum eis confligentes, diu alternis incursibus inmorati sunt. Sed uim tantorum sufferre non ualentes Christiani, uix ad aridam et nequaquam ad portum fugam inierunt, tribus suorum nauibus superatis <sup>e</sup>et captis,<sup>e</sup> uniuersis in eis<sup>d</sup> repertis cesis et<sup>e</sup> decollatis. Sarraceni uero in manu robusta portum obtinuerunt.

50. Dehinc proxima die Sarraceni milites loricati, armati, portas urbis cum<sup>a</sup> copiis suis egressi, usque ad tentoria regis in uirtute sua astiterunt, regem expugnare et effugare arbitantes. Verum rex prescius populi in se irruentis occurrit cum quingentis solum equitibus, quatuor uero milibus peditum, bellumque crudele committens, circiter mille quingentos ex eis occidit in ore gladii, ceteram  
655 uero | multitudinem, quadraginta scilicet milia, fugientem usque ad presidium<sup>b</sup> ciuitatis insecutus est. Ex regis autem exercitu ipsa die quingenti cecidisse referuntur. Cecidit et Giselbertus de castello quod dicitur Cuuin,<sup>c</sup> 59 uir illustris et ualde militaris, post plurimum hac die sui certaminis laborem, quem rex et sui plurimum planxerunt, more fidelium eum sepelientes. Vespere iam<sup>d</sup> facto, et Sarracenis in presidium<sup>e</sup> fugatis, rege uero adhuc incolumi campum in uictoria obtinente, fidelis legatio sibi innotuit ut nequaquam lucem future diei operiretur, propter Turcos, quos mercede triginta milium bisan-  
tiorum a Damasco auxilio<sup>f</sup> sibi Sydonii asciuerant. Erat autem numerus eorum ferme ad quindecim milia.

49 <sup>a</sup> aliquantum *A* <sup>b</sup> *H* adds et intolerabili after forti <sup>c</sup> *om. A* <sup>d</sup> *ea*  
*ACHN* <sup>e</sup> ac *A*

50 <sup>a</sup> et *N* <sup>b</sup> presidia *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> Cuuin *AN*; Cuiun *H* <sup>d</sup> autem *N*  
<sup>e</sup> castra *A* <sup>f</sup> *om. H*

day by the gusting of the wind against them. When the commander of the city of Acre realized this, he made it known to the king at night by way of a hurried legation, so that, being prepared for it, the adverse wind could not harm them. At daybreak an equally great number of ships from the city of Tripoli<sup>58</sup> augmented the Egyptian forces with a strong army and much equipment, so that they might seize the harbour by force and move away both the fleet of the faithful stationed there and the king's blockade. The Christians, seeing from a distance that the gentiles were putting in as a strong and irresistible army, left the harbour to fight and, striving with them by way of a great and warlike naval attack, they persevered for a long time with assaults from one side then the other. But the Christians could not endure the strength of so many, and they only just managed to take flight to dry land, not into the harbour at all, while three of their ships were overwhelmed and captured; everyone found in them was killed and beheaded. The Saracens took possession of the harbour with their strong army.

50. Then the next day Saracen soldiers, armoured and armed, came out of the city gates with their troops, and made for the king's tents in strength, thinking to attack the king and put him to flight. But the king, informed in advance of the people charging towards him, met them with only five hundred cavalry and four thousand infantry, he joined cruel battle, put about fifteen hundred of them to the sword, and pursued the rest of the horde, that is to say forty thousand, as it fled to the city's fortress. Five hundred from the king's army are reported to have fallen that very day. There also fell, after a great deal of effort in his fighting that day, Giselbert of the castle which is called Couvin,<sup>59</sup> an eminent man and a very good soldier whom the king and his men grieved very greatly, burying him according to the custom of the faithful. Once evening came, and the Saracens had fled into the fortress, with the king as yet unharmed and victoriously in possession of the plain, a faithful legation informed him that he should not wait for dawn of the coming day, because of the Turks, whom the Sidonites had received to reinforce them from Damascus at a fee of thirty thousand bezants. Moreover, they numbered nearly fifteen thousand.

<sup>58</sup> Tripoli in north Africa.

<sup>59</sup> Gislebert of Couvin (prov. Namur, Belgium) had been a vassal of Baldwin II of Hainaut: see Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 202-3.

51. Rex igitur, credulus fideli legationi, cessit salubri consilio ac, cunctos uulnere grauatos ad Ptolomaidam premittens, inmisso igne propriis nauibus<sup>a</sup> cunctisque machinis ac tentoriis uespere imminente, dum in cinerem et fauillam redigerentur, ipso in campo diem alteram prestolatus est. Die uero agnita, rex castra mouit ab obsidione, et Accaron tendens, in montanis hac die moram fecit, ac arte uenatoria recreatus solito more et cursu canum apros<sup>b</sup> uexans circiter quinque cepit, curas et casum suorum interim obliuioni dans.

52. Interea in urbe Accaron grauis luctus et desolatio erat inter<sup>a</sup> uiros ac<sup>b</sup> mulieres, eo quod de uita et salute regis uniuersa eos adhuc latebant, et multos suorum cecidisse ac omnem apparatus nauium castrorumque<sup>c</sup> in flammis redactum audierant. Post hec aliqua mora habita, rex a uenatione et montanis regressus Ptolomaidam intrauit. Quem omnis populus Christianorum quasi rediuuium<sup>d</sup> in uoce iocunditatis suscipiens, pre nimio gaudio lacrimatus, caput et manus illius plurimum deosculatus est.

656 53. Et ecce rege ab obsidione regresso, ac Acras in gloria et leticia suscepto, Turci a Damasco cum nimio equitatu ante portas et menia Sagitte affuerunt, sed foribus clausis minime intromissi sunt. Tunc quidam Dochinus nomine, preses Damasci ac<sup>a</sup> princeps milicie Turcorum, triginta milia bisantiorum a primis et incolis ciuitatis requisiiuit, eo quod in auxilium eorum accersiti affuissent, et Baldwinus rex, audito eorum aduentu, obsidionem distulisset. Ciues nempe et primi ciuitatis nequaquam assequi tantam<sup>b</sup> posse se pecuniam asserentes, omnem prorsus pactionem illis negauerunt, dicentes timore uite tot milia aureorum<sup>c</sup> illis se promisisse ut magis ad auxilium eorum animarentur, dum tanta illis pecunia offerretur.<sup>d</sup> Hec Turci et eorum principes audientes, uehementer in ira exarserunt, urbemque per dies decem expugnare non cessantes, nunc uim, nunc minas inferebant, regem Baldwinum ad internicionem eorum se reuocare affirmantes. Tandem uero<sup>e</sup> Sydonii, Turcorum assultibus grauati et minis eorum desperati, nouem milia bisantiorum obtulerunt, que sepius Turci refutantes, ad extremum tedio uicti, regisque

51    <sup>a</sup> manibus *N*                    <sup>b</sup> aprum *A*

52    <sup>a</sup> om. *A*                    <sup>b</sup> et *ACHN*                    <sup>c</sup> et castrorum *A*                    <sup>d</sup> rediuuium *A*

53    <sup>a</sup> om. *A*                    <sup>b</sup> om. *A*                    <sup>c</sup> bisantiorum *ACHN*                    <sup>d</sup> promitteretur *A*; offertur *H*  
<sup>e</sup> om. *ACHN*

51. The king, believing the loyal legation, yielded to sensible advice and, sending on to Acre all those who were wounded, as evening drew on he set light to his own ships and all the siege engines and tents, until they were reduced to ashes and embers, and he waited for the next day on that very plain. When day was perceptible, the king moved camp away from the siege and made for Acre; he stopped in the mountains for this day and refreshed himself with the sport of hunting, harrying wild boar according to his custom and chasing them with hounds, and he captured around five, in the meantime consigning his worries and the fate of his men to oblivion.

52. Meanwhile in the city of Acre there was deep grief and desolation among men and women, because they were as yet entirely unaware of the king's survival and safety, and they had heard that many of their men had fallen and all the apparatus of ships and camps had gone up in flames. After this there was some delay, then the king returned from hunting in the mountains and entered Acre. With a shout of joy all the Christian population recognized him as if he were raised from the dead, weeping from overwhelming happiness, and kissed his head and hands many times.

53. And when the king had returned from the siege, and was welcomed in Acre in glory and happiness, the Turks from Damascus suddenly arrived before the gates and ramparts of Sidon with an enormous cavalry force, but the gates were closed and they were by no means admitted. Then one called Tugtigin, ruler of Damascus and chief of the Turkish army, demanded thirty thousand bezants from the leaders and inhabitants of the city, because they had arrived in response to their call for assistance, and King Baldwin, when he heard of their presence, had dispersed his blockade. The citizens, to be sure, and the leaders of the city claimed that they could in no way come up with so great a sum, and they flatly denied any bargain with them, saying they had promised so many thousands of gold coins to them out of mortal fear in order that they might be encouraged to assist them more while so much money was on offer. When the Turks and their chiefs heard this, they were violently incensed, and they attacked the city for ten days without ceasing, bringing to bear now force, now threats, and declaring that they were recalling King Baldwin for the Sidonites' extermination. At length the Sidonites, troubled by the Turks' attacks and despairing because of their threats, offered nine thousand bezants, which the Turks repeatedly refused, but in the end they were overcome by

uires et impetum metuentes, hoc tantillo suscepto, Damascum regressi sunt.

54. Ante hanc obsidionem ciuitatis<sup>a</sup> Sagitte, tempore Rogationum instante,<sup>60</sup> scilicet ante dies Pentecostes, idem Turci in equitatu quatuor milium loricorum a Damasco egressi, in regionem Tabarie profecti, hinc et illinc<sup>b</sup> insidiis positis, trecentos uiros in equis uelocissimis premiserunt, qui solito impetu et assultu uiros<sup>c</sup> a munitione protraherent usque dum ad locum insidiarum perueniretur. Geruasius, uir nominatissimus et nobilissimus de regno Francie, qui tunc dono regis preerat ciuitati et presidio Tabarie, Turcos aduolasse comperiens, sine mora suis commilitonibus circiter octoginta accitis<sup>d</sup> in equis, armis<sup>e</sup> et lorica, peditibus uero ducentis nimium pugna audentibus, insecutus est Turcos premissos cursu uelociori quam solebat, nec pedites subsequentes ullius consilio prestolatus est.

657 55. Turci quidem, simulata fuga ad locum insidiarum repedantes, Geruasium in medium<sup>a</sup> inimicorum per scopulosa et deuia loca montium perduxerunt, plurimum equis et peditibus illius cursu inmoderato aggrauatis.<sup>b</sup> Ad hec Turci ab insidiis erumpentes, Geruasium et suos ex omni parte coronantes, graui cursu oppresserunt, arcum et sagittas incessanter<sup>c</sup> in eos torquentes,<sup>d</sup> quos nequaquam in fugam missos<sup>e</sup> ad montana redire passi sunt. Geruasius, continuo tanta multitudine exterritus, cum pauca manu per quandam planiciem limose terre fugam iniit. Sed equi, fessi et flatu exhausti pre longa<sup>f</sup> insecutione et aquatilis terre mollicie, cursu defecerunt, dum Turci, undique uiros circumdantes, nimium in illos sagitta et gladio preualuerunt. Geruasius et sui<sup>g</sup> fuge et<sup>g</sup> uite diffisi, et, Turcos circa latus suum iam aduolasse aspicientes,<sup>h</sup> frena equorum fortiter in hostes reiecerunt, et licet perpauci, tamen plurimo sanguine se in dextera sua ulti sunt, plurimos Turcorum sternentes et ibidem honesta morte inter feroces hostes procumbentes. Ex omnibus hiis nullus euasit preter duos armigeros qui rei euentum Tabarie retulerunt,<sup>i</sup> sed alii occisi, alii capti sunt. Geruasius quoque captus et

54 <sup>a</sup> urbis *A* <sup>b</sup> hinc *H* <sup>c</sup> uires *C* <sup>d</sup> ascitis *ACHN* <sup>e</sup> *A* adds et before armis

55 <sup>a</sup> medio *A* <sup>b</sup> grauatis *A*; aggrauatos *N* <sup>c</sup> incessantes *H* <sup>d</sup> intorquentes *A*  
<sup>e</sup> uersos *A* <sup>f</sup> nimia *A* <sup>g</sup> om. *A* <sup>h</sup> conspicientes *ACHN* <sup>i</sup> nuntiauerunt *A*

<sup>60</sup> 11 May 1108. Ibn al-Athir dates the attack on Tiberias in AH 502 (commencing 11 Aug. 1108); Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi puts it in AH 501, but still after the siege of Sidon: see

weariness and, fearing the strength of the king and his attack, they took the trifling sum and returned to Damascus.

54. Before this siege of the town of Sidon, at the beginning of Rogationtide,<sup>60</sup> that is to say before the days of Pentecost, those same Turks left Damascus in a cavalry force of four thousand armoured men, and set out for the region of Tiberias, placing ambushes on this side and that, and sending ahead three hundred men on very fast horses, who with their usual charge and attack would draw men away from the fortification until they arrived at the place of ambushes. Gervase, a very famous and noble man from the realm of France, who was then in charge of the city and fortress of Tiberias by gift of the king, learning that the Turks had galloped up, at once summoned around eighty mounted comrades, armed and armoured, and two hundred infantry very daring in battle, and pursued the decoy Turks at a pace more rapid than usual, and he did not heed anyone's advice to wait for the following infantry.

55. The Turks, indeed, retreating to the place of ambushes in simulated flight, led Gervase into the midst of the enemy by way of rocky and out-of-the-way places, punishing his horses and foot soldiers greatly by the excessive speed. At this point the Turks burst out of the ambushes, surrounded Gervase and his men from every side, and overwhelmed them with a heavy attack, shooting at them continuously with bows and arrows and not allowing those put to flight to return to the mountains at all. Gervase, immediately terrified by so great a horde, took flight with a small band across a certain plain of muddy ground. But the horses, weary and out of breath because of the long pursuit and the softness of the watery ground, faltered in pace, until the Turks, surrounding the men everywhere, triumphed over them convincingly with arrow and sword. Gervase and his men despaired of escape and of their lives and, seeing that the Turks had already galloped up on their flank, they gave their horses their heads and charged the enemy, and although they were very few, yet with their right hands they avenged themselves with much bloodshed, scattering many of the Turks and falling on that field in an honourable death among fierce enemies. Out of all these men none escaped, except two squires who reported the outcome of the matter to Tiberias, but some were killed and others captured. Gervase was

Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, p. 50 n. 5. Ibn al-Qalanisi recounts the siege immediately before Sidon, in AH 501, and therefore confirms Albert (IQ, pp. 86-7).

eductus est in Damascum, catenis astrictus, sollerti<sup>j</sup> custodie mancipatus. Tam crudelem famam uniuersi qui audierunt de tam egregio milite et interitu suorum uehementi dolore cum fletu et eiulatu magno planxerunt diebus multis, quin Baldwinus rex, licet feritate leonis et apri ad omnia aduersa semper inflexus, nunc consternatus est animo, leto tamen uultu omnino dolore dissimulato.<sup>k 61</sup>

56. Deinde post aliquot dies nuncii Turcorum regi Baldwino Accaron in hoc modo locuti sunt: 'Geruasium captum adhuc uiuum tenemus, quem si sanum et incolumem uis recipere, tres ciuitates, Ptolomaidam, Caypham<sup>a</sup> et Tabariam in <sup>b</sup> manu nostra<sup>b</sup> restituas, alioquin nequaquam periculum mortis scias eum <sup>c</sup> posse euadere.'<sup>e</sup> Hiis auditis rex, habito cum suis consilio, sic<sup>d</sup> in hec uerba respondit: 'Si aurum et<sup>f</sup> argentum et<sup>f</sup> aliqua preciosa pro salute et | redemptione Geruasii quereretur, supra centum milia bisantiorum a nobis assequi proculdubio possetis. Sed ciuitates quas requiritis, si<sup>g</sup> fratrem meum uterinum totamque parentelam meam <sup>h</sup> et cunctos<sup>h</sup> primores Christiane plebis in uinculis<sup>i</sup> teneretis,<sup>j</sup> numquam ciuitates has pro aliqua salute uite illorum redderemus, nedum pro solo homine, quem si occideritis, nequaquam uirtus nostra propter hoc erit imminuta, sed quandoque ut uicem mortis illius uobis rependamus; non est impossibile apud Deum et Dominum nostrum.'

57. Hiis itaque a rege responsis, et Turcis non ultra habentibus spem de prenominationis ciuitatibus, Geruasius productus est in medio<sup>a</sup> ciuitatis Damasci, qui post plurimam illusionem sagittis Turcorum transfixus<sup>b</sup> spiritum uite exalauit. Mortuo sic Geruasio, milite egregio, Soboas,<sup>62</sup> unus ex prepotentibus Turcorum, caput illius iussit amputari, cutem uero capitis, cum crinibus eius albis et floridis <sup>c</sup> et multo<sup>c</sup> tempore intonsis, abstrahi et siccari, eo quod miri essent decoris, ut in signum et memoriam uictorie, ad suscitandum dolorem Christianorum semper in hasta sublimi tollerentur.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>j</sup> A adds et before sollerti

<sup>k</sup> simulato H; C has inserted dis-

56 <sup>a</sup> C adds et before Caypham <sup>b h</sup> manus nostras A; manu nostram N  
<sup>c c</sup> euasurum A <sup>d om.</sup> A <sup>e</sup> uel A <sup>f</sup> uel ACHN <sup>g</sup> A adds  
 proculdubio before si <sup>h h</sup> omnesque A <sup>i</sup> CHN add uestris after uinculis  
<sup>j</sup> haberetis A

57 <sup>a</sup> medium A <sup>b</sup> transfixis N <sup>c c</sup> multoque ACHN

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* i. 209.

<sup>62</sup> Not identified.

<sup>63</sup> The fate of Gervase is confirmed by Ibn al-Qalanisi, writing in Damascus: 'Gervase

also captured and taken off to Damascus, bound in chains and handed over to an expert guard. Everyone who heard such cruel news concerning so eminent a knight and the destruction of his men lamented in violent grief with weeping and great wailing for many days, and even King Baldwin, although he was always resolute in the face of every adversity with the fierceness of the lion and the bear, now was dismayed in spirit, but nevertheless every trace of grief was disguised by a cheerful expression.<sup>61</sup>

56. Then after some days Turkish messengers spoke to King Baldwin in Acre in this way: 'We are holding Gervase prisoner but still alive, and if you want to get him back safe and sound, you should restore into our hands three cities: Acre, Haifa and Tiberias, otherwise you may be sure there is no way he can escape the death penalty.' The king listened to them, took counsel with his men, and replied in these words, so: 'If you were looking for gold and silver and other precious things in return for Gervase's safety and ransom, you could for certain obtain from us over a hundred thousand bezants. But as for those cities you are demanding: if you were holding in chains my own brother and my entire family and all the leaders of the Christian people, we would never give these cities in return for any assurance of their lives, much less for a single man, for if you were to kill him, our strength will not on that account be at all diminished, but at some time we shall exact retribution from you in return for his death; it is not impossible with God and Our Lord.'

57. When the king replied thus, and the Turks no longer had any hope of obtaining the cities named earlier, Gervase was brought out in the middle of the town of Damascus, and after much mockery he was shot through by the Turks' arrows and gave up the ghost. Gervase, eminent knight, having died in this way, Sobaoz,<sup>62</sup> one of the most powerful of the Turks, ordered his head to be cut off, and the skin of his head, with his hair which was white and abundant and had not been cut for a long time, to be pulled off and dried, because it was wonderfully ornamental and so that it might always be borne aloft on the tip of his spear, as a token and memorial of the victory and to stir up the grief of the Christians.<sup>63</sup>

and those of his companions who were in captivity with him were executed, after they had offered a sum of money for their release, but the atabek refused to accept it' (IQ, pp. 86-7). Guibert of Nogent confirms that he was executed by shooting, and also his macabre fate post mortem: the crown of his head was cut off, then a cup made from his skull (GN, pp. 349-50).

58. Eodem anno quo rex Baldwinus a Sagitta obsidionem distulit,<sup>64</sup> dominus Euermarus patriarcha Ierusalem a Romana synodo rediit, quam causa excusandi se de omni querela et culpa sibi a rege et Arnolfo cancellario illata adiit, et eundem, iniqua aduersum se loquentem, in medio Romane ecclesie et in domni apostolici audientia obstructo ore obmutescere fecit,<sup>a</sup> et ex sententia<sup>b</sup> sancte Romane ecclesie litteris et signo ipsius domni apostolici Paschalis ad 'regem remissus'<sup>c</sup> est, quatenus honorifice et sine offensione sedem patriarchatus ultra retineret. Sed rege nequaquam legationem aut litteras cum signo Romani pontificis de illius restitutione audiente, patriarcha in ciuitate Accaron remansit dum uideret si regis animus erga se adhuc, Deo adiuuante, mitigari posset.

- 659 59. Tandem rege, ex Arnolphi instinctu, amplius patriarche aduersante, nec eum in sedem patriarchatus redire consentiente, actum est multorum consilio quatenus idem dominus<sup>a</sup> Euermarus, sine conciliis<sup>b</sup> et iudicio, patriarchatus sui dignitatem ultro absque ulla spe relinqueret, ne sancta ac nouella ecclesia Ierusalem in hoc odio et contentione tot diebus pastoris uigilantia careret. Iam sic Euermaro ultro et absque ulla spe honore patriarchatus omisso, tam regis quam Arnolphi cancellarii et totius ecclesie electione, clericus quidam, Gibelinus nomine,<sup>65</sup> subrogatur, et Euermarum Cesaree Cornelii, que nuper pastore uiduata erat,<sup>66</sup> archiepiscopum fieri ab omnibus acclamatum est. Quod quamuis iniustum sit ut hec fiat altercatio,<sup>67</sup> nisi ex canonum decreto et sententia alter eorum fuerit condempnatus, tamen quia rudis et tenera adhuc Ierosolimitana erat ecclesia id apostolicus fieri concessit, et sic regis dono et omnium fidelium assensu, uterque honore sublimatus est.<sup>c</sup><sup>68</sup>

58    <sup>a</sup> forte *N*                    <sup>b</sup> *om. A*                    <sup>c</sup> *missus N*

59    <sup>a</sup> *om. ACHN*                    <sup>b</sup> *consiliis N*                    <sup>c</sup> *H has vii. 62 here. C adds Explicit liber decimus after est.*

<sup>64</sup> 1108.

<sup>65</sup> Archbishop of Arles and the papal legate—a detail Albert neglects to mention.

<sup>66</sup> Evidently Baldwin (see above, ix. 16, x. 27) had died.

<sup>67</sup> The *Recueil* edition suggests 'alteratio' (exchange), or perhaps the original reading was 'alternatio' (interchange).

<sup>68</sup> According to Fulcher, Evremar went to Rome in 1107 (FC, pp. 512–14) William of Tyre says that 'the unlawful patriarch' Evremar set off for Rome before news of Daibert's death arrived in Jerusalem in the hope of clearing his name with the pope. The pope gave him no satisfaction, but sent his legate Gibelin back to the East with him to investigate. His finding was—according to William—that Daibert had been driven out by the machinations of Arnulf and the violence of King Baldwin, so Evremar was deposed, but out of regard for his piety he was put in charge of the vacant see of Caesarea. The election of Gibelin as the

58. In that same year that King Baldwin lifted the blockade of Sidon,<sup>64</sup> Lord Evremar, the patriarch of Jerusalem, returned from the Roman synod, which he attended in order to absolve himself of all accusation and blame levelled at him by the king and Arnulf the chancellor, and he made that same man Arnulf, who was speaking ill against him, fall silent by blocking his mouth in the midst of the Roman church and in the hearing of the apostolic lord, and Evremar was sent back to the king on the decision of the holy Roman Church with a letter and seal of the apostolic lord Paschal himself, saying that he should occupy the patriarchal see from now on honourably and without impediment. But as the king refused to listen to the legation or the letter with the seal of the Roman pope concerning the man's reinstatement, the patriarch remained in the city of Acre until he might see if the king's grudge against him could yet, with God's assistance, be appeased.

59. At length, as the king, prompted by Arnulf, was even more opposed to the patriarch, and would not allow him to return to the patriarchal see, it was enacted on the advice of many that this same lord Evremar, without councils and trial, should relinquish his patriarchal office of his own accord and without any hope of reinstatement, so that the holy and newly founded Church of Jerusalem would not lack a shepherd's vigilance for so many days because of this hatred and dispute. So now Evremar gave up the patriarchal office of his own accord and without any hope of reinstatement, and a certain cleric by the name of Gibelin<sup>65</sup> was chosen in his place by both the king and Arnulf the chancellor and the election of the whole church, and, in a decision approved by all, Evremar was made archbishop of Caesarea Corneli, which had recently been bereft of its shepherd.<sup>66</sup> Although it was wrong that this dispute<sup>67</sup> should take place, unless one of them had been condemned by decree and sentence of canon law, yet because the Jerusalem Church was still unformed and fragile the pope allowed it to happen, and so by the king's gift and the assent of all the faithful, each one of them was elevated to office.<sup>68</sup>

new patriarch was unanimous—but William ascribes this to Arnulf's calculation that he was too old to occupy the position for long (WT, pp. 500–1). Albert's version of events, which is not apparently biased in Baldwin and Arnulf's favour and therefore invites credence, yet differs from Pope Paschal's own account, which is to be read in a letter dated at the Lateran 4 Dec. 1107. According to this, Evremar left Jerusalem after the news of Daibert's death and went to Rome to receive papal approval as his successor. Arnulf followed him with letters charging Evremar with incompetence and disregard of synodal decree. The pope entrusted the case to Gibelin of Arles, who was to take testimony in Jerusalem and to decide accordingly (RR, no. 49).

## LIBER VNDECIMVS

663 1. Eodem anno quo rex Baldwinus ab obsidione Sagitte rediit,<sup>1</sup> Wilhelmus comes de Sartangis,<sup>a</sup> commisso prelio cum rege Damasce-  
norum, Hertoldino nomine,<sup>2</sup> et eodem cum copiis suis attrito in  
campo castelli Montis<sup>b</sup> Peregrini,<sup>c</sup> in uictoria et gloria cum mille  
loricatis equitibus et in spoliis multis regressus, presidium Arcas,<sup>d</sup>  
quod dux Godefridus in prima expeditione nullis ingeniis aut uiribus  
superare potuit, nunc post plurimam uastationem segetum ac<sup>e</sup>  
frugum, quam singulis annis<sup>f</sup> circa regionem intulit, consilio cuius-  
dam Sarraceni in uirtute magna obsedit, eo quod penuria alimenti  
habitoribus<sup>g</sup> loci<sup>h</sup> inesset.<sup>i 3</sup>

2. Qui tribus septimanis plurimam inpugnationem machinis et balistis  
custodibus presidii inferens, nullum introitum aut exitum alicui  
patiebatur, donec presidium, quod natura munitum et humanis  
uiribus<sup>a</sup> uinci non poterat,<sup>a</sup> fame artaretur, et in eius deditione<sup>b</sup>  
redderetur. Quod ita actum est. Nam tribus septimanis transactis,  
tanta uniuersi inhabitatores inedia<sup>c</sup> sunt oppressi ut uersus montana,  
ubi obsidio fieri non poterat,<sup>d</sup> muris perforatis, presidium armis  
uacuum, armentis plenum, sed pecunia et<sup>e</sup> preciosis quibusque  
asportatis, iam reliquissent. Quod quidam de exercitu Willelmi  
percipiens,<sup>f</sup> eo quod nulla a menibus presidii fieret defensio, trans  
barbicanas et muros ad explorandam rem clam ascendens, neminem  
uidit aut persensit, id<sup>g</sup> sine mora domino et principi Willelmo  
referens<sup>h</sup> et uniuersis sociis. Qui statim fractis portis et seris inmissi,  
664 turres | et menia obtinuerunt et munierunt ac, sic<sup>i</sup> presidium ultra  
retinentes, totam regionem usque Damascus<sup>j</sup> expugnantes de die in  
diem inuaserunt.<sup>4</sup>

1 <sup>a</sup> Sartangis *A* <sup>b</sup> nominis *N* <sup>c</sup> Peregrinorum *A* <sup>d</sup> Archas *AHN* <sup>e</sup> aut  
*AN* <sup>f</sup> *om.* *N* <sup>g</sup> habitoribus *E* <sup>h</sup> *ACHN* add nimia after loci <sup>i</sup> esset *A*

2 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> uinci non potuit *A*; insuperabile erat *H* <sup>b</sup> deditionem *AH* <sup>c</sup> fame *A*  
<sup>d</sup> potuit *AHN* <sup>e</sup> *om.* *A* <sup>f</sup> intelligens *A* <sup>g</sup> idque *ACHN* <sup>h</sup> retulit *ACHN*  
<sup>i</sup> *om.* *H* <sup>j</sup> *A* adds in before Damascus

<sup>1</sup> 1108.

<sup>2</sup> Zahir al-Din Tughtigin, Turkish atabeg of Damascus 1104-28 (see above x. 25).  
Albert's 'Hertoldinus' may be an attempt to render Zahir al-Din.

## BOOK ELEVEN

1. In the same year when King Baldwin returned from the siege of Sidon,<sup>1</sup> William count of Cerdagne fought a battle with the king of the Damascans, called Tughtigin,<sup>2</sup> and destroyed him with his troops on the field of the fortress of the Mount of Pilgrims, returning in victory and triumph with a thousand armoured cavalry and bearing much spoil, and then, on the advice of a certain Saracen, because there was a shortage of food there for the inhabitants of the place, he besieged in great strength the stronghold at Arqa, which Duke Godfrey on the first expedition had been unable to overcome by any siege engines or forces, but which was now suffering from the severe devastation of crops and fruit harvests that he had inflicted around the region every single year.<sup>3</sup>

2. For three weeks he inflicted on the defenders of the fortress a great attack by siege engines and crossbows, allowing no way in or out to anyone, until the fortress, which was secured by nature and could not be overcome by human forces, would be finished off by hunger and surrender to him. And it happened in that way. For when three weeks had passed all the inhabitants were oppressed by so great a starvation that they had already breached the walls and left the fortress—empty of arms, full of cattle, but taking away money and anything of value—in the direction of the mountains, where a blockade had not been possible. When a man from William's army spotted this, because there was no defence going on from the ramparts of the fortress, he secretly climbed across the barbicans and walls to investigate the matter; seeing or detecting no one, he reported it without delay to his lord and prince William and to all his comrades. They at once broke the gates and bars and entered, they occupied and garrisoned the towers and ramparts and, holding the fortress from then on in this way, they attacked the entire region as far as Damascus, subduing it day by day.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi describes the siege of Arqa in some detail as taking place in the year AH 502 (11 Aug. 1108–30 July 1109). As he refers to the relieving army being hindered by heavy falls of snow and rain, it seems the town was invested in the winter (IQ, pp. 87–8).

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi says the town surrendered: 'its provisions being exhausted, they gained possession of it by capitulation' (IQ, p. 88).

3. Eodem anno,<sup>5</sup> tempore quadragesimali Martio mense inchoante, Bertrannus<sup>a</sup> filius comitis Reimundi,<sup>6</sup> undique sua in terra contractis copiis uirorum bellatorum et equitum loricorum, cum quadraginta galidis quatuor milia continentibus, singulis in galidis centum uiris pugnatoribus constitutis, absque nautis, nauigio a loco et urbe sancti Egidii egressus, Pisam urbem Italie applicuit,<sup>7</sup> ubi Genuensibus, qui eodem<sup>b</sup> uoto eundi Ierusalem<sup>c</sup> conspirauerant, assumptis, et mutua fide sibi firmatis, octoginta uero<sup>d</sup> galidis<sup>8</sup> eorum sibi associatis ad Amiroth,<sup>9</sup> ciuitatem imperatoris,<sup>e</sup> nauigio peruenit, ubi escas et uite necessaria ui undique conferebant.

4. Nec mora, imperatoris auribus fama innotuit quoniam Bertrannus filius comitis Reimundi terram Grecorum in uirtute magna occupasset et eam grauiter depopulari non pepercisset.<sup>a</sup> Qui ilico illi<sup>b</sup> misit nuncios ut ad se ingrederetur, in fide a suis suscepta primoribus, et habito secum pacis colloquio, quantum uellet pecunie dono imperatoris reciperet, et loco patris sui sibi in amicitia et fidelitate restitueretur, terram uero suam pacifice cum suis pertransiret. Qui statim regis imperio adqueiuit, et de mari per brachium sancti Georgii descendens cum quibusdam de comitatu<sup>c</sup> electis imperatori suo in palacio locutus,<sup>d</sup> sacramento ei coniunctus et subiectus factus est,<sup>10</sup> deinde plurimis donis auri, argenti<sup>e</sup> et ostri ab imperatore susceptis, nauigium iterans,<sup>f</sup> usque ad portum sancti Symeonis uela direxit, quem<sup>g</sup> Tancradus nunc sub<sup>h</sup> sua potestate retinebat.

665 5. Qui continuo nunciis Tancrado missis<sup>a</sup> ex consilio suorum ut uirum saluarent et aduentum sui<sup>b</sup> apparatusque suorum<sup>b</sup> consodaliū illi indicarent<sup>c</sup> iussit, obnixē rogantes quatenus secum habere colloquium non refutaret. Tancradus quidem, hunc intelligens in uirtute magna aduenisse, accitis usquequaque uiris suis ab urbe

3 <sup>a</sup> Bertammus AN <sup>b</sup> HN add in before eodem <sup>c</sup> CHN add in before Ierusalem  
<sup>d</sup> om. A <sup>e</sup> H adds Grecorum after imperatoris

4 <sup>a</sup> pepercisit AC <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> A adds suo after comitatu <sup>d</sup> A adds est after locutus  
<sup>e</sup> H adds et before argenti <sup>f</sup> intrans N <sup>g</sup> quam AC <sup>h</sup> om. N

5 <sup>a</sup> directis A <sup>b</sup> suorumque A <sup>c</sup> indicare C

<sup>5</sup> 1108.

<sup>6</sup> Bertrand was Raymond's son by his first marriage and had been left in charge of his possessions in the Languedoc when Raymond departed on crusade with his third wife and youngest son.

<sup>7</sup> Although Albert writes Pisa, it must surely be a mistake for Genoa.

<sup>8</sup> Fulcher says Bertrand had with him a fleet of around seventy ships; Ibn al-Qalanisi,

3. In the same year,<sup>5</sup> in Lent at the beginning of March, Bertrand, Count Raymond's son,<sup>6</sup> having brought together from all parts of his land armies of warlike men and armoured cavalry, with forty galleys containing four thousand (there being in each galley a hundred fighting men, not counting sailors), set out by sea from the place and city of Saint-Gilles and put in at the city of Pisa<sup>7</sup> in Italy, where he took on Genoese, who had sworn together the same vow to go to Jerusalem, and they confirmed a mutual treaty with him, then with eighty of their galleys attached to him<sup>8</sup> he sailed into Almiros,<sup>9</sup> a town of the emperor, where they used force to bring together food and necessary provisions from all parts.

4. At once, rumour reached the emperor's ears that Bertrand, son of Count Raymond, had occupied land belonging to the Greeks in great strength and had not refrained from seriously despoiling it. He sent messengers to him in that place, telling him to come and see him, having received a pledge of good faith from the emperor's chiefs, and once the emperor had discussed peace with him, Bertrand would receive as a gift of the emperor as much money as he wanted, and he would be restored to the emperor in friendship and loyalty in his father's stead, and would travel across the emperor's land peacefully with his men. He at once obeyed the emperor's order and went down from the sea along the straits of St George with some chosen members of his company, and talked to the emperor in his palace, where he was joined to him by an oath and became his subject,<sup>10</sup> then he received many gifts of gold, silver, and purple from the emperor, and he returned to his ship and sailed as far as the harbour of St Symeon, which Tancred now held in his power.

5. On his men's advice Bertrand directed messengers to Tancred straight away to greet the man and to disclose to him his arrival and the equipment of his comrades, demanding insistently that Tancred consent to hold a discussion with him. Tancred, indeed, realizing this man had arrived in great strength, summoned his men from all

who calls him Raymond, says he arrived with sixty vessels, loaded with Franks and Genoese (FC, pp. 526-8; IQ, p. 88). Caffaro, the Genoese chronicler, calls Bertrand Raymond's bastard and reports that the Genoese supplied sixty galleys (*Brevis Historia*, pp. 122-3).

<sup>9</sup> Almirós (prov. Vólos, Greece).

<sup>10</sup> Only Albert makes it clear that Bertrand travelled by way of Constantinople and that he took an oath there: Anna Komnene records his arrival and the oath as being later, in 1111-12 (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 149; trans. Sewter, p. 441). See Lilie, *Byzantium*, p. 82 and n. 91.

Antiochia illi occurrit ad eundem<sup>d</sup> portum<sup>e</sup> et, oscula adinuicem dantes, noctem illam in leticia magna pariter deduxerunt. Mane autem facto, Tancradus requisivit qua de causa aduenisset.

6. Bertrannus, post plurima uerba benigne inter se habita, Tancradum in omni ammonitione humilitatis precatus est ut hanc partem Antiochie quam pater suus<sup>a</sup> in introitu ciuitatis prior inuaserat sibi restituere non recusaret. Tancradus eius petitionem non abnuit, hac tamen conditione apposita, ut ad Mamistram ciuitatem obsidendam et recuperandam eius opem et uires haberet, <sup>b</sup>quam nuper traditione Armeniorum<sup>c</sup> imperatori redditam amiserat,<sup>b</sup> alioquin sibi nihil super hiis uelle respondere.<sup>11</sup> Bertrannus uero precibus Tancradi nequaquam in obsidione huius ciuitatis adqueuit, propter fidelitatem quam imperatori promississe<sup>d</sup> non negabat. Verum si ei in animo sederet,<sup>e</sup> Gibeel<sup>f12</sup> se obsidere et apprehendere promittebat, eo quod ciuitas esset Sarracenorum. Tancradus uero rursus<sup>g</sup> de Mamistra ammonuit, de Gibeel prorsus tacuit, sed Bertrannus pro sacramento facto nihil se aduersus imperatorem aut eius ciuitates<sup>h</sup> acturum<sup>i</sup> respondit.

7. Ad hec Tancradus grauiter indignatus, spreuit eum, ammonens ut cum suo comitatu terram que de sua erat potestate cito pertransiret, ne grande malum | sibi suisque, congregata manu, inferret. Et ilico preceptum est in omni hac regione ne aliquis esset qui Bertranno aut suis uite necessaria uendere presumpsisset, sicut membrorum salutem diligeret. Hoc audito, Bertrannus et sui nauigium a portu iterantes usque ad ciuitatem Tortosam applicant, quam comes<sup>a</sup> Reimundus denuo expugnatam ceperat, et nunc Willelmus de Sartangis suam retinebat. Hec sibi nequaquam contradicta patuit, sed in ea hospitatus et sui, bonis terre epulati sunt.

<sup>d</sup> eandem CEHN      <sup>e</sup> A adds sancti Symeonis after portum

6    <sup>a</sup> om. N    <sup>b</sup> om. A    <sup>c</sup> Armenicorum C    <sup>d</sup> ACHN add se before promississe  
<sup>e</sup> foret A    <sup>f</sup> Gibel C; Gybel H; Gybeel N    <sup>g</sup> rursum A    <sup>h</sup> ciuitatis N    <sup>i</sup> A  
 adds se before acturum

7    <sup>a</sup> om. A

<sup>11</sup> The possession of Mamistra at this point is problematical. Matthew of Edessa confirms that it was in Byzantine hands in 1108–9 (ME, p. 201). However, as Lilie points out, the Treaty of Devol implies that in Sept. 1108 Byzantium no longer had any possessions in Cilicia or North Syria (Lilie, *Byzantium*, p. 84 and n. 98). Caffaro reports

around and went from the city of Antioch to that same harbour to meet him and, exchanging kisses, the two of them spent that night in great happiness. But when morning arrived, Tancred asked Bertrand again why he had come.

6. After they had exchanged many words graciously, Bertrand beseeched Tancred with every suggestion of humility not to refuse to restore to him that part of Antioch which his father had earlier appropriated in the capture of the town. Tancred did not deny his petition, but he imposed this condition: that he should have Bertrand's assistance and his forces for the siege and recovery of the town of Mamistra, which had recently been returned to the emperor, lost by the betrayal of the Armenians; otherwise he would not make any reply to him on these matters.<sup>11</sup> Bertrand refused to accede to Tancred's pleas concerning the siege of this town, on account of the loyalty which, as he did not deny, he had promised to the emperor. Instead, if Tancred would resolve upon it, he promised to besiege and seize Jabala,<sup>12</sup> since that town was in the hands of the Saracens. Tancred told him again about Mamistra, while he kept completely quiet about Jabala, but Bertrand replied that he would do nothing against the emperor or his cities because of the oath he had made.

7. Tancred was very angry at this and scorned him, warning Bertrand to travel quickly with his company through the land which was under his authority, lest Tancred should inflict a great evil on Bertrand and his men, once he had assembled an army. And it was ordered in that place that in all this region no person should dare to sell to Bertrand or his men necessary provisions, if he cared for the safety of his limbs. When they heard this, Bertrand and his men set sail again from the harbour and made for the town of Tortosa, which again Count Raymond had attacked and taken, and now William of Cerdagne held as his own. This town was in no way denied to him and it stood open, so he was taken care of in it with his men, and they feasted on the fruits of the earth.

that Mamistra was taken by the Genoese, without any assistance, in 1110 (*Brevis Historia*, pp. 128-9).

<sup>12</sup> In his translation of Ibn al-Qalanisi, Gibb reads 'Jabla', though he notes that the text has Jubayl (p. 90 n. 2). William of Tyre records the capture of Jubayl in 1109, but see earlier discussion (WT, pp. 507-9; AA, ix. 26 and n.).

8. Die autem facta,<sup>a</sup> cognato suo Willelmo legatos dirigit ut terram de Camolla,<sup>13</sup> quam pater suus in primordio uie huius inuaserat, sibi non negaret, si eius amicitiam et obsequium retinere curaret.<sup>b</sup> Qui respondit non facile se hoc uerbum posse<sup>c</sup> adimplere cum, Reimundo mortuo, terra sibi in hereditatem constituta sit, et eam multis diebus per magna pericula et labores ab hostibus defendisset. Tandem Willelmus, de hac legatione sollicitus, consilio cum suis inito<sup>d</sup> Tancrado nuncios dirigit quatenus ei subueniret aduersus Bertrannum cognatum suum et illius copias, et terram ex eius manu susciperet, illique ultra ut miles suus<sup>e</sup> seruiret. Hec audiens Tancradus annuit omne auxilium<sup>f</sup> comiti Willelmo, diem sibi constituens quatenus ad Tortosam illi occurreret, et sic adiunctis armis suis<sup>g</sup> et uiribus Bertrannum et eius adunationem de terra et ciuitate effugarent.

9. Bertrannus, horum decreto et confederatione comperta, a Tortosa secessit, et festinato nauigio tercia die ciuitatem Tripolim in uirtute magna terra et mari obsedit. Obsidione itaque locata, Baldwino regi Ierusalem nuncios misit, quoniam Tripolim obsederit,<sup>a</sup> et quia Willelmus de Sartangis et Tancradus, sibi negatis urbibus patris sui, uim inferre parati et confederati fuerint, et ideo multum super hiis iniuriis eius auxilio indigere, se ipsum in eius obsequio asserens uelle manere.

667 10. Cuius<sup>a</sup> legatos rex benigne audiens, opem promisit, ac statim Paganum de Cayphas<sup>14</sup> accitum et Eustachium cognomine Granarium, Tancrado et Willelmo<sup>b</sup> in hec uerba direxit: 'Bertrannum, confratrem et conchristianum, filium comitis Reimundi, a nobis auxilium scitote quesisse super iniuriis quas sibi nunc infertis de terra et urbibus patris sui, quod sic nequaquam fiat. Placet enim uniuerse ecclesie Ierusalem ut ad nos Tripolim descendentes<sup>c</sup> iniuste ablatas ciuitates restituatis<sup>d</sup> tam Bertranno quam Baldwino de Burg et Gzelino de Turbaysel, et sic inuicem conuentu et concilio<sup>e</sup> habito, in concordiam redeamus. Alioquin terram quam nouiter<sup>f</sup> intrauimus aduersus inimicos hos in circuitu Turcos et Sarracenos nequaquam poterimus retinere.'

8 <sup>a</sup> facto C <sup>b</sup> uellet A <sup>c</sup> om. N <sup>d</sup> habito A <sup>e</sup> om. A <sup>f</sup> consilium N  
<sup>g</sup> om. A

9 <sup>a</sup> obsideret A

10 <sup>a</sup> Huius AH <sup>b</sup> H adds legationem after Willelmo <sup>c</sup> descendatis A  
<sup>d</sup> restituatas N <sup>e</sup> consilio N <sup>f</sup> nuper ACHN

<sup>13</sup> Camolla or Camela was the popular name for Homs, Syria. The town itself was, however, never taken by the crusaders. See also AA v. 31.

8. When it was day, he sent envoys to his cousin William to the effect that William should not refuse him the land of Camolla,<sup>13</sup> which his own father had invaded at the outset of this journey, if he cared to keep Bertrand's friendship and service. William replied that he could not easily fulfil this word since on Raymond's death the land had been allocated to him by hereditary right, and he had defended it from the enemy for many a day through great dangers and hardships. At length William, worried about this legation, took counsel with his men and sent messengers to Tancred, saying that if he would assist him against Bertrand, his cousin, and Bertrand's forces then William would receive the land from his hand and would serve him henceforth as his knight. Hearing this, Tancred approved all help for Count William, setting a day for him when he would meet him at Tortosa, and so with their weapons and forces joined together they would put Bertrand and his army to flight from the land and the town.

9. When Bertrand understood their pact and alliance, he withdrew from Tortosa and sailed in haste, arriving at the town of Tripoli on the third day and besieging it in great strength by land and sea. And when the siege was in place, he sent envoys to Baldwin the king of Jerusalem, saying that he was going to besiege Tripoli, and it was because William of Cerdagne and Tancred, having denied him his own father's cities, were allied and ready to bring force to bear, and on this account he badly needed his help to deal with these injustices, asserting that he himself would remain in his allegiance.

10. The king listened graciously to his envoys, promised aid, and at once summoned Payen of Haifa<sup>14</sup> and Eustace surnamed Granarius, whom he sent to Tancred and William with these words: 'Know that Bertrand, brother and fellow Christian, Count Raymond's son, has sought assistance from us in the matter of injustices which you are now inflicting on him concerning the land and cities of his father, which should never be. For it pleases the whole church of Jerusalem that you should come down to us in Tripoli and restore the estates unjustly stolen from Baldwin of Bourcq and Joscelin of Turbessel as well as Bertrand, and that we shall hold an assembly and council among us and return to harmony. Otherwise we shall never be able to keep the land which we have recently entered against these Turkish and Saracen enemies all around.'

<sup>14</sup> Payen is mentioned in a charter of Baldwin I, dated 1109 (RR, no. 57).

11. Interea rex cum quingentis equitibus totidemque peditibus Tripolim descendit, Sur, Sagittam, Baurim pacifice pertransiens, propter pacem quam post obsidionem Sagitte ad excolendas fruges et uineas firmam et inuiolabilem multo auro ab ipso rege impetraverunt. Bertrannus, uiso rege et eius apparatu, gaudisus est, et homo eius ibidem iureiurando factus est. Iam tres septimane huius obsidionis et expugnationis ante regis aduentum transierant, cum nec machinis aut aliquibus manganarum quassationibus aut terroribus urbs adeo concuti aut superari potuit ut porte Bertranno aperirentur, nisi regis Baldwini<sup>a</sup> presentia affuisset.<sup>15</sup>

12. Tancradus, regis uoluntate<sup>a</sup> et nunciis auditis,<sup>b</sup> Willelmum ab ira et omni assultu compescuit, donec regi ore ad os loquerentur, et ad eum Tripolim proficiscerentur. Qui statim, adunatis septingentis<sup>c</sup> uiris equitibus egregiis, Tripolim diuerterunt, quos post paululum Baldwinus de Rohas<sup>d</sup> et Gozelinus de Cortenai iuxta mandatum regis  
668 in equitatu magno subsecuti sunt. Hiis omnibus | illic collatis, et cunctis iniuriis utrimque coram rege et fidelibus suis recitatis, consilio uero regis utrimque remissis ac<sup>e</sup> compositis, Baldwinus de Burg et Tancradus reconciliati sunt, Baldwino que iuste<sup>16</sup> obtinuerat a Tancrado benigne remissis. Bertrannus et Willelmus pariter concordēs facti sunt, ea tamen conditione ut Willelmus Arcas et cetera que acquirere posset pacifice obtineret, Bertranno adquisita patris sui nemo impediret.<sup>17</sup> Rex uero Tancrado Cayphas ciuitatem, templumque Domini, Tabariam simul et Nazareth cum omnibus redditibus,<sup>f</sup> accepta ab eo fidelitate, reddidit, quatenus deinceps in eius obsequio et dilectione stabilis permaneret.<sup>18</sup>

13. Tantorum principum comperta concordia, Sarraceni non ultra uim sufferre ualentes, pacemque querentes, urbem preter regem nemini dare conspirant, eo quod, uita et salute menbrorum impetrata, eius fidei precipue se credebant, ne a Pisanis et Genuensibus, foedere

11 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN

12 <sup>a</sup> A adds audita before uoluntate <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> quingentis N <sup>d</sup> Burch A; Roas HN <sup>e</sup> et ACHN <sup>f</sup> A adds suis after redditibus; redditibus CN

<sup>15</sup> According to Ibn al-Qalanisi the Frankish blockade of Tripoli lasted from 4 May to 12 July 1109 (IQ, p. 89; FC, p. 531).

<sup>16</sup> 'iuste' is the reading in all the manuscripts, though the *Recueil* edition has 'iniuste'. While this is not an unreasonable correction, the editor does not indicate it as such.

<sup>17</sup> William of Tyre records that Bertrand received Pilgrim's Mount, Tripoli, Jubayl, and all the adjacent areas; William Jordan was granted the towns of Tortosa and Arqa with their dependencies (WT, pp. 507–8).

11. Meanwhile the king marched down to Tripoli with five hundred cavalry and just as many foot soldiers, passing peacefully through Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut, on account of the firm and inviolable peace which the cities had procured with much gold from that very king after the siege of Sidon in order to tend their crops and vineyards. Bertrand rejoiced when he saw the king and his equipment, and he became his man by sworn oath there and then. Already three weeks of this siege and attack had passed before the king's arrival, since the city could not be shaken or overcome by engines or any battering of mangonels to the extent that it would open its gates to Bertrand, unless King Baldwin was there in person.<sup>15</sup>

12. Tancred heard the king's will and his envoys, and he restrained William from anger and all assault, until they should speak to the king face to face, and they set out for Tripoli to meet him. At once they assembled seven hundred outstanding cavalymen and turned aside to Tripoli, and after a short time Baldwin of Edessa and Joscelin of Courtenay followed them on the king's orders with a great cavalry force. When all of these were assembled there, and all the injuries on both sides had been recited in the presence of the king and his loyal men, and on the king's advice they had been forgiven and calmed down on both sides, Baldwin of Bourcq and Tancred were reconciled, with those things which had been justly<sup>16</sup> obtained graciously returned to Baldwin by Tancred. Bertrand and William likewise made friends, but on this condition: that William would receive peacefully Arqa and the other possessions which he could obtain, and no one would hinder Bertrand holding those of his father.<sup>17</sup> The king returned the town of Haifa and the Lord's Temple, together with Tiberias and Nazareth with all their revenues, to Tancred, when he had received loyalty from him, so that from then on he would remain steadfast in his service and love.<sup>18</sup>

13. When they learnt of the concord among so many princes the Saracens could no longer withstand their force and they sought peace, but they agreed they would give the city to no one except the king because, having secured the safety of life and limb, they particularly trusted themselves to his good faith, and feared lest they be attacked with weapons by Pisans and Genoese in violation of the truce, just as

<sup>18</sup> Albert is the only authority for this important council, but there is no reason to doubt that it took place: see Beaumont, 'Albert of Aachen', p. 130.

uiolato, armis impeterentur,<sup>a</sup> sicut Ptolomenses, et non pacifice ab urbe exirent. Rex itaque, urbe suscepta, dextram illis dedit ut ab urbe incolumes exirent, non amplius nisi quod humero ualerent deferentes.<sup>b</sup> Et ecce aperta est ciuitas et eius porte, quas Pisani et Genuenses et omnis exercitus intrantes, menia et turre munientes, usquequaque diffusi obtinuerunt.<sup>19</sup>

14. Quingenti milites in armis et lorica a rege Babylonie missi,<sup>20</sup> qui urbem cum ciuibus defensabant, audito facto foedere de urbis traditione<sup>a</sup> in manu Christianorum, subterraneo<sup>b</sup> habitaculo quod miro opere murali edificatum erat absconditi sunt a facie introeuntium et urbem perlustrantium. Deuouerant enim ac conspirauerant se in ipso<sup>c</sup> primo noctis silentio nullo somno sopiri, quousque, progressi a<sup>d</sup> latibulo subterraneo, uniuersos somno deditos et secure quiescentes in impetu et uociferatione ex improviso armis detruncarent. Sed mulier quedam, que a Christianis in prima apprehensione ciuitatis capta grauiter torquebatur pro danda pecunia, tandem nimium  
 669 anxiosa et mortis posita in articulo,<sup>e</sup> in | hoc modo tortoribus suis locuta est: 'Si uite mee parcere uelletis et a penis quibus me uexatis manus continere, me liberam a catenis exire permitteretis, saluti uestre et confratrum uestrorum proculdubio<sup>f</sup> consulere, et tale quid uobis propalarem unde uita uestra incolumis persisteret que post modicum uobis securis in dolo et mira arte extinguetur. Quod si de hiis quicquam fefellerit, difficiliore cruciatus quos<sup>g</sup> didicistis in me inferte, et uitam meam non ultra super terram<sup>h</sup> una esse hora patiamini.' Illi autem milites, mulieris uerba et constantiam admirati, consilio clam inter se habito, in fide illi firmata sibi parcere spoponderunt si iuxta uerba eius ueritatem de hiis experirentur. Ad hec mulier rem et omnes dolos, sicut erant, uniuersis aperuit, dicens: 'Decreuerunt ciues callido et occulto consilio ante urbis huius

13 <sup>a</sup> impeteretur A <sup>b</sup> effrentes ACHN

14 <sup>a</sup> redditione A <sup>b</sup> subterrato A <sup>c</sup> om. N <sup>d</sup> de ACHN <sup>e</sup> articula N  
<sup>f</sup> om. A <sup>g</sup> quas H <sup>h</sup> om. N

<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi reports that the town was taken by assault and plundered, and its citizens were captured and enslaved. Only the governor and 'a number of his troops, who had asked for quarter before its capture, were spared . . . It was agreed between the Franks and the Genoese that a third of the town, with what had been plundered from it, should belong to the Genoese, and two thirds to [Bertrand]' (IQ, pp. 89-90). That the Genoese were promised one-third of the town 'inside and outside' is confirmed by Caffaro (*Breuis Historia*, p. 123). Fulcher says that a surrender truce had been agreed but the Genoese violated it and massacred the inhabitants. He dates the capture as 26 June in a poem so

the people of Acre had been, and might not leave the city peacefully. The king, having received the city, pledged his right hand to them that they might depart from the city unharmed, taking with them no more than they could carry on their shoulders. And so the town was opened and its gates, and the Pisans and Genoese and all the army entered, garrisoned the ramparts and towers, spread throughout and occupied it.<sup>19</sup>

14. Five hundred soldiers bearing weapons and armour had been sent by the king of Egypt,<sup>20</sup> and they were defending the city with the citizens, and when they heard a truce had been made for the city's surrender into the hands of the Christians, they hid from the invaders, who were rampaging through the city, in an underground shelter which had been built into the walls with wonderful craftsmanship. They had vowed and agreed that they would not be overcome by sleep in that very first silence of the night, so that with an unexpected and noisy attack they could come out of the underground hiding place and cut to pieces all the invaders when they were given over to sleep and resting soundly. But a certain woman, who had been seized by the Christians in the first capture of the town and was being severely tortured to make her give money, at length was so greatly in pain and on the point of death, that she spoke in this way to her torturers: 'If you spare my life and refrain from the pain you have been inflicting on me, and allow me to go free from these fetters, I will certainly look after your safety and that of your brothers, and will divulge to you something whence by a trick and a wonderful device your life will continue unharmed instead of being snuffed out after a short while of safety. If I lie about these things in any particular, inflict on me the worst tortures which you know, and do not allow my life to be one hour longer on earth.' Those soldiers, wondering at the woman's words and steadfastness, took counsel secretly among themselves, and they pledged themselves in good faith to spare her if they found that the truth about these things proved to be in accordance with her words. At this the woman revealed to everyone the matter and all the tricks, just as they were, saying: 'The citizens decided by a cunning and secret plan before the capture of this city

obscurely worded that William of Tyre misunderstood it as 10 June (FC, pp. 532-4 and n. 14).

<sup>20</sup> According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, one reason for the despair in the town which led to capitulation was the failure of the Egyptian fleet to arrive bringing provisions and reinforcements (IQ, p. 89).

captionem et salutis sue pactionem, ut milites quingenti, omnes loricati, a foedere Christianorum excepti,<sup>i</sup> quoddam subterraneum habitaculum intrantes, cum armis occultarentur infra urbis<sup>j</sup> habitationem qui,<sup>k</sup> tenebris incumbentibus et uobis secure dormientibus, pariter 'cum impetu<sup>l</sup> et tumultu prodirent, et uos inprouisos et<sup>m</sup> huius rei nescios armis mortificarent.' Hoc denique machinamento exitii Christianorum a muliere quibusdam militibus catholicis,<sup>n</sup> a militibus uero regi<sup>o</sup> Baldwino et ceteris primoribus detecto, sine dilatione rex et uniuerſi in armis conglobati, ad os ceci et subterranei<sup>p</sup> habitaculi undique concurrentes, locum in circuitu<sup>q</sup> obsederunt, et uiros abintus, parum resistentes ad extremum ui et plurima inpugnatione uictos et eductos, in ore gladii percusserunt, nulli eorum parcentes. Mulier uero, iuxta promissionem fidei que ei facta est a fidelibus, a carcere et uinculis deinceps libera fuit, ac uniuerſa sua sibi sine contradictione tam in edificiis quam in ceteris rebus restituta sunt.<sup>21</sup>

15. Dehinc post paululum temporis, Willelmus de Sartangis, pro uili iniuria et contentione qua armigerum suum molestauit, occulta infestatione ab eo trans cor sagitta confixus expirauit,<sup>22</sup> et sic Bertrannus presidium Arcas et uniuerſa que de<sup>a</sup> illius erant potestate, solus obtinuit subiugata. Capta itaque et expugnata<sup>b</sup> ciuitate Tripla, rex Baldwinus 'in anno sequenti<sup>c</sup> consilio Bertranni filii comitis Reimundi, quem prefecerat eidem ciuitati, conuocatis uniuerſis uiris Christiani nominis, in<sup>d</sup> mense Decembri,<sup>23</sup> mediis algoribus, ciuitatem Baurim, quam uocant Baruch, obsedit, que, in angusta fauce montium sita et 'uix commeabili,<sup>e</sup> a montanis uiam exhibet iuxta litus abyssi maris descendentibus. Nauigio<sup>f</sup> Bertranni et Pisanorum<sup>g</sup> a Tripla uersus mare applicato | in urbis obsidionem, ad planiciem uero camporum cum ingenti manu Gallorum, equo et

<sup>i</sup> crepti A    <sup>j</sup> ACHN add huius after urbis    <sup>k</sup> que N    <sup>l l</sup> om. N    <sup>m</sup> ac CHN    <sup>n</sup> Christianis A    <sup>o</sup> om. N    <sup>p</sup> subterrati A    <sup>q</sup> A adds undique after circuitu

15    <sup>a</sup> om. N    <sup>b</sup> subiugata H    <sup>c c</sup> om. A; H has these words before conuocatis  
<sup>d</sup> om. N    <sup>e e</sup> incomeabili E (erasure after in)    <sup>f</sup> nauī N    <sup>g</sup> ceterorum A

<sup>21</sup> This would appear to be Albert's explanation, or justification, for the deaths which followed in violation of the truce.

<sup>22</sup> The precise circumstances of William's death are disputed. While Albert places it after the capture of Tripoli, Ibn al-Qalanisi, Fulcher of Chartres, and Caffaro report it earlier. Ibn al-Qalanisi's version is that 'De Cerdagne returned to Arqa, and finding a certain Frank in the fields there, he desired to strike him, but the Frank struck and killed

and the pact for their safety, that five hundred soldiers, all in armour, excepted from the truce with the Christians, would enter a certain underground shelter, hide with weapons underneath the city houses and, as darkness fell and you were sleeping soundly, they would come out all at the same time with a rush and a clamour, and would destroy you with weapons while you were unprepared and unaware of this plan.' Then after this device for the destruction of Christians was revealed by the woman to some Christian soldiers, and by those soldiers to King Baldwin and the other leaders, without delay the king and everyone assembled in arms, rushed together from all sides to the mouth of the concealed underground shelter, blockaded the place all around, and put to the sword the men inside, sparing none of them, since they fought back too little at the last and were vanquished and brought out by force and a great assault. In accordance with the promise of good faith which had been made to her by the faithful, the woman was then freed from the prison and fetters, and all her possessions were restored to her without objection, the buildings as well as the other things.<sup>21</sup>

15. Then after a brief space of time William of Cerdagne, on account of a vile injury and dispute which annoyed his squire, was shot through the heart by him with an arrow in a secret attack and died,<sup>22</sup> and thus Bertrand obtained sole charge of the fortress at Arqa and all those things which had been under William's authority. When the town of Tripoli had been captured and conquered, in the following year King Baldwin, on the advice of Bertrand son of Count Raymond, whom he had appointed to that same town, called together all men of the Christian name, in the month of December,<sup>23</sup> in the middle of the cold season, and besieged the town of Baurim, which they call Beirut, which, being located in a narrow and scarcely approachable pass in the mountains, provided a way from the mountains as they descended next to the shore of the bottomless sea. Bertrand and the Pisans sailed from Tripoli and put in on the seaward side to blockade the city, while the tents of the king and his men were positioned on the level

him' (IQ, p. 89). Fulcher says that William was riding at night and was killed by a furtive arrow: 'Everyone wondered who had done this, but no one was able to find out' (FC, p. 531). Caffaro gives the most detailed account, having explained that William held the cultivated land around Pilgrim's Mount: 'one day, very early in the morning, Bertrand's squires were among William Jordan's crops. Instantly William mounted his horse to ride against the squires; one of them drew an arrow and shot him through the throat, and he lay dead on the cultivated plain' (*Brevis Historia*, p. 123).

<sup>23</sup> Fulcher says it was Feb. 1110 (FC, p. 534).

pede ad omnem assultum paratorum, regis et suorum tentoria locata sunt.<sup>24</sup> Obsedit denique eam diebus multis,<sup>25</sup> machinis ac<sup>b</sup> tormentis lapidum turres et muros singulis diebus non parce assiliens et quatiens, nulla intermissione ciues ac defensores respirare sustinens, sed et<sup>i</sup> uineas et<sup>j</sup> sata uastans et succidens, urbem non modice perterrebat.

16. Post hec, dum<sup>a</sup> dies aliquot obsidionis<sup>b</sup> euoluerentur, et ueris tempora iam aspirarent, legati Baldwini de Burg a ciuitate Rohas uenientes affuerunt, nunciantes regi quod ex instinctu<sup>c</sup> et suggestione<sup>c</sup> Tancradi principes Turcorum, Armigaldus scilicet et Armigarzi<sup>d</sup> et Samarga,<sup>26</sup> de regno Corruzana in multitudine graui ciuitatem Edissam obsedissent, et regionem undique grauiter depopulati sint, Baldwinum assiduis obpugnationibus lacescentes, ciuitatem quoque plurimis assultibus aggrauantes.<sup>27</sup> Asserebant etiam idem nuncii ultima necessitate famis<sup>e</sup> ac defensionis Baldwinum et uniuersos ciues compulsos, et ideo in breui eos regis ope indigere aduersus tot milia Turcorum, ne urbs capta et subiugata cum rebus et ciuibus<sup>f</sup> periclitetur, et non Baldwinus<sup>g</sup> et sui<sup>g</sup> capitali sententie subdantur. Rex, ut hec audiuit, legatos sub iudicio mortis hunc ingratum rumorem tacere iussit, quem et ipse dissimulans, miro silentio subpressit, ne hominum corda, audita hac Turcorum superbia et audacia pauefacta, minus ad urbis ruinam laborarent. Siluit rex, siluerunt et nuncii. Nec modo rex alias intendit nisi ut machine iactus lapidum, assultus quoque circa urbis menia fierent, quousque Sarracenorum interiori uirtute edomita,<sup>h</sup> urbs reddita aperiretur, ciues gladio punirentur aut uicti caperentur.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>b</sup> et N      <sup>i</sup> in N      <sup>j</sup> ac A

16    <sup>a</sup> cum ACHN    <sup>b</sup> obsidiones N    <sup>c</sup> om. A    <sup>d</sup> Armigazi ACHN. Later E has Amigarzi and N Armigaru    <sup>e</sup> om. N    <sup>f</sup> H adds et after ciuibus    <sup>g</sup> sui que ACHN    <sup>h</sup> domita A

<sup>24</sup> Fulcher implies that Bertrand arrived by land: 'The army was positioned at the first milestone from the city' (FC, p. 535).

<sup>25</sup> Seventy-five days according to Fulcher (FC, p. 535).

<sup>26</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi confirms the participation of Ilghāzi and Suqmān in the expedition (IQ, p. 101). He mentions Ahmadil, leader of the Kurds, later (IQ, pp. 114–15).

<sup>27</sup> The Anonymous Syriac chronicler records (1110) that Mawdūd, amir of Mosul, arrived at Edessa with an enormous army. His cavalry ravaged the land around Edessa, but did not attack the city or set up siege engines (Anon. Syriac, p. 82). According to Matthew of Edessa, it was Joscelin and Baldwin of Bourcq who had summoned Mawdūd to assist

plains with an enormous army of Gauls, equipped for any attack on horseback or on foot.<sup>24</sup> Then they besieged the town for many days,<sup>25</sup> attacking and shaking the towers and walls with engines and stone throwers every single day without relief, allowing the citizens and defenders no breathing space, but even laying waste and mowing down the vineyards and crops, terrifying the city not a little.

16. After this, while some days of the siege were unfolding, and the season of spring was already approaching, legates coming from Baldwin of Bourcq in the city of Edessa arrived, announcing to the king that on Tancred's prompting and suggestion Turkish chiefs, namely Ahmadil and Il-Ghazi and Sokman,<sup>26</sup> had come from the kingdom of Khurasan in a great host and besieged the town of Edessa, and had severely devastated the region on all sides, provoking Baldwin by constant attacks, and also oppressing the town with many assaults.<sup>27</sup> These same messengers also claimed that Baldwin and all the citizens were driven by the utmost necessity of hunger and defence, and on that account they would shortly need the king's help against so many thousands of Turks, lest the city with its possessions and inhabitants be captured and subjugated and put in peril, and Baldwin and his men be subjected to the death sentence. When the king heard these things he ordered the legates on pain of death to keep quiet about this unwelcome rumour, which he also pretended not to have heard, suppressing it with a wonderful silence, so that the hearts of men would not hear this arrogance and be terrified at the Turks' boldness, and so strive less for the destruction of Beirut. The king kept quiet, so did the messengers. And the king's endeavours were concentrated on stone-throwing engines and also assaults around the city ramparts, until the strength of the Saracens inside the city should be vanquished, and the city surrendered and opened up, the citizens punished by the sword or subdued and captured.<sup>28</sup>

them against Tancred (ME, pp. 203-4). It is likely that both Matthew and Albert are recording slanderous rumours which were circulating at the time. Ibn al-Qalanisi mentions no Frankish alliance, but says that Mawdūd commanded the expedition as Holy War against the Franks, which makes such an alliance unlikely. He goes on to describe a prolonged and punishing siege of Edessa (IQ, pp. 101-2). Although he was probably on the expedition, Fulcher's account is brief: he does not indicate any rift in the Christians' ranks, but recounts an advance on Edessa by Baldwin and Tancred, the Turkish tactics of feigned retreat, and the relief of the city (FC, pp. 537-43).

<sup>28</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi describes the construction of three siege towers (IQ, p. 99).

17. Tandem portis cum seris suis et muris grauiter quassatis, ammiraldus ciuitatis in insulam Cyprum nomine, que est de regno Grecorum, nauigio noctu aufugit, cum multis desperatis, eo quod in urbis presidio non aliquam fiduciam uiuendi aut manendi haberent, et<sup>a</sup> quoniam tot  
 671 dierum curriculis nulla a rege | Babylonic auxilia mitterentur.<sup>29</sup> Ciues autem, uidentes quoniam ammiraldus et omnes capitanei aufugissent, et urbs a facie Christiani regis retineri non<sup>b</sup> posset, terra marique tam longo tempore undique bellum intolerabile ingrueret, ultra uim ferre non ualentes, dextras sibi dari et uite sue parcere rogabant, ut sic, portis apertis, urbem salui egrederentur. Quod et actum est. Nam, datis dextris, et ciuibus cum pace egressis, capta ac<sup>c</sup> patefacta est ciuitas sexta feria que est ante Sabbatum sancti Pentecostes.<sup>30</sup> Sed eorum qui adhuc in urbe inuenti in foedere facto non excentes stulte remanserant a Bertranno et Pisanis circiter uiginti milia occisi sunt. Parum quidem preciosarum uestium aut alicuius ornatus reppererunt,<sup>d</sup> nam ciues desperati quod preciosius erat illis<sup>e</sup> in medio ciuitatis comportantes igni conflauerunt.<sup>f</sup> Aurum uero,<sup>g</sup> argentum, uasa preciosa clanculum ac paulatim per cecos aditus in Cyprum insulam noctu translata sunt.

18. Capta autem ciuitate, rex,<sup>a</sup> custodibus in ea ordinatis, Ierusalem reuersus est,<sup>31</sup> ubi celebrato sancto Pentecosten,<sup>b</sup> obsidionem Edisse uel Rohas et calumnias Baldwini de Burg, sicut a legatis illius<sup>c</sup> didicerat, tunc primum Bertranno et uniuersis de domo sua et de regno<sup>d</sup> Ierusalem aperuit, in hunc modum et uerba omnes adhortatus: 'Gratia Dei et Domini Iesu Christi uoluntas nostra ac<sup>e</sup> uictoria adimpleta est de Baruch, licet longo tempore eam expugnauerimus. Sed nunc, ut Rohas ciuitati et Baldwino in ea obsesso subueniamus, omnium uestrum quero beniuolentiam, nec sit qui auertat, cum confratres nostri<sup>f</sup> sint, in omni necessitate nobis subuenire parati.

17 <sup>a</sup> om. H <sup>b</sup> om. N <sup>c</sup> et ACHN <sup>d</sup> reppererunt ACH <sup>e</sup> om. A  
<sup>f</sup> comburebant A <sup>g</sup> et N

18 <sup>a</sup> A adds Baldewinus after rex <sup>b</sup> Pentecosten AH <sup>c</sup> om. H <sup>d</sup> domo  
 ACHN <sup>e</sup> et A <sup>f</sup> om. H

<sup>29</sup> Albert's statement is contradicted by Ibn al-Qalanisi, who says that the Egyptian navy arrived and after defeating the Franks in a sea battle supplies were brought into Beirut. King Baldwin then asked the Genoese for assistance and they brought forty vessels from St Symeon. On 13 May Beirut was taken by assault. The governor fled but was brought back and put to death; the city was sacked (IQ, pp. 99–100). According to the briefer account by Fulcher, after a seventy-five-day siege ships which had come to relieve Beirut were blockaded in the harbour and the Franks used towers to enter the city. They pursued the fleeing enemy and seized all their money (FC, pp. 534–6).

17. At length the gates with their bars and the walls were severely shaken and the town's amir escaped by sailing at night to the island called Cyprus, which belongs to the Greek kingdom, with many who despaired, because they had no confidence at all that they could live or stay in the citadel of the city, and that after the passage of so many days any reinforcements would be sent by the king of Egypt.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, when the citizens saw that the amir and all the chiefs had fled, and that the city could not be held in the face of the Christian king, with intolerable war threatening them by land and sea for such a long time and on all sides, they could no longer sustain their strength and asked that right hands be pledged to them and their lives be spared, so that in this way, when the gates were opened, they might safely leave the city. This was carried out. For, right hands being pledged, and the citizens having left peacefully, the town was captured and opened up on the Friday which is before the Sabbath of Holy Whitsun.<sup>30</sup> But of those who were found still in the city, who did not leave when the truce was made and had stupidly stayed, around twenty thousand were killed by Bertrand and the Pisans. They found hardly any precious garments or any adornment, for the despairing citizens had carried anything at all precious to them into the middle of the town and burnt it on a fire. Gold, silver, and precious vessels had been secretly and gradually transferred at night by hidden routes to the island of Cyprus.

18. When the town was taken the king stationed guards in it and returned to Jerusalem,<sup>31</sup> where he celebrated holy Pentecost, and then he revealed for the first time to Bertrand and all his household and his kingdom of Jerusalem the siege of Edessa or Rohas and the insults suffered by Baldwin of Bourcq, just as he had learnt them from Baldwin's legates, encouraging them all in this way and with these words: 'By the grace of God and Lord Jesus Christ our will and victory is achieved in the case of Beirut, although we had to attack it for a long time. But now, so that we may assist the town of Edessa and Baldwin who is besieged in it, I seek the goodwill of all of you, and let there be no one who turns away, since they are our brothers, prepared to come to our assistance in any emergency. For indeed it is

<sup>29</sup> 27 May 1110, but Fulcher and Ibn al-Qalanisi agree 13 May 1110 (FC, p. 536; IQ, p. 100). William of Tyre has 27 April 1111 (WT, pp. 515-16).

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi says he besieged Sidon on the way, but lifted the blockade in return for an increased annual tribute (IQ, p. 101).

Est etenim inuiolabilis karitas ut subueniamus et animas pro fratribus et amicis<sup>g</sup> ponere non dubitemus.<sup>32</sup>

19. Ad hec uerba regis uniuersi qui aderant de regno Ierusalem fiunt uoluntarii ad expeditionem Rohas agendam et conferendam opem obsessis conchristianis, cum Turcis bellum inire, animas pro fratribus  
672 ponere.<sup>a 33</sup> Iterant apparatus, | renouant arma et, adhuc<sup>b</sup> recentium laborum circa Baruch immemores, uiam Rohas in initio mensis Iunii insistunt, in galeis,<sup>c</sup> loriceis, in cuneis sexcentorum electorum equitum, in manu trecentorum peditum arcu et lancea adprime ualentium. Profectus est igitur rex, profectus est Bertrannus cum suis copiis, ciuitate Ierusalem uigili<sup>d</sup> et sollerti prouidentia militum munita, munitis et ceteris ciuitatibus que sue erant potestatis. Descenderunt itaque in campos et regionem Armenie, ad ciuitatem Rohas, diebus mensis unius in itinere peractis. Quibus, regis audito aduentu, a diuersis locis et presidiiis per centenos, sexagenos et quinquagenos, plurimi tam Galli quam Armenici conchristiani<sup>e</sup> occurrentes<sup>f</sup> auxilio iuncti sunt. Vix ad flumen Eufraten peruentum<sup>g</sup> est, et multiplicatus eius<sup>h</sup> est exercitus ad quindecim milia uirorum pugnatorum.

20. Vt autem intrauit terminos et confinia ciuitatis in hac manu forti, in splendore signorum,<sup>a</sup> galearum ex<sup>b</sup> serenissimis radiis estui solis, in grandi sonitu tubarum et tumultuosa populi aduentatione, Turci, comperta per exploratores illius approximatione, auolutis tentoriis, ab obsidione recesserunt, et in terram ciuitatis Caran,<sup>c</sup> que sex miliaris distat a Rohas, relocatis castris consederunt, donec scirent et intelligerent si regis Baldwini<sup>d</sup> uiribus<sup>e</sup> et copiis<sup>f</sup> possent occurrere et resistere. Hiis uero diei unius spacio a statione obsidionis<sup>f</sup> Rohas remotis, Baldwinus de Burg letatus fama aduentus regis, cum quadringentis<sup>g</sup> equitibus, uiris bellicosis, et decem milibus Armenice gentis obuiam illi ab urbe festinans, Turcos uersus Caran diuertisse<sup>h</sup> notificauit, sed in castris eos adhuc prestolari et audire de ipsius<sup>i</sup>

<sup>g</sup> *A adds nostris after amicis*

19 <sup>a</sup> dare *AHN* <sup>b</sup> achuc *H* <sup>c</sup> galidis *A* <sup>d</sup> *A adds cum before and custodia after uigili* <sup>e</sup> Christianis *A*; Christiani *CH*; *om. N* <sup>f</sup> concurrentes *ACHN*  
<sup>g</sup> uentum *A* <sup>h</sup> *om. A*

20 <sup>a</sup> armorum *A* <sup>b</sup> et *N* <sup>c</sup> Carran *A* <sup>d</sup> *om. ACHN* <sup>e</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>f</sup> urbis *A* <sup>g</sup> trecentis *AN* <sup>h</sup> descendisse *A* <sup>i</sup> eius *ACHN*

<sup>32</sup> John 15: 13.

<sup>33</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi, too, stresses that the crisis had united the Franks (IQ, p. 102). The

imperishable love, that we should assist and should not hesitate to lay down our lives for our brothers and friends.<sup>32</sup>

19. At the king's words everyone who was present from the kingdom of Jerusalem volunteered to go on an expedition to Edessa and, in order to bring aid to their besieged fellow Christians, to wage war on the Turks, to lay down their lives for their brothers.<sup>33</sup> They assembled their equipment once more, renewed their weapons and, as yet not thinking of their recent efforts around Beirut, they took the road to Edessa at the beginning of June, with helmets, hauberks, and in formations of six hundred chosen cavalry, in an army of three hundred infantry especially strong with bow and lance. So the king set out, and Bertrand set out with his troops, having garrisoned the city of Jerusalem with the watchful and expert foresight of soldiers, and also having garrisoned the other towns which were under their authority. And so they went down onto the plains and into the region of Armenia, to the town of Edessa, spending the days of one month on the journey. When they heard of the king's approach, many Armenian Christians as well as Gauls met them, coming from different places and fortresses in hundreds, sixties, and fifties, and joined them to assist. No sooner had it arrived at the river Euphrates, than the king's army was multiplied to fifteen thousand fighting men.

20. As they entered the boundaries and borders of the state with this strong army, their standards and helmets brilliant from the bright rays of the summer sun, with a loud sounding of trumpets and a turbulent arrival of people, the Turks, who knew of the army's approach by way of scouts, rolled up their tents and withdrew from the siege; they resettled their camp and took up position in the land of the city of Harran, which is six miles away from Edessa, until they might know and find out whether they could meet and withstand King Baldwin's forces and troops. With the Turks removed a day's journey from the siege position at Edessa, Baldwin of Bourcq rejoiced at the news of the king's arrival and he hurried from the city to meet him with four hundred cavalry, warlike men, and ten thousand of the Armenian race, and informed him that the Turks had turned aside towards Harran, but they were as yet waiting in camp to hear the

Anonymous Syriac chronicle names King Baldwin, the son of Saint-Gilles, and Tancred as leaders of the relieving army (Anon. Syriac, p. 82).

proposito, cum quadraginta milibus equitum nimium confidentes. Hos Tancradi consilio et instinctu ad obsidionem Rohas conuenisse referebat, et in omnibus ipsum Tancradum sibi contrarium et infestum esse.

673 21. Hac Baldwini <sup>a</sup> de Burg<sup>a</sup> super iniuriis Tancradi audita querimonia, rex ex consilio suorum Tancrado Antiochie legationem misit ut ad eum et ad<sup>b</sup> primos exerci|tus Christianorum descenderet,<sup>c</sup> et si qua ei iniuste essent illata a Baldwino, omnia, aut equo iudicio aut concordii consilio <sup>d</sup> maiorum, in presentia Christianorum uelle<sup>e</sup> diffinire. Qui multum renisus uenire, tandem consilio<sup>d</sup> suorum cum mille quingentis militibus<sup>f</sup> loricatis descendit ut de omnibus quibus a Baldwino de Burg accusaretur audiret ac<sup>g</sup> responderet, et si qua haberet aduersus <sup>h</sup> Baldwinum de Burg<sup>h</sup> in audientia omnium demonstraret. Qui ueniens regem salutauit, a rege uero benigne susceptus est. Dehinc rex, presente cetu fidelium, rationem cum eo habuit, quare aduersus fratres et conchristianos Turcos eduxerit, cum potius Christianis subuenire debuerit. Qui se minime excusans, hac de causa se illis non subuenisse respondit, quod Baldwinus, preses ciuitatis Rohas, nullum sibi respectum fecerit, cum ante hos dies ipsa ciuitas Rohas et multe alie ciuitates de regno fuerint Antiochie, et illi subdite annuos redditus<sup>i</sup> domnatori Antiochie dederint.<sup>j</sup>

22. Ad hec rex Baldwinus Tancradum cum omni mansuetudine de hac querela<sup>a</sup> compescuit dicens: 'Frater mi Tancrade, <sup>b</sup> non iustam<sup>b</sup> rem exigis, nec aduersus Baldwinum iustam habens molestiam de aliquo loqui debes tributo quod Antiochie hactenus reddebant ciuitates, cum nihil inter nos de iure gentilium habituri simus de cunctis que Deus<sup>c</sup> nostre subiciet<sup>d</sup> ditioni. Nosti, et uniuersis notum est Christianis, qualiter cum a terra et cognatione<sup>e</sup> exiimus pro nomine Iesu exilia querentes, patrimonia deserentes, decreuimus ut<sup>f</sup> quicquid in terra hac peregrinationis nostre quisque de regnis et terris gentilium expugnatis apprehenderet, pacifice et libere obtineret, nullus ad iniuriam in eum manum mitteret, nisi ut subueniret, et animam pro fratribus singuli ponerent. Et ideo scias quia non iustam aduersus Baldwinum habes querelam, cum gentilium decreta et

21 <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> descendat N <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> om. N <sup>e</sup> ACHN add se before uelle <sup>f</sup> peditibus A <sup>g</sup> aut A <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> eum ACHN <sup>i</sup> redditus C <sup>j</sup> reddiderint A

22 <sup>a</sup> querimonia ACHN <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> iniustam A <sup>c</sup> N adds Dominus before Deus <sup>d</sup> subiciet A <sup>e</sup> A adds nostra after cognatione <sup>f</sup> ne N

king's intention, being very confident with their forty thousand cavalry. He reported that the Turks had come to besiege Edessa on Tancred's advice and at his instigation, and that Tancred was opposed and hostile to him in all things.

21. When he heard Baldwin of Bourcq's complaint about Tancred's wrongdoings, on his men's advice the king sent a legation to Tancred in Antioch, telling him to come down to him and to the leaders of the Christians' army, and if wrongs had been inflicted on him by Baldwin then he would resolve all in the presence of the Christians, either by a fair trial or by agreement of the council of magnates. Tancred was very reluctant to come, but eventually on the advice of his men he came down with fifteen hundred armoured soldiers, in order to hear about all the things of which he was accused by Baldwin of Bourcq and reply to them, and if he held anything against Baldwin of Bourcq he would present it in the hearing of all. He came and greeted the king, and was graciously received by the king. Then the king, in the presence of the assembled faithful, asked him to account for himself, why he had led out the Turks against brothers and fellow Christians when he should rather have helped the Christians. He did not try to excuse himself, replying that the reason he had not helped them was this: because Baldwin, the ruler of the state of Edessa, showed him no respect, when before these days the city of Edessa itself and many other towns of the kingdom belonged to Antioch, and, being subject to him, paid annual tribute to the lord of Antioch.

22. At this King Baldwin restrained Tancred's complaint very gently, saying: 'My brother Tancred, you are not making a fair demand, nor should you speak of having a just grievance against Baldwin concerning any tribute which the towns rendered Antioch hitherto, since we shall hold nothing among us by gentile law in all those towns which God subjects to our authority. You know, and it is known to all Christians, how, when we left our lands and kindred seeking exile for the name of Jesus, deserting our patrimony, we decreed that whatever anyone might seize from the defeated kingdoms and lands of the gentiles in this land of our pilgrimage, he might hold it peacefully and freely; no one might send an army to him to harm him, but only to help him, and each would lay down his life for his brothers. And so you should know that you do not have a just complaint against Baldwin, since the principles of the gentiles and our principles do not agree (and

nostra non conueniant, et stabili consilio de hoc in unum consenserimus, nisi res Christianorum adeo in sublime procederet ut regem constitueremus, quem caput, rectorem ac<sup>e</sup> defensorem ad nostra retinenda<sup>h</sup> subiecti sequeremur. Vnde, ex timore Dei et iusto iudicio omnium qui<sup>i</sup> nunc assunt Christianorum, oportet te in concordiam redire, et ab omni molestia quam habes aduersus Baldwinum reuocari, alioquin, si gentilibus uis sociari et nostris moliri calumnias,<sup>j</sup> nequaquam frater Christianorum poteris remanere. Nos quoque confratri Christiano iuxta decretum nostrum coadiutores et defensores ad omnia parati erimus.<sup>h</sup> Tancredus, regem se iuste argumentem ex iudicio omnium intelligens, nec se iustam aduersus huius dicta habere excusationem, in concordiam et amicitiam rediit, ac penitentia ductus, quod cum gentilibus quicquam aduersus 674 confratrem machinatus | fuerit, promisit se ultra purum<sup>i</sup> ac fidelem sicut a principio uie deuouerant,<sup>m</sup> coadiutorem confratrum uelle persistere.<sup>n</sup>

23. Hac pace composita, commixtis copiis et armis, rex et Tancredus Turcos in terra Caran insecuti sunt ut pugnarent cum eis. Sed audita illorum reconciliatione, fugam inierunt per deuia et montana diffusi, plurimis tamen de comitatu suo attritis, armentis, cibariis non parum<sup>a</sup> retentis et abductis.<sup>34</sup> Baldwinus rex, ab insecutione et contritione inimicorum regressus, in terra Edisse paucis diebus moram fecit, reparans ac componens undique discidia et odia inter Christianos reperta.

24. Vix rex et Tancredus sub festinatione, scilicet diei ac<sup>a</sup> noctis horis continuis, ad flumen Eufraten peruenerant, et ecce Turci, collectis undique uiribus et copiis, uelociter eos insecuti sunt ut eos in tergo<sup>b</sup> cederent et sagittis in impetu<sup>c</sup> et solita uociferatione expugnarent. Verum rex, comperto aduentu et audacia<sup>d</sup> illorum,<sup>e</sup> flumen nauigio tantum duarum nauium transire properauit, cum omni manu quam eduxerat.<sup>f</sup> Sed infelici casu, rege ac Tancrado cum plurima manu exercitus sui transmissis, utraque nauis, nimium cumulata armis et

<sup>a</sup> atque N <sup>b</sup> ACHN add et propaganda *after* retinenda <sup>i</sup> que N <sup>j</sup> insidias  
ACHN <sup>k</sup> sumus HN <sup>l</sup> A adds ad *before* purum <sup>m</sup> deuouerat N <sup>n</sup> ACHN  
add indeficientem *after* persistere

23 <sup>a</sup> paucis A

24 <sup>a</sup> et A <sup>b</sup> terga ACHN <sup>c</sup> A adds *ferirent after* impetu <sup>d</sup> audientia C  
<sup>e</sup> eorum ACHN <sup>f</sup> eduxerant A

we made a firm decision as one on this) except that if the Christians' affairs should go so very well that we appoint a king—a head, ruler, and defender to keep our possessions—then we should follow him as subjects. For this reason, from fear of God and by fair trial of all Christians who are present now, you must return to harmony, and withdraw all the grievance which you have against Baldwin; otherwise, if you want to be allied with gentiles and to occasion insults to us, you certainly cannot remain a brother of Christians. We also shall be prepared to assist and defend a brother Christian in all things according to our decree.' Tancred, realizing that the king was censuring him justly in everyone's opinion, and that he did not have a lawful defence against his accusations, returned to peace and friendship, and he was led by repentance, because he had plotted with the gentiles something against a brother Christian, and he promised that from then on he would remain pure and faithful just as they had vowed at the outset of the journey, an ally to his brother Christians.

23. When this peace was made, their troops and weapons were mingled, and the king and Tancred pursued the Turks in the land of Harran in order to fight with them. But when they heard about the Christians' reconciliation, the Turks took flight and scattered through the mountains and out-of-the-way places, yet very many of their company were destroyed, and no few herds and provisions were kept back and brought away.<sup>34</sup> King Baldwin, having returned from the pursuit and destruction of the enemy, stayed in the land of Edessa for a few days, repairing and reconciling the disagreements and enmities he found on all sides among the Christians.

24. The king and Tancred made haste, that is to say they rode at all hours of the day and night, but scarcely had they arrived at the river Euphrates when suddenly the Turks, having assembled forces and troops from all sides, pursued them swiftly in order to fall upon them from the rear and attack them with arrows by way of a charge and their usual shouting. But the king, when he realized their approach and boldness, hurried to cross the river by way of only two boats, along with all the army he had led out. But by an unlucky chance, when the king and Tancred had been sent over with a very great part of their army, each of the two boats, being overladen with weapons

<sup>34</sup> Fulcher describes the same tactics, adding that the Turks fled because they were cowards; Ibn al-Qalanisi presents the Turkish 'flight' as a strategic withdrawal (FC, p. 540; IQ, p. 103).

militibus, mediis fluctibus cepit periclitari et submergi, et sic cetera manus, que altero in stagno ad quinque milia remanserat, nequaquam ultra remis aut ullo<sup>g</sup> auxilio transuehi potuit. Nec mora Turci in ipso feruore medie diei affuerunt in multitudine graui qui miserum uulguis inuentum nec fluminis transitu euadere ualentem<sup>h</sup> fortiter incurrentes, crudeliter in arcu et sagittis<sup>i</sup> peremerunt, uidentibus rege et Tancrado et uniuersis hac ex parte fluminis consistentibus. Rex tristis et dolens nimium factus est, eo quod naues perissent et nequaquam suis in aspectu eius<sup>j</sup> cadentibus subuenire potuisset.<sup>35</sup>

- 675 25. Turcis<sup>a</sup> post tam cruentam cedem in terram Edisse reuertentibus, Baldwinus de Burg, qui regem cum trecentis equitibus subsequebatur, illis obuiam factus, nequaquam ab eis diuertere ualens, bellum cum eis committere presumpsit. Sed Turci, in uirtute multitudinis sue preuallentes, uniuersos sagittis confixerunt. Solus Baldwinus,<sup>b</sup> ad montana 'fugiendo contendens,'<sup>c</sup> uix a manibus illorum<sup>d</sup> elapsus est.<sup>e</sup> Altera die crudelis fama tam grauis euentus<sup>f</sup> in auribus regis ac Tancradi innotuit, qui, nauigio statim aptato, flumen cum suis traiecerunt ut Turcis dignam penam rependerent aliquo in<sup>g</sup> loco repertis. Sed minime uisis aut<sup>h</sup> repertis,<sup>i</sup> Baldwinum de Burg desolatum et mestum ac flebilem<sup>j</sup> de strage suorum repertum in manu robusta Gallorum Rohas uiuum et incolumem perduxerunt.<sup>k 36</sup>

26. Interea frater regis de Norwega,<sup>a</sup> Magnus nomine,<sup>37</sup> in plurimo apparatu, in multa armatura, in manu robusta, in buzis sexaginta,<sup>38</sup> in decem milibus uirorum pugnatorum per biennium in circuitu spaciosi maris a regno suo enauigans, in portu ciuitatis Ascalonis anchoram

<sup>g</sup> aliquo HN      <sup>h</sup> ualens A      <sup>i</sup> sagitta ACHN      <sup>j</sup> suo N

25    <sup>a</sup> Turci N      <sup>b</sup> A adds de Burch after Baldwinus      <sup>c</sup> ' confugit et N  
<sup>d</sup> eorum ACHN      <sup>e</sup> om. N      <sup>f</sup> om. N      <sup>g</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>h</sup> ac N      <sup>i</sup> inuentis A  
<sup>j</sup> debilem N      <sup>k</sup> reduxerunt A

26    <sup>a</sup> Nortwega A; Norweiga C

<sup>35</sup> Other sources describe the loss of the baggage train in the river (FC, p. 542; IQ, pp. 103-4). Matthew of Edessa claims that the Franks crossed safely, but it was Armenians who were drowned, and Anon. Syriac says 'Edessenes were in the majority there' (ME, pp. 205-6; Anon. Syriac, p. 83).

<sup>36</sup> This is one of many incidents not mentioned by Fulcher; however, Ibn al-Qalanisi confirms that Baldwin had left the city and was then restored to it (IQ, pp. 104-5).

<sup>37</sup> Sigurd Magnusson, king of Norway 1103-30 (jointly with his brother Eystein 1103-22). He was later known as Sigurd 'Jerusalemfarer' and the oldest vernacular version of his

and soldiers, began to get into difficulties and sink in the middle of the waters, and so the rest of the army, of whom some five thousand remained in the shallows on the other side, could no longer be brought across by any means of oars or other assistance. At once the Turks were present in a great host in that selfsame raging heat of noon and they charged violently the wretched crowd they found there, who could not escape by crossing the river, destroying them cruelly with bow and arrows, while the king and Tancred watched, and all those standing on this side of the river. The king became sad and grieved intensely, because the ships had perished and he had been quite unable to help his men who were going down before his eyes.<sup>35</sup>

25. The Turks returned into the land of Edessa after this cruel slaughter and Baldwin of Bourcq, who was following the king with three hundred cavalry, met them; as he was quite unable to turn aside from them, he dared to join battle with them. But the Turks, prevailing by virtue of numbers, shot them all with arrows. Only Baldwin, striving towards the mountains in flight, managed to escape their hands. The next day the cruel news of so serious an occurrence reached the ears of the king and Tancred, and they at once took to the boat and crossed the river with their men in order to repay the Turks a worthy penalty in whatever place they were found. But they were not seen or found, and so, having discovered Baldwin of Bourcq forsaken and dejected and weeping over the massacre of his men, they took him back alive and unharmed to Edessa with a strong escort of Gauls.<sup>36</sup>

26. Meanwhile the king of Norway's brother, Magnus by name,<sup>37</sup> who had spent two years sailing from his own kingdom around the wide seas, with much equipment, much armour, a strong army, with sixty busses<sup>38</sup> and ten thousand warlike men, anchored in the harbour of the town of Ascalon for whole hours of the day and night in order

journey is preserved in the *Morkinskinna*, which dates from early in the 13th c.: ed. C. R. Unger (Oslo, 1867), pp. 156–98 (number of ships at p. 157; siege of Sidon at p. 187). The tale was also incorporated into the *Magnússona Saga*, or *Saga of the Sons of Magnus*, which may be read in Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, tr. L. M. Hollander (Austin, Tex., 1964), pp. 688–714, at pp. 689–96. A short account in Latin was written in the 1170s or 1180s by Theodric the Monk: see *Monumenta Historica Norvegiae*, ed. G. Storm (Oslo, 1880), pp. 65–6.

<sup>38</sup> As before, Albert refers to these ships from northern waters as busses. His numbers agree broadly with other commentators: Ibn al-Qalanisi says more than sixty; Fulcher mentions fifty-five (at the siege of Sidon), and Ibn al-Athir sixty (IQ, p. 106; FC, p. 544; IA, p. 275). According to the *Heimskringla* there were sixty ships when Sigurd left Norway, but the same source recounts eight battles before they arrived in Palestine (Sturluson, p. 689).

integris horis diei ac noctis fixit ut uideret si aliqui uiri a ciuitate terra uel mari sibi occurrerent, cum quibus ex industria aut euentu aliquod<sup>b</sup> certamen iniret. Sed, Ascalonitis silentio compressis et minime prodire<sup>c</sup> audentibus, postera die Iafeth, que est Ioppe, applicuit, desiderio adorandi in Ierusalem.

27. Dehinc, post dies aliquot, incomparabilis naualis exercitus a regno Babylonie in galidis, in biremibus et triremibus, dictis uulgariter catts, turritis et bello compositis, aduectus est ad ciuitatem Baruc uel  
 676 Baurim ad recuperandam | urbem si aliqua daretur oportunitas. Et spacio diei illic consedentes,<sup>a</sup> custodes Christianos<sup>b</sup> lacescentes, nullo eis<sup>c</sup> ingenio nocere aut preualere potuerunt. Nulla siquidem uirtute aut industria hic preuallentes, sed spacio<sup>d</sup> ambitu urbem obsidentes, quatuor naues a longe e fastigio mali speculati sunt, quarum tres<sup>e</sup> a Flandria et Antwerpia uenerant, quibus preerant<sup>f</sup> Willelmus, Starcolfus et<sup>g</sup> Bernardus,<sup>39</sup> causa adorandi in Ierusalem adnauigantes, quarta, de regno Grecorum diuersas merces et cibaria portans, causa negotiationis huc uia maris pariter profecta est. Hiis uisis, et Christianitatis signo recognito,<sup>h</sup> undique certabant remis, buzis et<sup>i</sup> galidis ut eos<sup>j</sup> coronantes captiuarent ac, plurimo conatu remorum ad eas<sup>k</sup> festinantes, graui eas insecutione coegerunt in fugam. Sed, Dei gratia opitulante, uelociore uelo et remis uiam maturantes, una ad ciuitatem Cayphas euasit, ciuibus Christianis auxilium a terra in arcu et sagitta illi ferentibus, alie due inter Cayphas et Acras<sup>l</sup> pondere sue molis quassate, aquarum profundo deficiente, ciuibus uero Christianis pariter illis ad auxilium festinantibus, elapse sunt.<sup>m</sup> Quarta de regno Grecorum, nimium tardata, capta et retenta est ac rebus omnibus expoliata.

28. Eodem quoque tempore eiusdem mensis Augusti,<sup>40</sup> quo hec fiebant, Ascalonite, gauisi absentia et diutina expeditione regis Baldwini, estimantes modicas uires militum Ierusalem remansisse, quingentis accitis<sup>a</sup> equitibus,<sup>b</sup> decreuerunt ciuitatem obsidere et obpugnare,<sup>c</sup> et uiros qui erant in arce turris Dauid bello lacescere. Verum fideles Christi, cognito decreto et aduentu illorum,<sup>d</sup> Ramnes,

<sup>b</sup> aliquot *H*      <sup>c</sup> aprodire *A*

27    <sup>a</sup> considentes *AHN*      <sup>b</sup> Christianorum *HN*      <sup>c</sup> eius *N*      <sup>d</sup> spacio *N*  
<sup>e</sup> vi *N*      <sup>f</sup> preerat *N*      <sup>g</sup> om. *N*      <sup>h</sup> recognitis *AC*      <sup>i</sup> om. *N*      <sup>j</sup> eas *N*  
<sup>k</sup> eos *N*      <sup>l</sup> Acras *N*      <sup>m</sup> om. *N*

28    <sup>a</sup> ascitis *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> militibus *A*      <sup>c</sup> expugnare *N*      <sup>d</sup> eorum *A*

to see if any men from the town would meet him by land or sea, with whom he might contrive some battle by accident or design. But, as the Ascalonites kept quiet and did not dare to come out, he sailed on the following day for Jaffa, which is Joppe, desiring to worship in Jerusalem.

27. Then, after some days, a matchless navy sailed out from the realm of Egypt, comprising galleys, biremes, and triremes, commonly called cats, turreted and equipped for war, to the town of Beirut, or Baurim, to recapture the city if any opportunity offered. They settled there for a day, provoking the Christian guards, but they could not harm them or prevail by any device. While, indeed, they were not prevailing here by any exertion of strength or industry, but were blockading the city in a wide circle, from the top of the mast they spotted four ships in the distance, three of which had come from Flanders and Antwerp, commanded by William, Starcolf, and Bernard,<sup>39</sup> sailing here for the sake of worshipping in Jerusalem, while the fourth, from the kingdom of the Greeks, carrying different merchandise and provisions, had likewise set out for here on the sea way for the sake of business. Having seen these ships and recognized the sign of Christianity, the Egyptians strove with oars from all sides, and with busses and galleys, in order to surround them and capture them and, speeding towards them with a great effort of oars, they forced them to flight by a vigorous pursuit. But, with the help of God's grace, the Christians sped on their way with faster sail and oars, and one escaped to the town of Haifa, where the Christian townspeople provided them with help from land by bow and arrow; another two were broken up by the weight of their huge bulk between Haifa and Acre, but as the waters were not deep, the Christian townspeople likewise hurried to help them, and they escaped. The fourth, from the kingdom of the Greeks, was too slow; it was captured and held and plundered of all its cargo.

28. At the very same time of the very same month of August,<sup>40</sup> when these things happened, the Ascalonites, rejoicing at the absence and long expedition of King Baldwin, and thinking few military forces remained in Jerusalem, summoned five hundred cavalry and decided to besiege and attack the town, and to provoke to battle the men who were in the citadel of the Tower of David. Truly, Christ's faithful, learning of their decision and their approach, sent all around—to

<sup>39</sup> None of these three is otherwise known.

<sup>40</sup> In 1110.

Assur, Ioppen,<sup>e</sup> Cayphas, Cesaream undique miserunt ad uniuersos regi Baldwino obediētes,<sup>f</sup> ut sine mora <sup>g</sup>die ac nocte<sup>g</sup> Ierusalem festinantes urbem et eius arcem ab hostili assultu defensarent. Qui mox ex<sup>h</sup> omni parte affluētes<sup>i</sup> ciuitatem intrauerunt noctis in silentio, et portas uigili custodia, tam clericorum quam mulierum,<sup>j</sup> turresque fidei militum diligentia munientes, ceteri armis et sagittis conglobati milites trecenti equo et pede per montana descenderunt, quo Ascalonitarum uia affutura erat. Et ecce Ascalonite assunt in equitatu et apparatu magno, obuiam facti Christianis in campo magno. Vbi prelio diu<sup>k</sup> commisso armis et sagittis, ad extremum Ascalonite terga uerterunt. Quos Christiani insequentes, ducentos peremerunt, equos et spolia multa cum captiuis multis Ierusalem abducentes<sup>l</sup> in leticia et uictoria inopinata.

677 29. Naualis uero exercitus, qui a Babylonia eruperat<sup>a</sup> et Christianis per mare insidias et assultus parabat,<sup>b</sup> a Baurim Ptolomaidam diuertit et, plurima ui<sup>c</sup> in malorum altitudine preminentes, adeo urbis defensores aggrauantes bello uexauerunt, ut totum<sup>d</sup> portum fere per dies octo in nauium multitudine et fortitudine inuadentes obtinerent. Interea, dum in hac urbe Ptolomaida magna fieret desolatio, et uix catena portus hostibus obsisteret ne urbem apprehendissent, rex Baldwinus et Bertrannus ab Antiochia et Rohas cum omni manu adhuc indiuisa reditum parabant. Qui, audita Babyloniorum adunatione et oppugnatione aduersus Accaron, uelociori uia accelerabant ut suis subuenirent et ab hostili inpugnatione liberarent.

30. Verum rex, parte sui exercitus in auxilium Ptolomensibus ciuibus Christianis relicta, ex consilio prudentium uirorum primum Ioppen ad regem de Norwega diuertit, ut ex ore illius audiens sciret quid primum instare et adimplere uellet.<sup>a</sup> Mox<sup>b</sup> omni amoris<sup>c</sup> osculo<sup>d</sup> foederatis,<sup>e</sup> rex nomine Magnus Baldwinum regem obnixē precatur ut uiam secum ad adorandum in Ierusalem insistat, ex<sup>f</sup> Domini Iesu auctoritate, qua<sup>g</sup> iubet fideles suos primum querere regnum Dei, et postea omnia profutura querentibus inuenire.<sup>41</sup> Deinde agebat<sup>h</sup> se

<sup>e</sup> Ioppem ACE      <sup>f</sup> obsidentes N      <sup>g g</sup> diei noctuque N      <sup>h</sup> ab A  
<sup>i</sup> confluentes A      <sup>j</sup> monachorum A      <sup>k</sup> om. N      <sup>l</sup> adducentes N

29      <sup>a</sup> eruperant A      <sup>b</sup> parabant A      <sup>c</sup> om. N      <sup>d</sup> totam CHE

30      <sup>a</sup> posset ACHN      <sup>b</sup> A adds omnibus amoris in the margin      <sup>c</sup> amore A  
<sup>d</sup> uinculo CHN; uinculis A      <sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> et N      <sup>g</sup> que N      <sup>h</sup> aiebat ACHN

Ramla, Arsuf, Jaffa, Haifa, Caesarea—to all men who were obedient to King Baldwin, saying they should hasten to Jerusalem day and night without delay to defend the city and its citadel from enemy attack. They soon flooded in from all parts and entered the town at dead of night; they defended the gates with a watchful guard—of women as well as clerics—and the towers with the loyal care of soldiers; the rest of the assembled soldiers, with weapons and arrows, three hundred of them, descended over the mountain slopes on horse and foot, on the way by which the Ascalonites would arrive. And suddenly the Ascalonites appeared in a great and well equipped cavalry force, and met the Christians on a great plain. There battle was waged long with weapons and arrows, and at the last the Ascalonites turned tail. The Christians pursued them and killed two hundred, bringing back to Jerusalem horses and much plunder, along with many prisoners, in unexpected happiness and victory.

29. The naval force, which had sallied forth from Egypt and was preparing ambushes and attacks on the Christians by sea, turned aside from Beirut to Acre and, threatening with great force from the height of their masts, they annoyed the city's defenders so much by oppressing them with war, that they invaded and captured almost the entire harbour in eight days by means of their host of ships and their strength. Meanwhile, while there was great despair in this city of Acre, and the chain of the harbour could scarcely hold back the enemy from capturing the city, King Baldwin and Bertrand were preparing their return from Antioch and Edessa with all their army as yet intact. So when they heard of the Egyptians' unified attack on Acre, they quickened their pace on a faster journey in order to help their comrades and deliver them from enemy attack.

30. But the king, having left part of his army to assist the Christian citizens of Acre, on the advice of his wisest men turned aside in the first place to Jaffa to consult the king of Norway, so that he might hear from his lips and find out what he should do and perform first. Soon they were allied by every loving kiss, and the king called Magnus beseeched King Baldwin with all his might to make the journey with him to worship in Jerusalem, at the bidding of Lord Jesus, whereby He orders His faithful people to seek first the kingdom of God, and afterwards all good things will be found by those who seek.<sup>41</sup> Then he dealt with the question of which town he

<sup>41</sup> Matt. 6: 33.

quamcumque eligeret ciuitatem suo nauali exercitu obsidere. Baldwinus rex uotis regis Magni et suorum primatum cum omni beniuolentia satisfacit, Ierusalem sicut deuouerant se cum eis iturum non negauit. Ascendentibus itaque<sup>i</sup> utrisque regibus in sanctam ciuitatem, uniuersus clerus et<sup>j</sup> in albis et in omni cultu diuine religionis, in ymnis et canticis cum uniuersis ciuibus et populis occurrerunt, et reges cum omni comitatu suo usque ad dominicum sepulchrum in uoce exultationis perduxerunt. Rex siquidem Baldwinus regem Magnum manu<sup>k</sup> honorifice ac familiari amore ducebat, iuxta apostoli uocem, qui ut honore inuicem preueniamus nos adhortatur.<sup>42</sup> Ducebat quidem eum ac docebat omnia loca sancta et ea que nota habebat, ac multo obsonio et regali apparatu per dies aliquot eundem procurabat. Deinde ut magis ac magis amore<sup>l</sup> et fide<sup>m</sup> firmarentur, ad flumen Iordanis in manu forti cum eo descendit, quo catholico ritu in nomine Domini<sup>m</sup> Iesu | peracto, Ierusalem ipsum regem Magnum in gloria et iocunditate sanum et ab omni turbine tutum reduxit.

31. Post hec Ierusalem reuersi, conuocata ecclesia, decreuerunt communi consilio Sagittam, uel Sydonem, que multa peregrinis damna et calumnias inferens, regi sepius restiterat, obsiderent mari et terra, numquam ab ea recedentes donec urbs capta in manu<sup>a</sup> Christianorum redderetur.<sup>43</sup> Nec multa mora Baldwinus rex, Bertrannus,<sup>b</sup> accitis<sup>c</sup> copiis, in apparatu copioso castrametati sunt in obsidionem urbis Sagitte, machinas et tormenta lapidum constituentes<sup>d</sup> quibus urbs per singulos<sup>e</sup> dies obpugnaretur. Mouit pariter ab Ioppe rex Magnus nauales copias et applicuit ad urbem Sagittam, ut eam a<sup>f</sup> mari obsidens et expugnans nulli<sup>g</sup> introitum aut exitum hac in parte pateretur. Horum tam fortium uirorum et magnorum regum apparatus et uires terra et mari adesse intelligens naualis exercitus Babylonie, a portu<sup>h</sup> Ptolomaydis et eius obpugnatione<sup>i</sup> secessit ad portum Sur que est Tyrus, illic moram faciens, ne rex Magnus repertos in obsidione Accaron nauali certamine disturbaret.<sup>44</sup> Sed

<sup>i</sup> om. N      <sup>j</sup> om. N      <sup>k</sup> om. N      <sup>l</sup> fideque A; ac fide HN      <sup>m</sup> om. A

31    <sup>a</sup> manus N    <sup>b</sup> AHN add et before Bertrannus    <sup>c</sup> ascitis AC    <sup>d</sup> instituentes HN    <sup>e</sup> singulas H    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> nullum HN    <sup>h</sup> porta N    <sup>i</sup> impugnatione ACHN

<sup>42</sup> Rom. 12: 10.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi has a detailed account of the siege of Sidon; Fulcher's description is much briefer (IQ, pp. 106-8; FC, pp. 543-8).

would choose to besiege with his naval force. King Baldwin fell in with the wishes of King Magnus and his own chiefs with all goodwill and consented to go with them to Jerusalem as they had vowed. Therefore, as both kings were going up into the holy city, the entire clergy, clothed in albs and in all the splendid dress of divine religion, singing hymns and songs, met them with all the citizens and people, and they led the kings with all their company all the way to the Lord's sepulchre, singing in exultation. Indeed, King Baldwin was leading King Magnus by the hand with honour and brotherly love, in accordance with the speech of the apostle, who encourages us to outdo each other in honour.<sup>42</sup> He was, indeed, leading him and teaching him all the holy places and those things he considered noteworthy, and he looked after him for some days with much feasting and royal entertainment. Then, as they were confirmed more and more in love and loyalty, he went down with him in a strong company to the river Jordan, where the Christian ceremony was performed in the name of Lord Jesus, then he led that selfsame King Magnus back to Jerusalem in triumph and rejoicing, safe and sound from all disturbance.

31. After they had returned to Jerusalem they called the Church together and decided on their common advice to blockade by land and sea Sagitta, or Sidon, which was causing much harm and vexation to pilgrims and had frequently opposed the king, and they agreed they would never withdraw from the siege until the city was delivered into the hands of the Christians.<sup>43</sup> Quite soon King Baldwin and Bertrand, having summoned their troops, pitched camp with plenty of equipment to besiege the city of Sidon, stationing engines and stone hurlers with which the city might be attacked every single day. Likewise King Magnus moved his naval forces from Jaffa and brought them to the city of Sidon, so that his blockading and attacking from the sea would allow no one to enter or leave from this side. The Egyptian navy realized that the equipment and forces of these powerful men and great kings had arrived by land and sea, and they withdrew from the port of Acre and their attack on it to the port of Sur, which is Tyre, stopping there, lest King Magnus should find them besieging Acre and thwart them by a naval battle.<sup>44</sup> Yet nevertheless some of the Egyptians,

<sup>44</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi confirms: 'The Egyptian fleet was then stationed at the port of Tyre, but it was unable to bring support to Sidon' (IQ, p. 107).

tamen<sup>j</sup> aliqui ex Babyloniis, buzis uelocissimis freti, hac et illac mediis aquis plurimo inferuntur conamine, si forte aliquo euentu catholicos uiros superare et abducere ualerent. At Babyloniis minime successit, unde Baldwini regis audaciam et industriam metuentes, remensis aquis Babyloniā reuersi sunt.

32. Baldwinus rex, Bertrannus,<sup>a</sup> accitis copiis, obsidionem a terra statuerunt; rex de Norwega cum omni manu sua anchoras figens uersus mare sedem in circuitu urbis firmauit. Sic locata obsidione, toto mense Septembre in assultu et crebris ruinis muros et turres urbis angustiantes,<sup>45</sup> ciuibus econtra in armis et tormento lapidum abintus fortiter resistentibus, machinam multis diebus compositam muro applicantes, uiros in arcu baleari in ea posuerunt, qui altitudine soliorum machine eminentes desuper muros per urbem et turres et eius menia specularentur, et sic per uicos et plateas gradientes plaga intolerabili artarent.<sup>46</sup>

679 33. Ciues autem, uidentes machinam urbem altitudine superare, ciuibus nocere, noctis in obscuro cauationem sub murorum fundamentum<sup>a</sup> plurimo conatu et mira<sup>b</sup> industria fecerunt ut, facta cauatione, trans muros usque ad stationem machine ligna arida et ignis fomitem in hanc comportarent, et hiis subito in fauillam redactis cum humo machina rueret et uiros in ea positos in momento suffocaret. Sed rex, hanc artem iniquam precauens ex quorundam relatione, machinam a loco cauationis amouit, et sic labor Sydoniorum frustra consumptus est.

34. Tandem, curriculo sex ebdomadarum transacto,<sup>47</sup> Sydonii uidentes se nihil aduersus machinam preualere, et tormentis lapidum assidue urbem et eius portas<sup>a</sup> concuti, quin nauali assultu non minus se grauari, naualem uero exercitum Babylonie aufugisse, dextras sibi<sup>b</sup> a rege<sup>b</sup> dari poscunt, et urbem cum turribus et clauibus in eius manus<sup>c</sup> reddi, sub hac tamen conditione: ut ammiraldus preses

<sup>j</sup> statim *A*

32 <sup>a</sup> *ACHN* add et before Bertrannus

33 <sup>a</sup> fundamento *ACHN* <sup>b</sup> om. *N*

34 <sup>a</sup> menia *A* <sup>b</sup> om. *ACHN* <sup>c</sup> manibus *ACHN*

<sup>45</sup> According to Ibn al-Qalanisi the siege began 19 Oct. 1110 (IQ, p. 107). It would appear from Albert's own reckoning of the siege as lasting some six weeks that he is in error about its inception.

placing their confidence in their very fast busses, were borne here and there in the midst of the waters in a great battle, hoping they could by some chance overcome and carry off Christian men. But the Egyptians had little success, so they feared the boldness and purposefulness of King Baldwin, and they sailed back to Egypt.

32. King Baldwin and Bertrand, having summoned their troops, established the blockade on the landward side; the king of Norway dropped anchor with all his force and secured his position around the city on the seaward side. With the blockade in place thus, they pressed hard the walls and towers of the city by attack and constant destruction for the entire month of September,<sup>45</sup> while the citizens for their part fought back strongly from within with weapons and a stone hurler, then the Christians placed against the wall a siege tower which had taken many days to construct, and posted inside it men with crossbows, who would stand above the walls from the height of the engine's upper storeys and look over the city and its towers and ramparts, and thus harass the streets and roads with an irresistible destruction.<sup>46</sup>

33. However, the citizens, seeing that the tower loomed above the city and was harming the citizens, hollowed under the foundation of the walls at dead of night, with very great effort and wonderful hard labour, so that when the mining was finished they would bring together in it, across the walls and up to the place the engine was stationed, dry wood and kindling, and when these were suddenly reduced to ashes the engine would fall to the ground and suffocate instantly the men posted in it. But the king, forewarned of this wicked stratagem by a report from certain men, moved the tower away from the place of the mining, and thus the Sidonites' hard work was in vain.

34. At length, after six weeks had run their course,<sup>47</sup> since the Sidonites saw that they were not prevailing against the engine, and the city and its gates were being shaken continually by the stone hurlers, and indeed they were no less oppressed by the naval attack, since the navy from Egypt had fled, they asked urgently for pledges to be given to them by the king, and for the city to be surrendered into

<sup>46</sup> The tower is described in detail by Ibn al-Qalanisi (IQ, p. 107). He does not mention the attempt to undermine it which follows in Albert.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi says the siege lasted forty-seven days (IQ, p. 107).

ciuitatis et quibus esset animo cum rebus<sup>d</sup> suis quantum ualerent collo et humeris deferre pacifice incolumes<sup>e</sup> egredierentur.<sup>48</sup> Rex Baldwinus,<sup>f</sup> longa obsidione et assultu fessus, consilio cum rege Norwege, cum comite Bertranno et ceteris uiris sensatis habito, petitioni Sydoniorum cessit et, sic urbe<sup>g</sup> in eius potestate<sup>h</sup> et suorum<sup>h</sup> reddita ac<sup>i</sup> patefacta, Sydonii sicut pepigerant cum ammiraldo suo circiter quinque milia cum rebus suis in pace egressi sunt, usque ad Ascalonam<sup>j</sup> proficiscentes. Ceteri qui remanserant sub iugo regis et in eius seruitutem redacti sunt.

35. Rex Baldwinus post hec, in manu et custodia suorum ciuitate  
680 constituta, Ie|rusalem ascendit in gloria et uictoria magna natali<sup>a</sup>  
Thome apostoli.<sup>49</sup> Ibique natali Domini gloriose et catholice celebrato, exaltatum est in uictoria hac nomen illius<sup>b</sup> per uniuersas urbes gentilium, et timor magnus inuasit omnes<sup>50</sup> qui audierunt prospere illi omnia euenisse, et quieuerunt ab omni impetu et assultu diebus plurimis. Dehinc sollempniter a rege Baldwino et ab omni ecclesia Pascha Domini celebrato, ammiraldus, 'id est' preses, Ascalonis, nescio spiritu timoris<sup>d</sup> an amoris diuini, domnum regem adeo per secretarios cepit appellare, et cum eo agere de urbis traditione.<sup>51</sup> Dum Ierusalem idem ammiraldus, fide data et accepta, ad regem intrauit, omnia ei locutus sicut in corde et animo deuouerat de urbis traditione et ipsius regis et suorum intromissione,<sup>e</sup> de fidelitatis deuotione erga regem<sup>f</sup> et suos<sup>f</sup> habenda. Tandem cognita et inuenta illius pura deuotione et animi intentione, fide utrimque confederatis,<sup>g</sup> decretum est primum, ex consilio regis<sup>h</sup> et suorum<sup>h</sup> principum, regem Ierusalem remanere, trecentos uero ex suis uiros militares et<sup>i</sup> belligeros cum ammiraldo Ascalonam descendere,<sup>j</sup> urbem intrare, et eius turres obtinere, et uniuersos ciues regi subiugare. Descendentes itaque,

<sup>d</sup> N adds omnibus before rebus      <sup>e</sup> N adds et before incolumes      <sup>f</sup> uero ACHN  
<sup>g</sup> urbem N      <sup>h</sup> suorumque ACHN      <sup>i</sup> et N      <sup>j</sup> Ascalona E

35      <sup>a</sup> natalis N      <sup>b</sup> eius ACHN      <sup>c</sup> idem ACN      <sup>d</sup> ACHN add tactus after timoris  
         <sup>e</sup> intermissione C      <sup>f</sup> suosque A      <sup>g</sup> federatis A      <sup>h</sup> suorumque A  
         <sup>i</sup> ac H      <sup>j</sup> dirigere N

<sup>48</sup> These terms are confirmed by Ibn al-Qalanisi, who, however, attests to the severity of the tribute exacted from those who remained in the city (IQ, pp. 107-8).

<sup>49</sup> 21 Dec. 1110, which fits with dates given by Ibn al-Qalanisi (4 Dec.) and Fulcher (5 Dec): see IQ, p. 107; FC, p. 548.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Ps. 148: 13; Acts 5: 5, 11; Rev. 11: 11.

<sup>51</sup> These negotiations are also mentioned by Ibn al-Qalanisi, although they open rather differently: 'On returning from Sidon, Baldwin marched to Ascalon, and made an attack upon it. Its governor Shams al-Khilafa opened negotiations with him, and a settlement was

his hands with its towers and keys, but on this condition: that the amir in charge of the town and those who were of the same mind should leave peacefully and unharmed with as many of their possessions as they could carry on their neck and shoulders.<sup>48</sup> King Baldwin, wearied by the long blockade and attack, took counsel with the king of Norway, with Count Bertrand and other sensible men and yielded to the Sidonites' petition and, once the city was thus surrendered into the power of him and his men and opened up, around five thousand of the Sidonites, just as they had agreed with their amir, left peacefully with their possessions, setting out on the way to Ascalon. The rest who had stayed behind were brought under the yoke of the king and into his servitude.

35. After this, once the town was established in the hands and the guardianship of his men, King Baldwin went up to Jerusalem in triumph and great victory on the birthday of Thomas the Apostle.<sup>49</sup> There also the Lord's birthday was celebrated in glorious and Christian fashion, and the king's name was exalted in this victory through all the cities of the gentiles, and a great fear afflicted all<sup>50</sup> who heard how fortunately everything had turned out for him, and they desisted from all attack and assault for very many days. Then, after Easter had been celebrated solemnly by King Baldwin and all the church, the amir, that is to say the chief, of Ascalon—inspired by I do not know what spirit of fear or divine love—even began to call on the king by way of privy counsellors, and to negotiate with him about the city's surrender.<sup>51</sup> When that same amir entered the king's presence in Jerusalem, after pledges of loyalty had been exchanged, just as he had vowed in his heart and mind he spoke to him of everything to do with the surrender of the city and admitting the king himself and his men, and to do with the commitment of loyalty he would have towards the king and his men. At length the king recognized and accepted the amir's pure devotion and purpose of mind, and they made an alliance of loyalty on both sides, and it was decreed first, on the advice of the king and his princes, that the king would stay in Jerusalem, while three hundred of his military and warlike men would go down with the amir to Ascalon, enter the city, take possession of its towers, and subject all the citizens to the king. Therefore they went down, as had been decided, entered the gates with the assistance and

reached between them . . .'. The amir is described as more interested in trading than fighting. The suspicions of al-Afdal of Egypt and the resistance of the Ascalonites which resulted in the amir's assassination are also depicted (IQ, pp. 108–10).

sicut decretum erat, portas intrauerunt auxilio et consensu ammiraldi, menia <sup>k</sup>et turres<sup>k</sup> apprehendentes, ciues regis ditioni subicientes.

36. Nec mora, cum predicti milites totam urbem obtinuissent et regis potestati ex manu ammiraldi omnia contulissent, rex Ierusalem in potentia et gloria magna resideret, legati Baldwini de Burg ad regem introeuntes<sup>a</sup> in hec uerba locuti sunt: 'Turci, a regno Corruzana egressi in uirtute magna ducentorum milium robustorum equitum presidium Turbaisel obsederunt, terram preda et omni exterminio Christianorum depopulantes.'<sup>52</sup> Qui, assumptis uiribus equitum et peditum, usque ad locum qui dicitur Solome<sup>53</sup> descendit ubi, dum diebus aliquot moram ageret propter copias Turcorum qui a Damasco conuenerant ad obsistendum sibi, crudelis fama innotuit quoniam filius regis Babylonie<sup>54</sup> Ascalonam descendisset<sup>b</sup> ut in ea repertos milites catholicos<sup>c</sup> expugnaret et urbem sue potestati relocaret.

681 37. Quibus rex auditis, iter distulit, Ascalonam rediit, si forte suis subuenire posset. Verum ciues qui urbem inhabitabant, uirtutem regis Babylonie adesse intuentes, et regis Baldwini absentiam, quadam die ammiraldum conuenientes in ore gladii percusserunt, filiumque regis Babylonie, apertis portis, ciuitati<sup>a</sup> inmiserunt. Qui inmissus, priusquam rex Baldwinus fines Ascalonis attingeret, milites catholicos qui per turres et menia diffusi erant exterritos et subito expugnatos uniuersos in gladio<sup>b</sup> occidit, ciuitatem uero seris et 'omni custodia<sup>c</sup> Sarracenorum muniuit. Rex<sup>d</sup> Baldwinus, accelerata uia, ut interitum suorum comperit et urbem ex perfidia ciuium amissam, ammiraldum quoque in fraude peremptum, Ierusalem repedauit, quia nulla tunc erat oportunitas urbem assiliendi et suos decollatos ulciscendi.

38. Interea Malducius<sup>a 55</sup> qui, collecto exercitu ducentorum milium<sup>b</sup> equitum Turcorum,<sup>c</sup> ceterique principes Turcorum, Armigaldus,

<sup>k k</sup> om. HN

36 <sup>a</sup> intrantes A <sup>b</sup> descendit N <sup>c</sup> Christianos ACHN

37 <sup>a</sup> urbi HN <sup>b</sup> ore gladii ACHN <sup>c c</sup> armis N <sup>d</sup> After Rex ACH add igitur; N adds itaque

38 <sup>a</sup> Malducus HN <sup>b</sup> milium is not found in ACEH, but see above, ch. 36, and below, where 100,000 set out for Antioch while 100,000 return to Khurasan. N has milium ducentorum for ducentorum milium. <sup>c</sup> uirorum fortium N

<sup>52</sup> This attack by Mawdūd and his allies is also described by Fulcher and by Matthew of Edessa (FC, pp. 549–57; ME, p. 207).

assent of the amir, took the ramparts and towers, and subjected the citizens to the king's authority.

36. Straight away, when the aforesaid soldiers had occupied the whole city and had conveyed everything from the hands of the amir to the authority of the king, while the king remained in Jerusalem in power and great glory, envoys from Baldwin of Bourcq came into the king's presence and spoke these words: 'Turks have come out of the kingdom of Khurasan in a great horde of two hundred strong cavalry and have besieged the fortress of Turbessel, devastating the land by the plunder and complete destruction of Christians.'<sup>52</sup> The king took forces of cavalry and infantry and went down as far as the place which is called Solome<sup>53</sup> and, while he stopped for some days on account of the Turkish troops which had assembled from Damascus in order to fight against him, the cruel news reached him there that the son of the king of Egypt<sup>54</sup> had come down to Ascalon to attack the Christian soldiers found there and to restore the city to his own authority.

37. When the king heard these things he postponed his journey and returned to Ascalon to see if by chance he could assist his men. The citizens who inhabited Ascalon, realizing the strength of the king of Egypt was at hand, and King Baldwin was absent, converged on the amir one day and put him to the sword, and they opened the gates and admitted the king of Egypt's son into the town. Once he was admitted, and before King Baldwin reached the territories of Ascalon, he took by surprise and suddenly attacked the Christian soldiers who had spread out over the towers and ramparts and killed them all with the sword, and he protected the town by barring the gates and by a garrison entirely of Saracens. King Baldwin hastened his journey and when he discovered the ruin of his men, and the city lost by the treachery of the citizens, and the amir killed by a trick too, he marched back to Jerusalem, because there was at that time no opportunity of attacking the city and avenging his decapitated comrades.

38. Meanwhile Mawdud,<sup>55</sup> who had assembled an army of two hundred thousand Turkish cavalry, and the other Turkish

<sup>52</sup> Possibly 'castrum Salome' (Arabic al-Šanamayn), on the road between Der'a and Damascus: see Mayer, *Montréal*, p. 96.

<sup>54</sup> Not identified.

<sup>55</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn Mawdūd, Saljūq general, d. 1113.

Armigarzi, Samarga, Turbaysel obsederunt,<sup>56</sup> duobus mensibus montes ipsius presidii in uirtute nimia suffoderunt ut sic puteos obruentes et cisternas, aqua deficiente, Gozelinum defensorem loci<sup>d</sup> et cum eo inhabitantes captiuarent. Sed post nimium laborem Turci uidentes quoniam nihil proficiebant<sup>e</sup> in demolitione et cauatione montium, abhinc Antiochiam profecti sunt cum centum milibus.<sup>57</sup> Centum uero milia, propter nimietatem et diuturnam moram, in qua necessaria uite minuebantur, in terram Corruzan redire decreuerunt. Gozelinus, reditum ac diuisionem illorum intelligens, insecutus est remeantes cum centum quinquaginta equitibus et centum peditibus, qui in impetu subsequentes et<sup>f</sup> retardatos ac<sup>g</sup> uehicularum cibariorum impeditos incurrens, mille detruncatis, predam magnam cum suis<sup>h</sup> spoliis<sup>i</sup> in presidium adduxit.

- 682 39. Cetera uero multitudo centum milium Turcorum Halapiam<sup>a</sup> peruenientes,<sup>b</sup> Brodohan principem ciuitatis precati sunt ut uxores filiosque teneros ac filias ad tuendum susciperet, donec euentum uictorie sue uiderent. Sed, hiis refutatis quia pax inter eum et Tancradum erat, hoc tantum<sup>c</sup> eis promisit quod nulli parti hinc uel hinc auxilio haberetur, et hac de causa filium suum obsidem eis fecit.<sup>d</sup> Turci uero, filium illius<sup>e</sup> tenentes, post paululum pactum fidei<sup>f</sup> preuaricantes, filium illius se decollare constanter attestati sunt<sup>g</sup> nisi eis foret auxilio, filiosque<sup>h</sup> filias quoque<sup>h</sup> cum uxoribus et sarcinis suis<sup>i</sup> infra<sup>j</sup> menia reseruaret, propter dubium belli euentum. Quod cum ille negaret propter foedus quod pepigerat cum Tancrado, filium eius<sup>k</sup> in oculis patris et omnium suorum aspectu capitali sententia interimere non abhorruerunt. Decollato itaque tam impie et dolose<sup>l</sup> filio Brodohan, Cesaream Philippi profecti sunt,<sup>58</sup> que sita est iuxta

<sup>d</sup> om. A    <sup>e</sup> proficerent N    <sup>f</sup> ac ACHN    <sup>g</sup> et ACHN    <sup>h</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> N adds multis after spoliis

39    <sup>a</sup> Alapiam N    <sup>b</sup> uenientes N    <sup>c</sup> solum N    <sup>d</sup> dedit A    <sup>e</sup> eius AN  
<sup>f</sup> fidemque N    <sup>g</sup> om. N    <sup>h</sup> et filias HN    <sup>i</sup> om. A    <sup>j</sup> intra A    <sup>k</sup> illius N  
<sup>l</sup> ACH add tam before dolose

<sup>56</sup> According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, Mawdūd encamped at Turbessel 28 July 1111 (IQ, p. 114–15). The campaign is also covered by Fulcher, Matthew of Edessa, and Ibn al-Athir (FC, pp. 549–57; ME, pp. 203–4; IA, p. 282).

<sup>57</sup> Rather similarly, Fulcher relates that the Turks besieged Turbessel for a month and left because they could not capture it as quickly as they hoped (FC, pp. 459–57). Ibn al-Qalanisi's account is as circumstantial as Albert's: both Bursuq and Suqmān were ill and they were at variance over strategy. Nevertheless, their troops breached the tower and Joscelin offered inducements to the Kurdish amir Ahmadil to withdraw his army—the largest—from the blockade. The armies then withdrew to Aleppo (IQ, pp. 114–15). Matthew of Edessa offers

princes—Ahmadil, II-Ghazi, Sokman—who besieged Turbessel,<sup>56</sup> used their great strength to undermine the mountains of that fortress for two months so that, by burying the wells and cisterns in this way, when the water ran out they might capture Joscelin, the place's defender, and with him the inhabitants. But after extremely hard work the Turks saw that they were not getting anywhere with the demolition and undermining of the mountains, so they set out from here to Antioch with a hundred thousand.<sup>57</sup> They ordered another hundred thousand to return into the land of Khurasan, on account of the excessive and long-drawn-out blockade, in which vital supplies were running out. Joscelin, finding out about their return and division, pursued with a hundred and fifty cavalry and a hundred foot soldiers those who were turning back, and he attacked with a charge those following after, who were delayed and hindered by the supply waggons; a thousand were slaughtered and he brought back into the fortress much booty with his spoils.

39. The remaining horde of one hundred thousand Turks arrived at Aleppo and beseeched Ridwan, prince of the state, to take under his protection their wives and young sons and daughters, until they should see the outcome of their victory. But Ridwan refused them on account of the peace between him and Tancred, and only promised them that he would render assistance to neither this side nor that, and for this reason he made his own son a hostage to them. Once the Turks were holding his son, after a very short while they violated their truce and claimed firmly that they would behead Ridwan's son unless he would render assistance to them and protect their sons, their daughters, their wives, and their baggage within the ramparts, because the outcome of the war was in doubt. When Ridwan refused to do this on account of the treaty he had made with Tancred, they did not shrink from submitting his son to the capital sentence before his father's eyes and in full view of all his men. And so, after they had beheaded Ridwan's son so wickedly and treacherously, they set out for Shayzar,<sup>58</sup> which is situated next to the

a hybrid explanation: the Turks besieged Joscelin in Turbessel, 'but were unable to do anything. Then the Persian emir Ahmad-II, who previously had heard of Joscelin's bravery, made peace with him, and both men became brothers' (ME, p. 207).

<sup>58</sup> Albert is mistaken in calling Shayzar Caesarea Philippi, which was the Roman name for Banyas. Fulcher also confesses ignorance of the proper form of the name, calling the town 'Sisara' or 'Chezar' (FC, p. 555). Shayzar (Greek Larissa and Roman Cesara) is situated in northern Syria (prov. Hama): Burns, *Monuments of Syria*, pp. 219–20.

montana Gybel,<sup>59</sup> ab Antiochia itinere unius diei, ubi fixis tentoriis super fluuium Farfar hospitati sunt.<sup>60</sup>

40. Gozelinus audiens Turcos a Turbaisel, que est Bersabee, Antiochiam diuertisse, cum centum equitibus et quinquaginta peditibus ad auxilium Tancradi Antiochiam sine aliqua dilatione accelerauit. Accelerauit<sup>a</sup> et Baldwinus de Burg cum ducentis<sup>b</sup> equitibus et centum peditibus, Paganus etiam de Sororgia<sup>61</sup> cum quinquaginta equitibus et triginta peditibus, Hugo de Cantalou,<sup>c</sup> scilicet de predio Hunnine,<sup>62</sup> cum suis sociis auxilio adiunctus<sup>d</sup> est. Venit et Richardus, prefectus ciuitatis Maresch,<sup>e</sup> <sup>63</sup> cum sexaginta equitibus<sup>f</sup> centum peditibus, Wido de Bresalt, Willelmus de Albin.<sup>64</sup> Venit et Wido cognomine Capreolus, princeps ciuitatum Tharsis<sup>g</sup> et Mamistre.<sup>65</sup> Venit et<sup>h</sup> episcopus Tharsensis, episcopus simul de Albara, Willelmus pariter filius comitis Nortmannorum, dominium habens ciuitatis Tortose, quam Tancradus Bertranno abstulerat, cum suis sequacibus sociatus est. Engelgerus<sup>i</sup> prefectus ciuitatis Femie cum ducentis equitibus  
 683 uenit.<sup>66</sup> | Venit et Bonaplius,<sup>67</sup> ciuitatem tenens Sarmit,<sup>j</sup> uenit et Guodo Fraxinus cognomine,<sup>68</sup> tenens ciuitatem Harich,<sup>k</sup> Robertus simul de Sudon,<sup>69</sup> Rotgerus de Montmarin, tenens presidium Hap,<sup>70</sup>

40    <sup>a</sup> *om. N*    <sup>b</sup> *trecentis N*    <sup>c</sup> *Cantalon N*    <sup>d</sup> *iunctus AN*    <sup>e</sup> *Maserech N*  
<sup>f</sup> *ACHN add et after equitibus*    <sup>g</sup> *Tarsis A*    <sup>h</sup> *om. A*    <sup>i</sup> *Engelradus A*  
<sup>j</sup> *Samirth A*    <sup>k</sup> *Barich AN*

<sup>59</sup> This is usually assumed to refer to the coastal town Jabala, but it is more likely that Albert intends the mountain range which runs north-south between the Orontes valley and the sea, in Arabic Jabal Anṣāriyya.

<sup>60</sup> During this campaign an episode took place which is reported in detail in the memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh: he recounts that Mawdūd camped at Shayzar on 15 Sept. 1111 after Tancred had brought an army against him. Usamah's uncle, who was amir of Shayzar, and his father invited Mawdūd to make his camp inside the town and they were able to occupy the south bank of the river Orontes and prevent the Franks on the northern bank from approaching the water and thus from drinking. As the Franks retreated the Turks repeated the tactic on two successive nights, finally attacking them as they marched towards Apamea. Later Usamah met a Frankish knight who had charged alone into the Turkish army and was unhorsed and wounded before he fought his way back to his own side (Usamah, pp. 97–8). Fulcher was also probably an eyewitness: his account is brief, though closer to Usamah's than to Albert's. He confirms that the Turks were inside the city and that they repelled the Franks by a show of strength and harassment rather than a full-scale attack. The Franks retreated because of lack of food (FC, pp. 554–7).

<sup>61</sup> Payen is not otherwise known, although he is identified in the *RHC* edition as Payen of Chartres, son of Fulcher of Chartres/Orléans (p. 682 note b).

<sup>62</sup> Neither Hugh nor his estate can be identified, though a possibility for the latter is Chastel Neuf, in Arabic Qal'at Hunin: see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, no. 164, p. 79.

mountains of Jabal,<sup>59</sup> one day's journey from Antioch, where they pitched their tents and encamped on the river Orontes.<sup>60</sup>

40. When Joscelin heard that the Turks had turned aside from Turbessel, which is Bersabee, to Antioch, he hastened at once to Antioch to Tancred's assistance with a hundred cavalry and fifty infantry. Baldwin of Bourcq also hastened there with two hundred cavalry and one hundred infantry; also Payen of Sororgia<sup>61</sup> with fifty cavalry and thirty infantry; Hugh of Cantalou, that is to say from the estate of Hunnine,<sup>62</sup> joined to assist them with his comrades. Richard also came, the commander of the town of Marash,<sup>63</sup> with sixty cavalry, a hundred infantry; Guy of Bresalt; William of Albin.<sup>64</sup> Guy also came, nicknamed 'wild goat', prince of the towns of Tarsus and Mamistra.<sup>65</sup> The bishop of Tarsus, too, along with the bishop of Albara; likewise William, son of the count of the Normans, who had the lordship of the town of Tortosa, which Tancred had stolen from Bertrand, joined up with his followers. Engelger,<sup>66</sup> commander of the town of Apamea came with two hundred cavalry. Bonable also came, who held the town of Sarmada,<sup>67</sup> and Guy, nicknamed 'ashpole',<sup>68</sup> came, who held the town of Harim, along with Robert of Sudon;<sup>69</sup> Roger of Montmarin, who held the fortress of Hab;<sup>70</sup>

However, Hugh's place in the list suggests a place further north. For this whole list, see Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, p. 264 n. 33.

<sup>63</sup> Marash, in Armenian Cilicia (now Kahraman Maraş, Turkey), was ruled by Richard of Salerno, also known as Richard of the Principate, from 1108 (at latest) to 1111-12. Richard had participated in the First Crusade and was nephew to Bohemond. See G. T. Beech, 'The crusader lordship of Marash in Armenian Cilicia, 1104-1149', *Vivator*, xxvii (1996), 35-52, at pp. 40-41.

<sup>64</sup> Neither Guy nor William is otherwise known.

<sup>65</sup> Guy Capreolus, or Le Chevreuil, achieved an important position in the principality of Antioch, but nothing is known of his earlier history. He is mentioned by Walter of Antioch and in charter evidence (WC, p. 93; RR, nos. 73a; 76).

<sup>66</sup> Engelger is not otherwise known. Cahen comments on this evidence for the territorial organization of the county of Antioch: *Syrie du Nord*, p. 459.

<sup>67</sup> Bonable is recorded elsewhere as lord of Kafartab, and Cahen believed that Albert was mistaken in making him lord of Sarmada (prov. Idlib, Syria). See Cahen, *Syrie du Nord*, pp. 540-1; RR, nos. 76, 86, 605a.

<sup>68</sup> Guy Fresnel may alternatively have originated from La Ferté-Frênel, on the borders of Perche (départ. Pas-de-Calais, France). He is important later in the defence of Antioch; see WC, pp. 94 and 108, and is found as signatory to charters: RR, no. 86; *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1906), i. 38, no. 45.

<sup>69</sup> Robert is not otherwise known. Cahen suggests he was governor of al-Suwaydiyya, the port of St Symeon in Syria (*Syrie du Nord*, p. 539).

<sup>70</sup> Roger is not otherwise known. Hab is in prov. Idlib, Syria.

Punctus Talamriam<sup>l</sup> tenens.<sup>71</sup> Venerunt et Pancras,<sup>72</sup> et Coruasilius<sup>m</sup> de ciuitate Crasson,<sup>73</sup> Vrsinus quoque de montanis Antiochie,<sup>74</sup> Attenellus etiam et Leo frater eius.<sup>75</sup> Venit et Martinus comes Laodicie,<sup>76</sup> quam Tancradus, eiectis et expugnatis militibus imperatoris Grecorum, suo iuri mancipauerat. Venit et Robertus de Veteriponte,<sup>77</sup> qui miles indefessus<sup>n</sup> sepius terras gentilium militari manu depredatus est. Hii omnes milites Tancradi de regno Antiochie uniuerſi congregati sunt in ciuitate regia.<sup>o</sup> Illuc pariter rex Baldwinus, festinato itinere, post contritionem suorum in ciuitate Ascalonis ab Ierusalem descenderat, et cum eo Bertrannus, Eustachius Granarius, Walterus de sancto Abraham,<sup>78</sup> domnus quoque patriarcha Gibelinus et cetera multitudo fidelium, qui ad quatuor milia in loco eodem<sup>p</sup> in manu forti<sup>p</sup> confluentes, pernoctauerunt usque mane.<sup>79</sup> Mane autem facto, usque ad castellum de Gyril<sup>q</sup> profecti sunt.<sup>r</sup><sup>80</sup>

41. Tercia uero die postquam ex omnibus locis et castellis in unum conuenerunt, ordinatis aciebus, Cesaream uiam insisterunt,<sup>a</sup> ubi Turcorum copie sicut arena que est in litore maris congregatae sunt.<sup>81</sup> Erat autem exercitus Christianorum ad sedecim milia equitum et peditum, uirorum bellatorum. Videntes<sup>b</sup> Turci quia Christianorum uirtus<sup>c</sup> appropinquasset, alteram in ripam fluminis Farfar transierunt, tentoria sua illic in loco spaciioso reponentes. Quo in loco sedecim diebus utrimque moram fecerunt, sed Christiani cum Turcis minime

<sup>l</sup> Talaryam N

<sup>m</sup> Coruassilius A

<sup>n</sup> ACHN add egregius et before indefessus

<sup>o</sup> Antiochia A; rogia E

<sup>p</sup> om. A

<sup>q</sup> Girel A; Giril CH; Gisil N

<sup>r</sup> peruenerunt N

41 <sup>a</sup> instituerunt ACHN

<sup>b</sup> N adds autem after Videntes

<sup>c</sup> exercitus N

<sup>71</sup> Cahen makes a tentative identification with a Pons of Rocca Maura (*Syrie du Nord*, p. 541).

<sup>72</sup> The same Pakrad who had been an ally in AA iii. 17–19.

<sup>73</sup> Keysun, prov. Gaziantep, Turkey.

<sup>74</sup> Oshin I of Lampron is mentioned by Matthew of Edessa as one of 'the princes who resided in the Taurus Mountains', an ally of the Franks in 1097–8 (p. 167; cf. RC, p. 634). See also Anna Komnene, who mentions Oshin's bravery as a digression during her description of Bohemond's invasion in 1106 (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 56–7; trans. Sewter, pp. 372–4).

<sup>75</sup> Almost certainly Thoros and Leon, the sons of Constantine of Vahka (d. 1102). Thoros held the fortresses of Vahka and Partzapert until his death in 1129. See T. S. R. Boase, 'The history of the kingdom', in id., ed., *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 1–33, at 6. The inclusion of the five Armenians in the list of leaders who responded to Tancred's summons should not be taken to mean they were—or even that Albert thought they were—among Tancred's vassals.

<sup>76</sup> Martin is not otherwise known.

<sup>77</sup> Robert was a member of a well-known family from Vicux-Pont-sur-Dives (dép.

Pons,<sup>71</sup> who held Talamria. Pakrad also came,<sup>72</sup> and Kogh Vasil from the town of Kesoun;<sup>73</sup> Oshin,<sup>74</sup> as well, from the mountains of Antioch; also Attenellus and his brother Leo.<sup>75</sup> There also came Martin, count of Latakia,<sup>76</sup> which Tancred had delivered into his jurisdiction after the soldiers of the Greek emperor had been driven out and conquered. Robert of Vieux-Pont<sup>77</sup> also came, who was an indefatigable soldier and often raided the gentiles' lands with his military following. All these soldiers of Tancred from the realm of Antioch were assembled in the royal city. There, likewise, King Baldwin had come down from Jerusalem, hastening his journey, after the destruction of his men in the town of Ascalon, and with him Bertrand, Eustace Granarius, Walter of St Abraham,<sup>78</sup> also the lord patriarch Gibelin and the rest of the multitude of the faithful, some four thousand of whom assembled in a strong army in that same place, where they spent the night till morning.<sup>79</sup> When morning arrived they set out for the castle of Gyril.<sup>80</sup>

41. On the third day after they came together from all the places and castles, they drew up battle lines and made their way to Shayzar where the Turkish troops were gathered like the sand on the seashore.<sup>81</sup> The Christian army numbered some sixteen thousand cavalry and infantry, warlike men. When the Turks saw that the Christian force was approaching, they crossed to the other bank of the river Orontes, pitching their tents again there in an ample place. In that place both sides stayed for sixteen days, but the Christians could not commit themselves to a steadfast battle with the Turks, on

Calvados, France). He had come east with Bohemond and fought at Durazzo in 1108, then must have made his way to Antioch. He features in Walter the Chancellor, pp. 101–3. Orderic Vitalis noted that Robert fled the Field of Blood (1119), bringing news of the defeat of the Christians to Antioch (OV, vi. 106–8). See also *Anonymi Florinensis Brevis Narratio Belli Sacri*, RHC Occ v. 361; *Ex Historiae Francicae Fragmento*, RHGF xii. 6; *Cartulaire*, ed. Delaville le Roulx, i. 38, no. 45.

<sup>78</sup> Walter Mahumeth: see above, x. 33.

<sup>79</sup> Fulcher of Chartres was an eyewitness to this campaign, travelling with King Baldwin. In his account the Turks invaded across the Euphrates and besieged Turbessel for a month, then withdrew to Aleppo. Tancred requested aid from King Baldwin, who entrusted his lands to custodians and rode to war alongside Bertrand of Tripoli (FC, pp. 554–5).

<sup>80</sup> Possibly Jezreel (Arabic Zīr'in; Hebrew Tel Yizra'el): see Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 56, no. 116. This would be a first stop; Fulcher says they met Tancred at Rugea (prov. Idlib, Syria) before marching to Apamea and on to Shayzar (FC, p. 553).

<sup>81</sup> Usamah ibn-Munqidh was at Shayzar, with his father and his uncle, the amir. He tells a story of a Frankish knight who attacked the Turks single-handed, was severely wounded, but fought his way back to the ranks of the Christians and survived to carry out a courtesy visit to the amir some months later, bearing a letter from Tancred (Usamah, pp. 97–8).

stabili bello committere poterant,<sup>d</sup> propter illorum miram hac et illac per agros discursionem et circumuallationem, quam in Christianos equorum uelocitate<sup>e</sup> moliebantur. Coegerant enim idem Turci uniuersas urbes et munitiones in circuitu magnis minis et terroribus ne quid uenale Christianis afferretur.<sup>82</sup> Quapropter sex diebus tanta penuria panis et precipue pabuli<sup>f</sup> equorum sunt artati ut amplius mille fame et pestilentia periclitari uiderentur.<sup>83</sup>

- 684 42. Quintadecima uero die rursum Christiani acies ordinauerunt, ordinauerunt<sup>a</sup> et Turci. Ordinatis itaque utrimque,<sup>b</sup> tres acies Christianorum, nimium auide cedis hostium, supra modum uiam accelerauerunt aduersus hostiles cuneos, sed nimis a societate prolongate,<sup>c</sup> inmoderata<sup>d</sup> grandine sagittarum uexate, in fugam ad exercitum subsequentem sunt remisse, plurimis uulneratis, pariter plurimis cum equis et mulis et omnibus spoliis retentis. Videntes autem rex Baldwinus et Tancradus suos bello defecisse, et usque ad exercitum in fugam remissos, prolato ligno<sup>e</sup> sancte crucis contra inimicos in spe salutis et uictorie, laxis frenis Turcos in impetu adeunt. Sed Turci, solito more equorum cursu dispersi, per centum et centum, per mille et mille, nequaquam bellum secum committere passi<sup>f</sup> sunt. Quadam uero luce exorta Turci, consilio inito, in terram Corruzan reuersi sunt, eo quod nihil Antiochie nocere potuerint,<sup>g</sup> et Christianorum uirtus<sup>h</sup> illis obuiam <sup>i</sup>facta sit<sup>i</sup> nec bello nec sagittis absterreri potuerit.<sup>84</sup> Acta sunt hec in festo sancti Michaelis archangeli tempore autumnii, quando uniuerse fruges meti et colligi solent.<sup>85</sup>

43. Hoc eodem anno<sup>86</sup> Tancradus, post discessionem regis Baldwini<sup>a</sup> et ceterorum magnorum qui sibi ad auxilium confluxerant, uires

<sup>a</sup> potuerunt *A*      <sup>e</sup> uelocite *E*      <sup>f</sup> pabulis *N*

- 42    <sup>a</sup> *om. N*      <sup>b</sup> *A* adds aciebus after utrimque      <sup>c</sup> diuise *A*      <sup>d</sup> inmoderato *HN*  
<sup>e</sup> signo *ACHN*      <sup>f</sup> ausi *A*      <sup>g</sup> potuerunt *A*      <sup>h</sup> uires *N*      <sup>i</sup> facte sint *N*

- 43    <sup>a</sup> *om. ACHN*

<sup>82</sup> Fulcher of Chartres reports the same reluctance on the Turks' part to commit to battle (FC, pp. 554-5).

<sup>83</sup> The accounts agree on the success of the Turks' blockade; Fulcher says there was no food for man or beast; Ibn al-Qalanisi adds that they were deprived of water (FC, p. 555; IQ, p. 118).

<sup>84</sup> There is a detailed account of this campaign in Ibn al-Qalanisi (IQ, pp. 114-19). He dates the crossing of the Euphrates 28 July 1111 and goes on to explain that both Bursuq and Suqmān were ill, and furthermore the Turkish leaders were in dispute, which prevented them taking Turbessel at the outset. He also says that the sultan characterized

account of the amazing way they scattered here and there across the fields and their outflanking manoeuvre, which they set in motion against the Christians by virtue of the speed of their horses.<sup>82</sup> By great threats and terrorization those same Turks had compelled all the cities and fortresses around not to supply anything for sale to the Christians. For this reason, after six days they were afflicted by so great a shortage of bread, and especially of fodder for the horses, that more than a thousand were seen to be in danger from famine and disease.<sup>83</sup>

42. On the fifteenth day the Christians again drew up their battle lines; so did the Turks. When both sides were drawn up thus, three divisions of Christians, overeager for the slaughter of the enemy, sped on their way recklessly against the enemy ranks, but they were too far ahead of their company; they were attacked by a very great hail of arrows, and they were put to flight back to the army following behind them, with very many of them wounded, while at the same time many held back with their horses and mules and all their spoils. King Baldwin and Tancred, seeing that their men had failed in battle and had been put to flight all the way back to the army, brought forth the wood of the Holy Cross against their enemies in the hope of safety and victory, and let their horses have their heads, and charged the Turks. But the Turks scattered at a gallop as was their custom, hundred by hundred, thousand by thousand, and did not allow them to join battle with them at all. The day dawned when the Turks took counsel and returned to Khurasan, because they would never be able to harm Antioch, and the strength of the Christians was opposed to them which could not be frightened off by war nor arrows.<sup>84</sup> These things were done on the feast of St Michael the Archangel in the autumn season, when all the fruits are usually gathered and harvested.<sup>85</sup>

43. In the same year<sup>86</sup> Tancred kept back his own forces after the departure of King Baldwin and the other magnates who had flocked

the campaign as Holy War. It was September when the Turks camped on the Orontes; the Franks assembled at Apamea to oppose them, sinking their differences in the face of the Turkish threat. The Turks harassed the Christians, and especially cut them off from the river and water supplies. There was a battle, the outcome of which was indecisive, but according to Ibn al-Qalanisi it gave the Turks the upper hand, for after this the Franks were afraid and withdrew. Matthew of Edessa's report is briefer. According to him, the two armies met but did not join battle, then Mawdūd 'surreptiously' returned home, while the Franks peacefully did likewise (IQ, p. 207).

<sup>85</sup> 29 Sept. 1111.

<sup>86</sup> 1111.

suorum<sup>b</sup> retinens, 'in mense<sup>c</sup> Octobre<sup>d</sup> presidium Cerez,<sup>e</sup> quod dicitur Sarepta Sydoniorum, eo quod subditum regi Sydonis<sup>f</sup> quondam fuisset,<sup>87</sup> in manu potenti obsedit, sed Turcorum armis et custodia munitum repperit,<sup>g</sup> turrium quoque et murorum<sup>h</sup> edificiis firmissimum undique repertum est. Distat enim hoc presidium uix expugnabile sex miliaris a ciuitate Halapie,<sup>i</sup> quam Brodohan suis<sup>j</sup> armis tuebatur. Tancradus, uidens presidium firmissimum et defensione Turcorum tutissimum,<sup>k</sup> plurimis<sup>l</sup> diebus machinas et tormenta lapidum fieri constituit, quibus undique in duodecim partes suos circa presidium constituens, nocte ac die turres<sup>m</sup> et muros<sup>n</sup> comminuens oppugnabat." Circumfodit etiam idem Tancradus suos uallo tutissimo, quod et uigili custodia muniuit ne subito hostes callide ad eum uel suos in obsidione diuisos irrumpentes, bellum cum eis committerent, et sic facile expugnarent.

- 685 44. Sic Tancradus, ingeniis suis muro et turribus applicatis,<sup>a</sup> et in tutamine ualli suis constitutis, diebus multis ruinam presidio intulit, dum quodam die dominico post natale<sup>b</sup> Domini magistra arx crebro iactu<sup>c</sup> lapidum quassata corrui, et ab alto cadens turres duas que illi erant collaterales casu suo et pondere intolerabili comminuit, et sic Tancrado suisque sequacibus aditum patefecit. Tancradus nunc amplius et ualidius quam solebat hostes in presidio urgebat,<sup>d</sup> scutorum testudine ad eos introrsum<sup>e</sup> uenire facie ad faciem contendebat, sed adhuc pre magnitudine lapidum qui aditus occupabant ingredi confidenter nequibat, et propter infesta iacula que a Turcis emissa obsistebant. Turci, <sup>f</sup>defensores presidii,<sup>f</sup> uidentes ruinam suorum turrium, et quoniam Tancradus eos longo tempore obsedis-  
set, et adhuc obsidere<sup>g</sup> decreuisset donec presidium caperetur,

<sup>b</sup> suas HN    <sup>c</sup> uniuerse N    <sup>d</sup> Octobri AN    <sup>e</sup> Cere N    <sup>f</sup> Sydoniorum N  
<sup>g</sup> reperit AHN    <sup>h</sup> murum A; murium C    <sup>i</sup> Halapia C    <sup>j</sup> N adds cum before suis  
<sup>k</sup> munitissimum AN    <sup>l</sup> multis A    <sup>m</sup> om. N    <sup>n</sup> expugnabat N

44    <sup>a</sup> applicitis HN    <sup>b</sup> natalis N    <sup>c</sup> ictu AN    <sup>d</sup> urgebat N    <sup>e</sup> introrsus ACHN  
<sup>f</sup> itaque obsistentes A    <sup>g</sup> obsedere N

<sup>87</sup> Here Albert confuses two places, and at the same time probably conflates two separate campaigns within the same year. 'Cerez' or Sarepta is modern Sarafand, roughly equidistant from Sidon and Tyre on the Lebanon coast (Pringle, *Secular Buildings*, p. 90, no 186, s.v. 'Ras al-Qantara'). As Albert recounts in book xii, and is related by Fulcher and by Ibn al-Qalanisi, King Baldwin proceeded from the campaign in the north to besiege Tyre, and it is possible that this included some engagement at Sarafand (FC, pp. 558-9; IQ, pp. 119-27). However, 'Cerep' is used by the Latins for al-Atharib, some twenty miles west of Aleppo, Syria, and it is the northern fortress which is intended here. There is further a problem with the chronology, for Ibn al-Qalanisi reports that in AH 503 (31 July 1109 to 19 July 1110)

to his assistance, and in October he besieged with a powerful army the fortress of Cerez, which is called Sarepta Sydoniorum because it had once been subject to the king of Sidon,<sup>87</sup> but he found it protected by Turkish weapons and garrison, and it was also found on all sides to be very stable as to the construction of its towers and walls. For this barely assailable fortress was six miles away from the city of Aleppo, which Ridwan protected with his weapons. Tancred, seeing the fortress was very secure and closely protected by the Turks' defence, had engines and stone hurlers made over a period of many days, in which he stationed his men all around the fortress in twelve directions, and he attacked and weakened the towers and by walls night and day. Tancred also dug a defensive entrenchment around his men, which he further protected with a watchful guard lest, now he and his men were divided for the siege, the enemy suddenly and cunningly charge down on them, join battle with them, and thus easily conquer them.

44. Thus Tancred, having brought his engines up to the wall and towers, and stationed his men within the protection of an entrenchment, inflicted damage on the fortress for many days, until one Sunday after Christmas the high citadel was shaken by the constant bombardment of stones and tumbled down, and as it fell from on high it brought down two towers which were either side of it by its downfall and irresistible weight, and so a way in was opened up for Tancred and his followers. Tancred now pressed harder and more strongly than ever on the enemy in the fortress; he strove to come face to face with them inside by using a shield roof, but as yet he could not enter confidently because of the great size of the stones which were occupying the ways in, and on account of the troublesome missiles which were cast by the Turks and opposed them. The Turks who were defending the fortress, seeing the destruction of their towers, and that Tancred who had been besieging them for so long was still determined to besiege them until the fortress was taken, demanded

Tancred captured al-Athārib after a long siege and blockade. He dates the capture more closely to 'Latter Jumada' of that year, but his editor says this is 'an obvious error' for that of the following year: 15 Dec. 1110 to 12 Jan. 1111 (IQ, p. 105 and n. 1). The Latin sources are unhelpful, save that Walter the Chancellor makes it clear that al-Athārib was part of the principality of Antioch by the time of the earthquake in 1114 (WC, p. 64). Stevenson introduced further obfuscation by identifying *Gerez* (the spelling found in *PL*, the edition he used) as Azaz. He based the identification on Kemal ad-Din, who suggests that Tancred occupied Azaz shortly before his death in 1112, but also says that it was in Muslim hands in 1114 (Kemal al-Din, pp. 586, 601, 607; Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, pp. 89-91).

dextras sibi dari poscunt<sup>h</sup> et, ostro<sup>i</sup> et ceteris<sup>i</sup> preciosis in auro et argento ab eo sumptis, a presidio exeuntes in eius potestate reddunt, et sic Tancradus huius presidii et totius regionis possessor<sup>j</sup> et dominator<sup>j</sup> factus est.

45. Eodem anno, tempore quadragesimali,<sup>88</sup> Sarepta capta, muris et turribus reedificata et custodibus munita, castellum quod dicitur Vetule,<sup>a 89</sup> in montanis situm in regione Gybel, Tancradus collectis uiribus obsedit spacio<sup>b</sup> trium mensium, sed in uno latere inobessum remansit, propter difficultatem locorum et copias Sarracenorum, qui hac parte undique<sup>c</sup> habundantius<sup>d</sup> morabantur. Obsidione igitur locata, predas circumquaque contrahebat, gentiles captiuabat et plurima damna regioni inferebat. Tandem quidam ammiraldus, uidens regiones ab exercitu Tancradi grauiter uastari, pepigit foedus cum eo ne sua depredandi causa<sup>e</sup> ingrederetur, et ideo inobessum locum presidii obsideret, eo quod notas haberet semitas que inuestigabiles a Gallis nulla<sup>f</sup> possent arte<sup>g</sup> deprehendi. Quod et actum est. Nam Tancradus, cum illo foedere inito, decem equites, centum<sup>h</sup> pedites illi in auxilium constituit, quatenus eius conductu et noticia locum inobessum preoccuparent,<sup>i</sup> nullum illic exitum aut introitum fieri patientes.

- 686 46. Ammiraldus, militibus Tancradi secum assumptis, quingentis uero suorum accitis,<sup>a</sup> difficilia obsedit loca, ubi hospitia et mansiones<sup>b</sup> edificantes ut in eis moram diebus aliquot obsidionis facerent, plurimum opere et labore grauati sunt. Fessis itaque et exhaustis uia difficili et opere, et somno graui immersis,<sup>c</sup> in prima noctis uigilia Turci ac<sup>d</sup> Sarraceni cum multis milibus in castris eorum<sup>e</sup> ex improviso affuerunt, pariterque uniuersi defensores e presidio erumpentes, signo et uociferatione gentilium audita, et usque mane dimicantes centum pedites detruncauerunt. Ammiraldus uero, uulneratus grauiter, uix euasit cum decem equitibus.<sup>f</sup> Sed quingenti milites<sup>g</sup> in falsa fide presidium cum Sarracenis intrantes,<sup>h</sup> a duce et ammiraldo suo sequestrati sunt.

<sup>a</sup> deposcunt *N*      <sup>i i</sup> ceterisque *ACHN*      <sup>i i</sup> om. *A*

45    <sup>a</sup> Vetula *A*      <sup>b</sup> spacium *A*      <sup>c</sup> om. *HN*      <sup>d</sup> spaciosius *A*      <sup>e</sup> gratia *N*  
<sup>f</sup> numquam *A*      <sup>g</sup> om. *A*      <sup>h</sup> *N* adds et before centum      <sup>i</sup> preoccupauerent *N*

46    <sup>a</sup> ascitis *ACHN*      <sup>b</sup> *E* has loculos with mansiones written above it  
<sup>c</sup> uniuersis *N*      <sup>d</sup> et *AN*      <sup>e</sup> et *N*      <sup>f</sup> militibus *ACHN*      <sup>g</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>h</sup> ingressi *A*

right hands to be pledged and, having taken purple dye and the other precious things of gold and silver from it, they came out of the fortress and surrendered into his power, and thus Tancred became the owner and lord of this fortress and the entire region.

45. That same year, during Lent,<sup>88</sup> after Cerez was taken and its walls and towers rebuilt and garrisoned with guards, Tancred gathered his forces and besieged for a period of three months a castle which is called Vetula,<sup>89</sup> situated in the mountains in the region of Jabala, but it remained unblockaded on one side, because of the difficulty of the terrain and the Saracen troops, who tended to loiter all over these parts. When the siege was in place, therefore, he seized booty all around, captured gentiles and inflicted very great damage on the region. At length a certain amir, seeing that the regions were being severely devastated by Tancred's army, struck a deal with him that Tancred would not make incursions for the sake of seizing plunder from him, and in return he would besiege the unblockaded side of the fortress, since the amir knew of footpaths which were undiscoverable and could not by any feat of skill be detected by the Gauls. This was done. For Tancred, when he had entered the pact with him, appointed ten cavalry and a hundred infantry to his assistance so that by way of his leadership and local knowledge they could seize possession of the unblockaded side and allow no way out or in there.

46. The amir took Tancred's soldiers with him and summoned five hundred of his own men, and besieged the difficult places, where they built lodging places and shelters so that they could stop in them for some days of the siege, and they were greatly oppressed by the task and hard work. And so, when they were weary and exhausted by the difficult journey and the task, and were fast asleep, in the first watch of the night the Turks and Saracens appeared unexpectedly in their camp with many thousands of men, and likewise all the defenders burst out of the fortress when they heard the signal and shouting of the gentiles, and they fought until morning, killing one hundred foot soldiers. The amir, severely wounded, only just escaped with ten horsemen. But five hundred soldiers entered the fortress with the Saracens in mistaken trust and were confined apart by the general and their own amir.

<sup>88</sup> 15 Feb.–31 Mar. 1111.

<sup>89</sup> The Château de la Vicille, or Castellum Vetulae, is now Qal'at Banī Qaḥṭān, formerly Bikisrael, high in the Jabal Anṣariyya inland from Jabala, Syria. See Burns, *Monuments of Syria*, p. 172.

47. Tancradus, semper inperterritus, obsidionem magis firmans, mangenas<sup>a</sup> duodecim ad urbis menia applicuit, donec barbicanas et turres, spacio unius mensis quassatas, usque ad interiora<sup>b</sup> presidii perforauit. Videntes autem defensores quia iactus lapidum nequam sustinere possent, cuiusdam noctis in silentio ignem quibusdam ligneis edificiis inmittentes, diffugio elapsi sunt. Tancradus, uidens presidium igne conflagrare, iam uespere facto,<sup>c</sup> uiros aufugisse<sup>d</sup> comperiens, cum sociis audacter ingressus est, et turres suo satellicio muniens, regionem cepit expugnare et subiugare.

48. Hoc<sup>a</sup> in anno Boemundus auunculus Tancradi, egritudine correptus, uita decessit,<sup>90</sup> apud Bare<sup>b</sup> ciuitatem beati Nicolai catholice sepultus, tempore quo Heinricus quintus rex, imperator quartus Rome, plurimos sibi hostili resistentes impetu in ore gladii crudeliter edomuit, regnum et imperium ex hereditario iure antecessorum potenter et gloriose retinuit.<sup>c 91</sup>

47    <sup>a</sup> mangelas *A*            <sup>b</sup> tentoria *AN*            <sup>c</sup> om. *A*            <sup>d</sup> fugisse *A*

48    <sup>a</sup> Tot *N*            <sup>b</sup> Barym *N*            <sup>c</sup> *CH add* Explicit liber undecimus *after* retinuit

<sup>90</sup> 7 Mar. 1111.

<sup>91</sup> Henry V of Germany (1106–25) invaded Italy, and he was granted the regalia of the

47. Tancred, always undaunted, tightened up the siege; he brought twelve mangonels up to the city ramparts, and he bombarded the barbicans and towers for the period of one month until he breached them and he penetrated into the inner parts of the fortress. When the defenders saw that they could in no way sustain the bombardment of stones, at the dead of one night they set light to certain wooden buildings and escaped in flight. Tancred, seeing the fortress was alight with fire, and it was now evening, realized the men had fled and boldly entered with his comrades, and he garrisoned the towers with his own followers, and began to attack and subdue the region.

48. In this year Bohemond, Tancred's uncle, was attacked by illness and departed this life;<sup>90</sup> he was buried according to Christian rite at Bari, the town of blessed Nicholas, at the same time that King Henry V, fourth emperor of Rome, cruelly vanquished with the sword's edge very many who were fighting him with hostile aggression, and he powerfully and gloriously retained the kingdom and empire that were his by hereditary right of his ancestors.<sup>91</sup>

Church by Pope Paschal II in return for renouncing lay investiture. In Apr. 1111 he was crowned emperor in St Peter's, but the pope's concessions were revoked after his departure from Italy. This is a rare digression into European politics by Albert, and it suggests that this part of his *Historia* was written soon after Henry's coronation.

## LIBER DVODECIMVS

689 1. <sup>a</sup>Post hec<sup>a</sup> anno regni sui undecimo,<sup>1</sup> in anno uidelicet secundo postquam Sydon capta est et Tancradus Sareptam <sup>b</sup>percussit et <sup>b</sup>obtinuit,<sup>2</sup> rex Baldwinus, conuocata omni ecclesia regni Ierusalem ab uniuersis locis que sub manu eius erant, iniit consilium quatenus Tyrum obsideret,<sup>c</sup> que adhuc rebellabat et conchristianis<sup>d</sup> fratribus terra marique calumnias inferebat, et omnino<sup>e</sup> a tributis et pacto recesserat, in omnibus que regi promiserat mentita. Vniuersis uero ammonitis ac uoluntariis ad huius obsidionem inuentis, dies statuta est qua conuenirent et, ex decreto regis,<sup>f</sup> positis tentoriis urbis menia uallarent et coangustarent.

2. Talis siquidem fama ut in auribus Tyrionum insonuit, uehementer perterriti, inierunt foedus cum quodam Dochino,<sup>3</sup> principe Turcorum<sup>a</sup> Damascenorum, ut tutelam et solatium ab eo consequerentur, et thesauros ciuitatis et que habebant preciosiora in custodiam et conclauim<sup>b</sup> Damasci, eius consensu<sup>c</sup> et<sup>d</sup> licentia, deportarent. Rogauerunt etiam ut eis uiros sagittarios et defensores urbis in auxilium mitteret, in conuentione solidorum, uiginti milium<sup>e</sup> bisantiorum sibi suisque dare promittentes.<sup>4</sup>

690 3. Hoc itaque pacto utrimque sub<sup>a</sup> fide data et accepta firmato, Tyrri ciues quendam Reinfridum nomine,<sup>5</sup> uirum Christianum et illustrem militem regis, mille bisantiorum premio promisso ac<sup>b</sup> dato, conuenerunt quatenus eius conductu usque in Damascum sarcinas thesaurorum suorum pacifice transferrent, et sine impedimento cum camelis et uehiculis repedarent. Reinfridus uero,<sup>c</sup> uir leuis et non multum

1 <sup>a</sup> *om. ACHN*    <sup>b</sup> *om. N*    <sup>c</sup> *obtineret A*    <sup>d</sup> *cum Christianis E*    <sup>e</sup> *om. HN*    <sup>f</sup> *om. C*

2 <sup>a</sup> *om. HN*    <sup>b</sup> *conclauium A; conclauum N*    <sup>c</sup> *om. A; consilio N*    <sup>d</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>e</sup> *milia A; om. E*

3 <sup>a</sup> *om. A*    <sup>b</sup> *et ACHN*    <sup>c</sup> *om. A*

<sup>1</sup> July 1110–July 1111.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi links these two captures as well, characterizing them as disasters (IQ, p. 111).

<sup>3</sup> Tughtigin was called 'Dochinus' in book x, but 'Hertoldinus' in book xi. Albert may have thought he was dealing with two different people.

## BOOK TWELVE

1. After this, in the eleventh year of his reign,<sup>1</sup> that is to say in the second year after Sidon was captured and Tancred attacked and occupied Atharib,<sup>2</sup> King Baldwin called together all the Church of the kingdom of Jerusalem from all the places which were under his control, and put forward a plan for besieging Tyre, which was still in rebellion and was acting unjustly towards their Christian brothers on land and sea, and had entirely withdrawn from paying tribute and from the agreement, having lied in all things which the city had promised to the king. When all had been told and were found willing to undertake the siege of Tyre, a day was appointed on which they would assemble and, according to the king's decree, would pitch their tents and surround the city ramparts to blockade it.

2. Indeed, when such important news reached the ears of the Tyrians, they were desperately afraid, and so they entered into a treaty with a certain Tughtigin,<sup>3</sup> prince of the Damascan Turks, to the effect that they would obtain protection and support from him, and they would convey into the custody and lock-up of Damascus, with his consent and permission, the city treasury and things they held dear. They also asked him to send them archers and defenders for the city as reinforcement, for an agreed money payment, promising to give him and his men twenty thousand bezants.<sup>4</sup>

3. When this agreement had been confirmed on both sides, with loyalty pledged and received, the Tyrian citizens approached a man called Reinfrid,<sup>5</sup> a Christian and an eminent soldier of the king, and they promised and gave him a thousand bezants as a reward so that under his escort they might transfer their bags of treasure peacefully all the way to Damascus, and return with the camels and waggons without hindrance. Now Reinfrid, a light-minded man who did not

<sup>4</sup> There is remarkable agreement between Albert and Ibn al-Qalanisi about the siege of Tyre, starting with this treaty with Tughtigin. Ibn al-Qalanisi says Tughtigin sent over 200 horse archers, plus infantry (IQ, pp. 119–20). Fulcher's account is very short (FC, pp. 558–62; IQ, pp. 119–27). There is also an account of the siege by Anna Komnene: AC, ed. Leib, iii. 150–2; trans. Sewter, pp. 442–3.

<sup>5</sup> Reinfrid is not otherwise known.

pensans si fidem erga gentiles et incredulos uiolaret, uniuersa regi detulit ac diem qua transituri erant in Damascum cum uniuersis copiis et rebus preciosis propalauit, asserens regem hec omnia posse capere ac<sup>d</sup> retinere sine contradictione. Hoc rex audiens, gaudis, sine mora militibus ac peditibus ducentis accitis,<sup>e</sup> iussit uias obsidere et caute obseruare per quas uiri Damascum cum sarcinis profecturi erant. Et ecce in silentio noctis cum omnia solent quiescere, Tyrii cum camelis suis, incomputabili<sup>f</sup> auro, argento,<sup>g</sup> ostro<sup>h</sup> quibusque preciosis oneratis,<sup>i</sup> conductu prefati Reinfridi uiam Damasci uenerunt. Cum subito regis insidie in eos irruentes alios occiderunt, alios tenuerunt, et thesauros infinitos cum purpura preciosa et serico uarii coloris et operis rapientes, cum ipso Reinfrido in uehiculis camelorum mulorumque adduxerunt.<sup>j</sup>

4. Thesauri miri et inauditi illic capti sunt, quos rex liberali manu militibus, longa usque nunc indigentia oppressis, benigne largitus est. Hiis ita<sup>a</sup> captis, hiis occisis, paucis uero<sup>b</sup> elapsis, Dochinus, apud quem sperabant refugium, ualde molestatus, sine mora quingentos Turcos in sagitta et arcu peritos ad urbem Tyriorum direxit ut preueniret regis obsidionem et, regi suisque ab urbe resistentes, in conuentione solidorum ciuibz subuenirent. Rex<sup>c</sup> Baldwinus in apparatu et uirtute decem milium ab Ierusalem descendens, in uigilia sancti Andree apostoli,<sup>d</sup> ciuitatis menia, in arido positis castris, occupauit,<sup>e</sup> a mari uero in ipso urbis latere et portu, nauilis obsidio non magne uirtutis et armature fuit. Promiserat enim rex Grecorum illuc affuturas per aquam<sup>f</sup> copias sed, hieme incumbente, minime collate sunt.<sup>g</sup>

691 5. Rex autem, postquam obsidionem firmauit et munimine<sup>a</sup> ualli se suumque<sup>b</sup> exercitum circumfodit,<sup>c</sup> ne impetus aduersariorum ex inprouiso irrueret, aggressus ui<sup>e</sup> urbem, turres et menia omni

<sup>d</sup> et A <sup>e</sup> ascitis ACHN <sup>f</sup> A adds in camelis suis before incomputabili <sup>g</sup> A adds et before argento <sup>h</sup> A adds et before ostro <sup>i</sup> onerati N <sup>j</sup> abduxerunt AHN

4 <sup>a</sup> itaque N <sup>b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> ACHN add itaque after rex <sup>d</sup> obsedit N <sup>e</sup> aquas ACHN

5 <sup>a</sup> munime N <sup>b</sup> suum H <sup>c</sup> in N

<sup>6</sup> 29 Nov. 1111. Ibn al-Qalanisi has precisely the same date (IQ. p. 120).

<sup>7</sup> R.-J. Lillie conjectures that the promise of naval support by the Byzantines was part of the negotiations between Alexios and Baldwin I at this time which aimed on the emperor's part to neutralize the kingdom of Jerusalem while he regained Antioch. Baldwin needed money as well as maritime assistance. Lillie further observes that Albert's attributing the

consider it important if he broke a promise to gentiles and unbelievers, reported everything to the king and divulged the day on which they were going to cross into Damascus with all the riches and precious goods, declaring that the king would be able to capture and keep all these things without meeting any resistance. When the king heard this he rejoiced, and at once summoned two hundred knights and foot soldiers, whom he ordered to blockade the roads and observe keenly by which of them the men set out for Damascus with the baggage. And indeed, at dead of night when all things are usually still, the Tyrians came along the road to Damascus under the escort of the aforesaid Reinfrid, with their camels laden with incalculable gold, silver, purple, and every sort of precious thing. Then suddenly the king's ambushes charged down on them, killed some, held others, and seized the vast treasures, with precious purple and silk of different colours and craftsmanship, and took them away, along with Reinfrid himself, in camel and mule waggons.

4. Wonderful and incredible treasures were captured in that place, which the king bestowed with a generous hand on his soldiers, who until now had been weighed down by long want. Some of the Tyrians were captured, some killed, a few had escaped, and so Tughtigin, with whom they hoped to take refuge, was severely troubled, and straight away he sent five hundred Turks who were skilled with bow and arrow to the Tyrians' city to reach it before the king could blockade it and, by keeping the king and his men away from the city, to assist the citizens in return for the agreed payment. King Baldwin was coming down from Jerusalem fully equipped and with a force of ten thousand, and he pitched camp on dry land and invested the town ramparts on the eve of St Andrew the Apostle;<sup>6</sup> on that selfsame side of the city to seaward and round the harbour, the naval siege was not of great strength or well equipped. For the king of the Greeks had promised troops would arrive there by water, but winter was setting in and they were not assembled.<sup>7</sup>

5. After the king had established the siege and surrounded himself and his army with the protection of an entrenchment,<sup>8</sup> so that the enemy could not charge on them unexpectedly, he attacked the city

fleet's non-arrival to the weather is 'quite credible' (Lilie, *Byzantium*, p. 86 and nn. 105-6; AC, ed. Leib, iii. 152; trans. Sewter, pp. 443-4).

<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi also describes the Franks surrounding themselves by a trench as winter set in (IQ, p. 121).

genere bellico obpugnauit, de die in diem crebris assultibus iteratis. Turci uero, qui in grandine sagittarum confidunt et resistunt, econtra per menia et turres diffusi, strages et graua uulnera Christianorum non parce multiplicabant, ad portas quidem et uectes ferreos concurrentium multitudinem, lapidum incessabili iactu, sulphuris quoque ac picis feruentis effusione suffocabant. Quodam denique die, post plurimos assultus et diutinos labores, dum paulisper a foris<sup>d</sup> respiraret exercitus manusque contineret a belli opere,<sup>e</sup> deintus uero Tyrii et eorum Turci<sup>f</sup> milites silentium tenerent,<sup>g</sup> sed tamen consilium inissent quatenus in momento a portis in<sup>h</sup> impetu in<sup>i</sup> castra regis irrumperent, mox armis resumptis, lorica et galea induti, subito quasdam portas aperientes, in multitudine graui in apertam camporum planiciem qua rex et exercitus nunc belli inmemor habitabat usque ad loca tentoriorum concurrere<sup>j</sup> ausi sunt, plurimos incautos<sup>k</sup> sagittis transfigentes, clamore magno et horrissono totum exercitum commouentes. Et ecce, sine mora, uniuersi milites Christianorum attoniti e cunctis castris in armis et lanceis loricati in faciem illis aduolant, et hinc et illinc plurima fortitudine contendentes, sed tandem Christiani preuallentes, Tyrios in fugam uersos in portam coegerunt, sed utrimque, hii fuga ueloci, hii celeri insecutione permixti, potenter urbem ingressi sunt. Tyrii Turcique, Gallos secum iam<sup>l</sup> urbem intrasse intuentes,<sup>m</sup> reuersi sunt in faciem se a<sup>n</sup> tergo prementium, fortiter<sup>o</sup> obsistentes et menia ascendentes, exercitum adhuc intrare contendentem omni armatura iaculorum reprimebant, quousque in uirtute sua preuallentes, portas clausuerunt, et circiter ducentos Christianorum<sup>p</sup> intra muros retinuerunt. Illic Willelmus de Wanges,<sup>q</sup> miles gloriosus<sup>r</sup> et nobilis,<sup>s</sup> itidemque<sup>t</sup> Willelmus mire audacie et militaris fame, cum egregiis sociis equitibus<sup>u</sup> et peditibus capti sententia capitali perierunt, ceteri quamplures uinculis catenarum astricti sunt.

- 692 6. Dein<sup>a</sup> post dies aliquot, uidens rex assultu et lapidum tormento ciuibus et muris prorsus non nocere,<sup>b</sup> duas fieri constituit machinas

<sup>d</sup> afforis A    <sup>e</sup> apparatu N    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> continerent A    <sup>h</sup> om. N    <sup>i</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>j</sup> procurrere A    <sup>k</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>l</sup> om. A    <sup>m</sup> contuentes ACHN  
<sup>n</sup> in N    <sup>o</sup> HN add et before fortiter    <sup>p</sup> Christianos AC; om. HN    <sup>q</sup> om. N  
<sup>r</sup> itemque N    <sup>s</sup> A adds et before equitibus

6    <sup>a</sup> Dehinc AC; Deinde N    <sup>b</sup> A adds posse after nocere

<sup>q</sup> Neither William is otherwise recorded. Wanges is probably Wange, nr. Landen (prov. Liège, Belgium).

strongly and used all kinds of warlike equipment to assail the towers and ramparts with constantly repeated assaults day after day. The Turks, who put their trust in a hail of arrows and fought back, being spread out for their part along the ramparts and towers, greatly intensified the slaughter and serious wounds they inflicted on the Christians, and indeed they suffocated the horde of people who were converging on the gates and the iron bars with a ceaseless bombardment of stones, and also by pouring sulphur and boiling pitch. Then one day, after many attacks and long-drawn-out efforts, while the army took a short breathing space outside and withheld their hands from warlike work, inside the Tyrians and their Turkish soldiers held silence, but yet they had made a plan that they would suddenly burst forth from the gates and charge on the king's camp, so they soon took up arms again, they put on hauberks and helmets and, suddenly opening certain gates, they dared to charge in a very great number right up to where the tents were pitched on the open plains—on which, now forgetful of war, the king and his army were quartered—and the Turks pierced with arrows many whom they took unawares, and stirred up the whole army with a great and dreadful din. And at once all the terrified Christian soldiers sped towards them from all over the camp, armoured and bearing weapons and lances, and they strove on this side and that with very great courage, but at length the Christians prevailed and put the Tyrians to flight and forced them into the gateway, but both sides, the one in swift flight, the other mingled with them in rapid pursuit, entered the city in a powerful rush. The Tyrians and Turks, realizing that the Gauls had already entered the city with them, turned around to face them as they bore down from the rear, fighting back strongly and climbing the ramparts, and with all their armoury of missiles they forced back the army which was still striving to enter, until they prevailed by virtue of their strength, closed the gates, and kept back within the walls around two hundred of the Christians. There William of Wanges,<sup>9</sup> glorious and noble knight, and another William, of wonderful courage and military reputation, were captured along with outstanding comrades both cavalry and infantry, and died by capital sentence; very many others were bound with fetters of chains.

6. Then after some days the king, seeing that he was quite unable to harm the citizens and the walls by attack and the stone hurler, ordered two engines to be made to tower over the walls with their

muros plurima altitudine supereminentes, ac componi ordine duorum cenaculorum, quarum una ex sumptu et labore Eustachii Granarii, preclari militis et primi in<sup>c</sup> domo et consilio regis, ad unguem constructa et erecta est. In hac ergo idem Eustachius cum electis manens tyronibus, Tyrios mane, meridie, uespere per urbem gradientes omni genere iaculorum alios interimebant, alios uulnerabant, per turres, menia<sup>d</sup> et omnia urbis loca speculantes. Non minus ab altera machina regis milites inibi constituti Turcos Tyriosque inpugnabant, et sic<sup>e</sup> quosque ab ostio progressos arcu baleari ferientes perimebant. Tyrii itaque<sup>f</sup> econtra tormenta lapidum aptabant ad quassandas machinas et<sup>g</sup> eas inhabitantes,<sup>g</sup> sed machine coriis taurinis, camelinis, equinis,<sup>h</sup> cratibusque uimineis uestite, ictus lapidum palosque ferreos et ignitos, illese et immobiles sustinebant. Tyrii, cernentes quia hoc modo machinis nocere nequibant, alia arte machinas atterere<sup>i</sup> conati sunt. Arborem procere altitudinis funibus erigentes,<sup>j</sup> circulum quendam amplum et spaciosum in modum corone ex grandi ligno componentes, summitati arboris catenis ferreis affixerunt, ac eundem ligneum circulum in circuitu pice, sulfure,<sup>k</sup> cera, adipe, permixtis stuppis impinguentes,<sup>l</sup> ignique aqua inextinguibili succendentes, usque ad locum murorum quo machina Eustachii sita erat funibus pertraxerunt. Qui subito nimium flammium ab arbore in machinam laxatur, quam undique flamme intolerabiles cingentes grandi et insuperabili incendio combusserunt, cum plurima parte uirorum, qui ignem excutere et extinguere conati,<sup>m</sup> nequaquam euadere potuerunt. Eodem modo et arte regis machina combusta et in nihilum redacta est. Sic machinis hiis pariter combustis, tandem<sup>n</sup> rex in obsidione mansit imperterritus, uolens urbem aut fame aut aliqua arte adhuc edomare.<sup>10</sup>

7. Ad hoc<sup>a</sup> denique regis constantiam et animum immobilem Tyrii cognoscentes, direxerunt clam legationem Damascum, quatenus Dochinus magnus princeps eis subueniret, magnam illi spondentes<sup>b</sup> pecuniam et iurantes<sup>b</sup> se semper in eius auxilio et obsequio permanere. Qui ilico, uiginti milibus equitum accitis,<sup>c</sup> per montana descendit usque ad confinia Tyri ut in crastino regem suosque in

<sup>c</sup> de HN      <sup>d</sup> N adds et before menia      <sup>e</sup> si N      <sup>f</sup> quoque ACHN      <sup>g</sup> in eis habitantes N      <sup>h</sup> equis N      <sup>i</sup> conterere A      <sup>j</sup> cingentes N      <sup>k</sup> N adds et before sulfure      <sup>l</sup> impugnantes N      <sup>m</sup> N adds sunt et after conati      <sup>n</sup> tamen ACHN

7      <sup>a</sup> hec HN      <sup>b</sup> et iurantes pecuniam et E      <sup>c</sup> ascitis ACHN

<sup>10</sup> There are equally vivid accounts of the destruction of the two towers by Ibn al-Qalanisi and Anna Komnene (IQ, p. 122; AC, ed. Leib, iii. 151; trans. Sewter, p. 442).

very great height and to be constructed with an arrangement of two storeys; one of the towers was built to perfection and set up at the expense and effort of Eustace Granarius, the famous knight and first in the household and council of the king. In this engine, therefore, this same Eustace stayed with some chosen recruits, and as the Tyrians walked through the city morning, noon, and night, they killed some and wounded others with all sorts of missiles, for they looked out over the towers, the ramparts, and all the places in the city. The soldiers stationed in the other of the king's engines attacked the Turks and Tyrians from it no less, and in this way they killed anyone who came out of his door by using a crossbow to strike him. And so the Tyrians on their side prepared stone hurlers to shatter the towers and their occupants, but the engines had been clad with hides of oxen, camels, and horses, and with wickerwork hurdles, and withstood, unharmed and unmoved, the blows of the stones and the red-hot iron stakes. The Tyrians, perceiving that they could not harm the engines in this way, tried to damage the engines by another artifice. They used ropes to erect a tree of exceptional height, constructing a certain wide and spacious ring from great timber in the style of a crown, and fixing it to the top of the tree with iron chains, and painting that same wooden ring all round with pitch, sulphur, wax, and fat, mixed together with tow; they set light to it with fire which could not be put out by water, then dragged it with ropes all the way to the place on the walls where Eustace's tower was positioned. Vomiting fierce flames, it was suddenly released from the tree onto the engine, and irresistible flames surrounded it on all sides and burnt it with a great and unquenchable fire, along with the greater part of the men, who tried to shake off and put out the fire but were completely unable to escape. By the same method and artifice the king's tower was burnt and reduced to nothing. Although both towers had been burnt alike in this way, yet the king remained undaunted in the siege, wanting to conquer the city either by hunger or by some stratagem.<sup>10</sup>

7. Then at this point the Tyrians recognized the king's steadfastness and unalterable intention, and they secretly sent a legation to Damascus, asking Tughtigin the great prince to help them, and promising to him a great sum of money, and swearing they would always remain in his military support and service. He instantly summoned twenty thousand cavalry and came down through the mountains right to the borders of Tyre in order to charge the king

castris incurreret, et sic urbem de manu regis et eius obsidione liberaret. Eadem uero die qua idem Dochinus <sup>d</sup>uel Duodechinus<sup>d</sup> confinia Tyri per montana intrauit, armigeri septingenti cum sexaginta probis<sup>e</sup> equitibus de exercitu regis, ad querenda pabula equorum<sup>f</sup> egressi, irruerunt casu et ignoranter super arma et uires Turcorum, qui uniuersi in<sup>g</sup> sagitta et<sup>h</sup> gladio ab hostibus perempti et detruncati perierunt, preter paucos qui uix euadentes retulerunt que  
 693 gesta sunt. Hoc | itaque<sup>i</sup> comperto, quod tot milia Turcorum iam iuxta conuenissent, armigeros militesque regis peremissent,<sup>j</sup> rex, ex consilio suorum optimatum qui diutina<sup>k</sup> obsidione uexati erant et rebus et cibariis exhausti,<sup>11</sup> tentoria sustulit ac,<sup>l</sup> die Dominica que est ante Dominicam Palmarum<sup>12</sup> Ptolomaidam et ceteras ciuitates pertransiens, ipsa sancta et celebri die Palmarum per portam que respicit ad montem Oliuarum, per quam Dominus Iesus asello sedens intrauit, ipse cum suis, et una cum quibusdam magnificis<sup>m</sup> legatis regis Grecorum qui ad eum nuper uenerant dum adhuc in obsidione esset, intromissus est.<sup>13</sup> Egit denique illic<sup>n</sup> sanctam ebdomadam, loca sancta perlustrans, in oratione et elemosinarum largitione et delictorum confessione, diem uero sancti Pasche<sup>14</sup> in omni honore et gloria propter legatos regis Grecorum iussu domni patriarche coronatus sollempniter ac regaliter celebrauit.

8. Celebratis itaque<sup>a</sup> illic per dies octo sancti<sup>b</sup> Pasche sollempniis, assumptis ducentis equitibus, centum uero peditibus, ad uallem Moysi profectus est, in partes regni Arabie, ut predarum copias abinde contraheret, quibus inopes milites et rebus uacuatos<sup>c</sup> ditaret et deficientes animaret. Legati uero regis Grecorum benigne commendati, <sup>d</sup>et donis<sup>d</sup> magnificis ampliati, Constantinopolim remissi<sup>e</sup> sunt.<sup>15</sup> Rex uero uix partes Arabie intrauerat, et ecce Idumei, quos moderni

<sup>d d</sup> om. N    <sup>e</sup> profecti N    <sup>f</sup> equis N    <sup>g</sup> om. N    <sup>h</sup> om. N    <sup>i</sup> denique  
 HN    <sup>j</sup> interemissent A    <sup>k</sup> diuturna N    <sup>l</sup> et N    <sup>m</sup> A adds uiris after  
 magnificis    <sup>n</sup> illam ACHN

8    <sup>a</sup> A adds in omni honore after itaque    <sup>b</sup> terra N    <sup>c</sup> euacuatos N  
<sup>d d</sup> donisque ACHN    <sup>e</sup> reuersi N

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi describes the Franks retiring in good order to Acre and then dispersing; he does not mention lack of supplies but says only that they despaired of capturing Tyre (IQ, pp. 125–6). According to Anna Komnene they fled to Acre in disarray despite Baldwin's best efforts to recall them to the siege (AC, ed. Leib iii. 152; trans. Sewter, p. 443).  
<sup>12</sup> i.e. 7 Apr. 1112.

<sup>13</sup> The envoys were led by Boutoumites who had arrived late in the day at the siege of Tyre with twelve Cypriot ships which were then sailed to Acre (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 152–3; trans. Sewter, p. 443).

and his men in their camp on the following day, and thus to deliver the city from the hands of the king and his siege. On the same day that this same Dochinus, or Tughtigin, entered the borders of Tyre through the mountains, seven hundred men-at-arms with sixty experienced cavalymen from the king's army, who had gone out to look for fodder for the horses, came by chance and unsuspectingly upon the weapons and forces of the Turks, and all of them were slain by the enemy with arrow and sword and died dismembered, except a few who just managed to escape and reported what had been done. When the king found out that so many thousands of Turks had already come together nearby, and had slain the king's men-at-arms and knights, on the advice of his magnates who were tired of the long-drawn-out siege and completely out of possessions and food supplies,<sup>11</sup> he struck camp and, passing through Acre and the other towns on the Sunday which is before Palm Sunday,<sup>12</sup> he entered on that holy and festive Day of Palms through the gate which looks towards the Mount of Olives, through which Lord Jesus entered riding on a donkey, the king with his men, and along with certain splendid legates from the king of the Greeks who had recently come to him while he was still engaged in the siege.<sup>13</sup> Then he spent Holy Week there, visiting all the holy places, in prayer and bestowing of alms and confession of sins, and he celebrated the day of holy Easter<sup>14</sup> in all honour and glory, wearing his crown solemnly and regally in honour of the legates of the king of the Greeks and on the instruction of the lord patriarch.

8. After the ceremonies of holy Easter had been performed in that place for a week, he took two hundred cavalry and a hundred infantry and set out for the Valley of Moses, into the region of the kingdom of Arabia, to seize quantities of plunder from there, with which he could enrich his soldiers, who were destitute and empty-handed of possessions, and encourage the faint-hearted. The legates of the king of the Greeks were graciously commended, endowed with splendid gifts and sent back to Constantinople.<sup>15</sup> No sooner had the king entered the region of Arabia than the Idumei appeared, whom nowadays people

<sup>14</sup> 21 Apr. 1112.

<sup>15</sup> Anna Komnene differs from Albert in that she has the king and Boutoumites parting on ill terms: Baldwin accused Boutoumites—accurately, as Anna concedes—of lying; Boutoumites withheld the money Alexios had sent because Baldwin would not support the emperor against Tancred, and so when Baldwin let the envoy depart it was with 'non-committal letters' (AC, ed. Leib, iii. 152–3; trans. Sewter, pp. 443–4).

uocant Bidumos,<sup>f</sup> uiri mercatores, cum immensis copiis diuersarum mercium in mulis et camelis, inter manus regis et suorum affuerunt, qui nullatenus effugere ualentes, omnibus rebus diuitiarum suarum, tam in auro<sup>g</sup> quam in argento,<sup>g</sup> gemmis preciosis, ostro diuersi generis<sup>h</sup> et operis,<sup>h</sup> pariterque pigmentis expoliati sunt. Plures pariter capti, Ierusalem abducti, in custodia mancipati sunt; preda uero et spolia eorum inter milites diuisa sunt.<sup>i</sup> <sup>16</sup> Eodem anno frater<sup>j</sup> Tancradus, qui Antiochie preerat, uehementi infirmitate correptus, in Aduentu Domini<sup>k</sup> Iesu Christi<sup>l</sup> occubuit,<sup>17</sup> et in basilica beati<sup>m</sup> Petri apostoli catholice<sup>n</sup> humatus,<sup>o</sup> planctum magnum reliquit omnibus, prope et longe positis, mortem eius audientibus.

- 694 9. Post mortem tam famosi ac<sup>a</sup> bellicosi uiri, Turcorumque<sup>b</sup> undique fortissimi expugnatoris, mense Marcio<sup>18</sup> nouo uere aspirante, prefatus Malducius,<sup>c</sup> qui et ipse unus de prepotentibus<sup>d</sup> regni Corruzana, accitis<sup>e</sup> ferocissimis copiis Turcorum, circiter<sup>f</sup> triginta milia, disposuit transire usque Damascum ut<sup>g</sup> assumpto Dochino, qui et ipse Turcus et princeps iniuste erat Damascenorum, expugnaret<sup>h</sup> ciuitates quas rex obtinebat, deinde Ierusalem, si eius uoluntati prospere succederet, ad debellandos et expellendos<sup>i</sup> Christianos perueniret. Diuulgata autem<sup>j</sup> tam superbi principis adunatione et intentione per regionem ciuitatis Edisse, nuntii Armenici regi Baldwino diriguntur, qui omnem rem et apparatus illius declararent, quatenus preuisus, et suis conuocatis, hostibus tutius et facilius ad resistendum occurreret.<sup>k</sup> Rex,<sup>l</sup> auditis nunciorum uerbis, ilico aptata legatione, Antiochiam ad Rotgerum,<sup>m</sup> illustrissimum iuuenem et militem, filium sororis Tancradi,<sup>19</sup> qui et loco eius restitutus principatum obtinebat Antiochie, direxit ut sine intermissione ad auxilium eius uenire operam daret, in apparatu armorum et copiis suorum, sicut decretum fuerat<sup>n</sup> a

<sup>f</sup> Biduinos A      <sup>g</sup> et argento quam in N      <sup>h</sup> om. A      <sup>i</sup> om. A      <sup>j</sup> om. ACHN      <sup>k</sup> AN add Nostri after Domini      <sup>l</sup> CHN add morte after Christi  
<sup>m</sup> sancti N      <sup>n</sup> om. A      <sup>o</sup> sepultus C

9      <sup>a</sup> et AHN      <sup>b</sup> Turcorum AC      <sup>c</sup> Malducus HN      <sup>d</sup> prepotentatibus H  
<sup>e</sup> ascitis ACHN      <sup>f</sup> sed N      <sup>g</sup> et N      <sup>h</sup> expugnare N      <sup>i</sup> expugnandas A;  
expugnandos N      <sup>j</sup> om. N      <sup>k</sup> properaret A      <sup>l</sup> ACHN add autem after rex  
<sup>m</sup> Rutgerum CN; Rütgerum H      <sup>n</sup> erat A

<sup>16</sup> There is close agreement between Albert and Ibn al-Qalanisi about this raid. According to the *Damascus Chronicle*, Baldwin received news while in Acre that the Damascus caravan had left Boṣrā (prov. Der'a, Syria) for Egypt and he cooperated with Arabs of Ascalon who wanted prisoners released in return for the information and their help. The spoils amounted to over 50,000 dinars and 300 captives: see IQ, pp. 130-1.

<sup>17</sup> 12 Dec. 1112 according to Fulcher (FC, pp. 562-3); 11 Dec. in Ibn al-Qalanisi (IQ, pp. 131-2).

call the Bedouins, merchant men, with huge quantities of different goods on mules and camels, and they fell into the hands of the king and his men, and were unable to escape by any means, so they were plundered of all their items of wealth, in silver as well as gold, precious jewels, purple of various kinds and craftsmanship, and likewise spices. Many were likewise captured and led off to Jerusalem, where they were put in prison; their booty and spoils were shared out among the soldiers.<sup>16</sup> In that same year brother Tancred, who was in charge of Antioch, was taken violently ill, and he died during the Advent of Lord Jesus Christ,<sup>17</sup> and was given a Christian burial in the basilica of blessed Peter the apostle, leaving great grief to all, stationed far or near, who heard of his death.

9. After the death of this very famous and warlike man, who had everywhere been the most courageous conqueror of Turks, in the month of March,<sup>18</sup> just as a new spring was beginning, the aforesaid Mawdud, himself one of the chieftains of the kingdom of Khurasan, summoned fierce forces of Turks, around thirty thousand, and decided to go across to Damascus, where he would collect Tughtigin, who was himself a Turk and unlawfully chieftain of the Damascans, and conquer the cities which were in the king's possession, then, if all went according to his desire, he would arrive at Jerusalem to vanquish and drive out the Christians. When news of the united strength and purpose of so magnificent a chieftain was spread abroad throughout the region of the city of Edessa, Armenian messengers were sent to King Baldwin, to make plain to him the whole matter and the Turk's resources, so that, having been forewarned, and having called together his men, he might more securely and easily meet the enemy to withstand him. The king listened to the messengers' words and on the spot he prepared a legation which he sent to Antioch to Roger, a very distinguished young man and soldier, the son of Tancred's sister,<sup>19</sup> who had been restored in Tancred's place and held the principate of Antioch, asking that he take pains to come at once to his assistance, with his equipment of arms and his forces of

<sup>18</sup> 1113.

<sup>19</sup> The precise nature of the relationship is disputed: Albert is corroborated by Anon. Syriac and by Ibn al-Athir, while Ibn al-Qalanisi says Roger was Tancred's brother's son (Anon. Syriac, p. 85; IA, p. 287; IQ, p. 132). Fulcher calls him Tancred's kinsman ('cognatus') at his first appearance, and later the son of Richard (of the Principate, i.e. Salerno): FC, pp. 563, 570. This makes it unlikely that his mother was Tancred's sister, because such a marriage would probably have been prohibited on the grounds of consanguinity. See Jamison, 'Some notes', p. 198.

principio Christianos Christianis<sup>o</sup> fratribus subuenire. Rotgerus sine mora, accepta regis legatione, septingentis equitibus, quingentis<sup>p</sup> uero peditibus assumptis,<sup>q</sup> ad ipsum regem peruenire<sup>r</sup> disposuit, sed aliquantulum propter colligenda arma retardatus est. Turci uero uiam Damascum<sup>s</sup> accelerantes, ad mare Galilee castrametati sunt, et presidium Tabarie obsidentes, hac parte fluminis Iordanis plurimum temporis egerunt, montem Thabor occupantes et undique Christianorum habitationem delere studentes. Iam enim in calumniis et prediis et aggrauatione Christianorum, curriculo trium mensium potenter sederant, omnia uastantes, nulli parcentes, nocte ac die insidiis inuigilantes, milites Tabarie<sup>t</sup> bello et crebris assultibus lacescentes.<sup>20</sup>

695 10. Hiis diebus mille<sup>a</sup> quingenti peregrini qui Paschali sollempnitate Ierusalem moram fecerant, reditum parantes, sed per regionem Sur transire metuentes, | regem supplici prece conuenerunt, quatenus conductum eius trans Sur habere mererentur, ne ab<sup>b</sup> inhabitatoribus urbis impugnarentur, parum resistere ualentes, sicut fessi et plurima inopia aggrauati.<sup>c</sup> Rex, uidens illorum redeundi constantiam, trecentis accitis<sup>d</sup> militibus uiam cum eis usque ad montana Sur tenuit, sed in latibulo montium<sup>e</sup> paulisper remoratus peregrinos premisit ut sic experiri posset<sup>f</sup> si qua uirtus ciuium Sur ad insecutionem Christianorum peregrinorum appareret. Hiis uero<sup>g</sup> premissis, milites ciuitatis Sur ad quingentos egressi peregrinos procul ab urbe transeuntes ad trucidandum et captiandum insecuti sunt, multa uociferatione<sup>h</sup> et tubarum strepitu<sup>i</sup> ad perterrendos illos intonantes. Verum rex hac<sup>j</sup> audita uociferatione,<sup>j</sup> a latibulo et insidiis uelociter exsurgens militibus Sur in tergo affuit, plurimam cedem exercuit quousque Sarraceni, uicti et attriti, fugam arripientes, Sur uiam remensi non prius portas introierunt quam ducenti ex eis capti et attriti sunt. Peregrini, hac sola die uia continuata, altera autem<sup>k</sup> die audita Turcorum presentia cum tot milibus, inito consilio, Ptolomaidam reuersi sunt, illic cum rege moram facientes.

<sup>a</sup> conchristianis *A*    <sup>p</sup> ducentis *A*    <sup>q</sup> sunptis *N*    <sup>r</sup> uenire *HN*    <sup>s</sup> Damasci *A*  
<sup>t</sup> here *H* has lost a page—resumes ch. 13

10    <sup>a</sup> om. *N*    <sup>b</sup> om. *A*    <sup>c</sup> grauari *A*    <sup>d</sup> ascitis *ACN*    <sup>e</sup> montis *A*    <sup>f</sup> possit *A*  
<sup>g</sup> uiris *N*    <sup>h</sup> om. *N*    <sup>i</sup> sonitu *A*    <sup>j</sup> illorum *A*    <sup>k</sup> om. *N*

<sup>20</sup> A very much fuller account of the campaign around Tiberias is given by Ibn al-Qalanisi (IQ, pp. 132–7). He reports that the Turks crossed the Euphrates in April–May 1113, and the decisive battle, in which the Franks were defeated, took place on 28 June. Although Fulcher did not accompany Baldwin on this expedition, his report is in substantial agreement with that of Ibn al-Qalanisi (IQ, pp. 565–75).

men, as it had been decreed from the beginning that Christians should assist their Christian brothers. When he received the king's legation Roger at once collected seven hundred cavalry, five hundred infantry and arranged to travel to the king's presence, but he was slightly delayed on account of collecting weapons. The Turks were speeding on their way to Damascus and they pitched camp at the Sea of Galilee, and laid siege to the fortress of Tiberias, staying a very long time on this side of the river Jordan, occupying Mount Tabor, and striving by every possible means to destroy the Christians' dwelling place. For they had already spent a period of three months there in strength, insulting and plundering and provoking the Christians, laying everything waste, sparing no one, watchful in ambush night and day, and inflicting battle and constant attacks on the soldiers of Tiberias.<sup>20</sup>

10. In these days fifteen hundred pilgrims, who had stayed in Jerusalem for the feast of Easter, were preparing for their return, but they feared to travel through the region of Tyre, and addressed the king with a humble prayer, asking him to deign to escort them through Tyre, so that they would not be attacked by the inhabitants of the city, since they were little able to resist, being weary and oppressed by very great want. The king, seeing that they were determined to go home, summoned three hundred soldiers and took the road with them all the way to the mountainous region of Tyre, but then he held back for a short while in a hiding place in the mountains and sent the pilgrims on ahead so that he could thus find out if any force of citizens from Tyre would appear in order to pursue the Christians. When these men had been sent ahead, some five hundred of the soldiers of the city of Tyre came forth and pursued the pilgrims as they travelled at a distance from the city, in order to slaughter and capture them, making a noise with much shouting and blaring of bugles to terrify them. When the king heard this shouting he swiftly rose up from his hiding place in ambush and fell upon the soldiers of Tyre from the rear, inflicting great slaughter until the Saracens took flight, defeated and destroyed, and retraced their steps to Tyre where they entered the gates, but not before two hundred of them had been captured and destroyed. The pilgrims, whose journey had lasted only this one day, and who, moreover, heard on the second day of the presence of the Turks with so many thousands, took counsel and returned to Acre, staying there with the king.

11. Rex igitur, intelligens Turcorum audaciam nimium suos aggrauasse, longe lateque predam contraxisse, ab assultu raro<sup>a</sup> quieuisse, uehementer indignatus, conuocat uniuersos qui erant in circuitu Ierusalem et omnium ciuitatum quas possidebat, et ad septingentos<sup>b</sup> congregans equites, peditum quatuor milia, cum peregrino exercitu iurat ac<sup>c</sup> contestatur non ultra Rotgerum et remotos conchristianos principes prestolari, nec longius pati Turcorum arrogantiam et calumnias. Et statim a Ptolomaida tam nouis peregrinis quam ceteris accitis,<sup>d</sup> trans Iordanem castra figi statuit, ipso natali apostolorum Petri et Pauli,<sup>21</sup> ipso<sup>e</sup> uidelicet in loco quo hactenus Turcorum per prata amena<sup>f</sup> et uoluptuosa ponebantur tentoria. Turci, uiri<sup>g</sup> astuti, hoc per delatores comperto, tentoriis sublatis, in montem Thabor secesserunt, ac si, regem metuentes et fugam maturantes, cum eo ultra<sup>h</sup> committere bellum nequaquam<sup>i</sup> auderent. Sed uix regis ponebantur tentoria,<sup>j</sup> et ecce Malducius, Duodechinus quoque cum uniuerso comitatu suorum eruperunt<sup>k</sup> a montanis Thabor, ut harena maris fortiter irruentes arcu et sagitta, in castra regis et suorum graui bello et uulnere atroci preliantes, Christianas acies inpugnantes, donec rex et tota manus suorum uim tot milium sustinere non ualentes, sed fugam ineuntes, ad mille  
 696 quingentos<sup>l</sup> ceciderunt, preter equites quorum triginta interempti sunt. Cecidit illic Reinerus Brusc,<sup>22</sup> miles imperterritus, Hugo, iuuenis nobilis et miles illustris,<sup>23</sup> ceterique quorum actus et bella laude et memoria digna<sup>m</sup> sunt.<sup>24</sup>

12. Vix itaque rege elapso et Turcis loca campestria uictoriose obtinentibus, altera die Rotgerus, successor et heres Antiochie, filius sororis Tancradi, cum quadringentis<sup>a</sup> equitibus et sexcentis affuit peditibus, mire molestatus de regis infortunio et suorum casu,

11    <sup>a</sup> om. N    <sup>b</sup> quingentos N    <sup>c</sup> et ACN    <sup>d</sup> ascitis ACN    <sup>e</sup> eo ACN  
<sup>f</sup> A adds et before amena    <sup>g</sup> uero AN    <sup>h</sup> om. A    <sup>i</sup> om. A    <sup>j</sup> castra N  
<sup>k</sup> erumpentes A    <sup>l</sup> quingenti A    <sup>m</sup> dignissima ACN

12    <sup>a</sup> quingentis N

<sup>21</sup> 29 June 1113.

<sup>22</sup> Reiner probably came from the Anglo-Norman family of Brus, or Bruce, which originated from Brix (départ. Manche, France). It is likely that he was the father of 'Rainerius de Bruso' or 'cognomine Brus' who is documented from 1125 and became lord of Banyas after its capture by the Franks in 1129. See Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 221-2; H. E. Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The new men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxxx (1989), 1-25, at p. 12; RR, no. 105.

<sup>23</sup> Hugh is not otherwise known.

11. The king, realizing that the Turks had greatly upset his men by their boldness, and that they had assembled plunder from far and wide and seldom refrained from attack, was violently angry and called together all those who were in the region around Jerusalem and from all the towns which he occupied, and assembled some seven hundred cavalry and four thousand infantry, taking an oath with the pilgrim army and bearing witness that he would wait no longer for Roger and the distant fellow Christian princes, nor would he suffer further the Turks' arrogance and insults. And at once he summoned from Acre the new pilgrims as well as the rest and, on the very feast day of the apostles Peter and Paul,<sup>21</sup> he decided to pitch camp across the Jordan, that is to say in the very place where up to now the Turks' tents had been placed throughout the lovely and delightful meadows. The Turks, cunning men, found this out by way of spies and they carried off their tents and withdrew onto Mount Tabor, as if they feared the king and were making good their escape and dared no longer join battle with him. But scarcely were the king's tents pitched when suddenly Mawdud, and Tughtigin too, swept down from Mount Tabor with their entire company of men, as numerous as the sands of the sea, charging boldly with bow and arrow, carrying battle into the camp of the king and his men with severe fighting and dreadful wounding, attacking the Christian lines until the king and all his army of men could not withstand the force of so many thousands, but took flight; some fifteen hundred fell, not counting the cavalry, of whom thirty were killed. Reiner Brusc<sup>22</sup> fell in that place, undaunted knight; Hugh, noble young man and illustrious knight,<sup>23</sup> and the rest whose deeds and battles are worthy of praise and remembrance.<sup>24</sup>

12. Scarcely had the king escaped and the Turks triumphantly taken possession of the plains, when on the second day Roger, successor and heir to Antioch, son of Tancred's sister, arrived with four hundred cavalry and six hundred infantry, remarkably annoyed about the

<sup>24</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi describes a battle near Tiberias, on 28 June 1113, and although he says both Baldwin and Roger fought in it, it is probably this same engagement. He portrays Frankish morale following the defeat as 'humbled, broken, defeated, and dispirited', a picture which Fulcher of Chartres confirms (IQ, pp. 135-7; FC, p. 574). William of Malmesbury's description of the battle is interesting for the presence of the True Cross, which was briefly captured and recovered, and of Godfrey, a nephew of King Baldwin (who died): WM, i. 686-8; A. V. Murray, '"Mighty against the enemies of Christ": The relic of the True Cross in the armies of the kingdom of Jerusalem', in J. France and W. G. Zajac, eds., *The Crusades and their Sources* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 217-38, at 227, 233; A. V. Murray, 'A little-known member of the royal family of crusader Jerusalem in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*', *Notes and Queries*, ccxli (1996), 397-9.

et quia itineris tardatione <sup>b</sup>hesterno prelio<sup>b</sup> ei ad opem esse<sup>c</sup> non potuit. Affuit et princeps ciuitatis<sup>d</sup> Tripolis, non minus animo consternatus quoniam sic a Turcis regis castra cesa sunt. Et post pauca affuerunt plurime acies Christianorum, nauigio usque Ptolomaidam aduecte, quorum ex omni parte,<sup>e</sup> tam maris quam terre, affluentium<sup>f</sup> sedecim milia in unum collecta sunt. Rex, tot milibus in breui congregatis, Turcos adhuc trans Iordanem<sup>g</sup> in sua feritate persistentes aggredi statuit, ex consilio omnium qui aderant, quatenus in caput<sup>h</sup> eorum Deo auxiliante redderet malum quod sibi suisque et uniuerse regioni inferre conati sunt. Verum Turci, audito regis aduentu et uoluntate, a loco et regione Iordanis recedentes Romaniam ingressi sunt, regis Grecorum castella et ciuitates plurimas obsidentes et expugnantes.

13. Rege dehinc cum omni manu sua ab insecutione hostium Ptolomaidam reuerso, mense Augusto inchoante, peruenit ad aures regis quoniam nobilissima coniunx Rotgeri, ducis Sicilie, fratris Boemundi, magnifici principis, post obitum et exequias prefati mariti ad thalamum regis nauigio properaret in apparatu copioso magnarum diuitiarum et plurimo militum comitatu.<sup>25</sup> Fuerunt ei<sup>a</sup> duo dromones<sup>b</sup> triremes, singuli cum quingentis uiris bello doctissimis, cum nauibus septem auro, argento, ostro, gemmarum uestiumque<sup>c</sup> preciosarum multitudine onustis, preter arma, loricas,<sup>d</sup> galeas, clipeos<sup>e</sup> auro fulgidissimos, et preter omnem aliam<sup>f</sup> armaturam quam  
 697 ad defensionem nauium solent uiri potentis | simi comportare. In ipsa denique naui qua predicta matrona<sup>g</sup> manere decreuerat,<sup>h</sup> malus auro purissimo tectus procul radios ad solis claritatem exerebat, et utraque nauis cornua, auro et argento fabрили opere uestita, spectaculo admirationis omnibus erant ea intuentibus. In una de septem nauibus uiri Sarraceni et sagittarii<sup>i</sup> fortissimi, claritate preciosarum uestium fulgentes, inerant, dono regi<sup>j</sup> adducti, et qui nullis in regione

<sup>b b</sup> om. A  
<sup>f</sup> affluentes N

<sup>c</sup> adesse A  
<sup>g</sup> Iordanem C

<sup>d</sup> om. A  
<sup>h</sup> capite N

<sup>e</sup> N adds aduecte after parte

13 <sup>a</sup> om. N  
<sup>c</sup> ACN add et before clipeos  
 uiri after sagittarii

<sup>b</sup> drumones AN  
<sup>f</sup> om. A  
<sup>j</sup> regis A

<sup>c</sup> om. A  
<sup>g</sup> om. A

<sup>d</sup> ACN add gladios after loricas  
<sup>h</sup> consueuerat N  
<sup>i</sup> N adds

<sup>25</sup> Adelaide of Salerno, widow of Roger I of Sicily (d. 1101). Fulcher's account of her arrival is very brief; William of Tyre's is longer, and he explains that besides her dowry, which was much needed, Adelaide brought an alliance with her son, Roger II, who would inherit the kingdom if Baldwin and Adelaide had no children (FC, pp. 575-7; WT,

king's ill-fortune and the fate of his men, and because he had been unable to be of assistance to him in the previous day's battle on account of the slowness of his journey. The prince of the city of Tripoli also arrived, no less dismayed that the king's camp had thus been cut to pieces by the Turks. And after a while many divisions of Christians arrived, sailing to Acre, until sixteen thousand of them had flocked together and assembled from all sides by land and by sea. With so many thousands assembled in a short time, and on the advice of all who were there, the king decided to attack the Turks, who were still persisting in their fierce behaviour across the Jordan, so that with God's assistance he might return on their heads the evil which they had tried to inflict on him and his men and the entire region. But the Turks, hearing about the king's approach and intention, withdrew from the place and the region of the Jordan and entered Rūm, where they besieged and attacked castles and many towns belonging to the king of the Greeks.

13. After the king returned with all his army to Acre from the pursuit of the enemy, at the beginning of August, he heard the news that the noble wife of Roger, duke of Sicily, brother of the magnificent prince Bohemond, following the death and funeral of her aforesaid husband, was sailing in haste to a wedding with the king, bringing with her a plentiful supply of great riches and a great company of soldiers.<sup>25</sup> She had two trireme dromons, each with five hundred men very experienced in warfare, with seven ships laden with gold, silver, purple, and an abundance of jewels and precious garments, besides weapons, hauberks, helmets, shields resplendent with gold, and besides all the other weaponry which powerful men are accustomed to carry for the defence of their ships. Then on that very ship on which the aforesaid lady had decided to remain, the mast was clad with purest gold and put forth rays from afar like the brilliance of the sun, and both ends of the ship, covered by craftsmanship with gold and silver, were a sight to wonder at for all who saw them. In one of the seven ships Saracen men, who were very strong archers and glittered with the brilliance of their precious garments, were brought

pp. 525–7). Neither writer mentions her fleet, and Albert's description which follows seems to owe something to Plutarch's portrayal of Cleopatra (*Plutarch's Lives*, trans. B. Perrin, 11 vols. (London, 1914–26), i. 192–3). The storm and the sea battle off Ascalon are mentioned only by Albert. His description of the 'Saracen men' on board one of the ships is a detail likely to be accurate, for many of the count of Sicily's subjects were Muslims. For the political implications of the marriage, see H. E. Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984), pp. 59–64.

Ierusalem sagittandi arte inferiores haberentur.<sup>k</sup> Huius itaque matrone aduentu et gloria audita, rex tres naues, quas uocant galidas, fetas uiris egregiis et marino certamine peritissimis, misit illi in occursum, sed uentorum turbine mari intumescente, nequaquam illi occurrere aut sociari potuerunt. Ventorum namque potentia naues longe<sup>l</sup> iactate, tandem portu sinuque ciuitatis Ascalonis uespere sunt recepte,<sup>m</sup> dieque sequente usque ad horam nonam, nequaquam nautis ualentibus aut conantibus, iter per aquas tenuerunt, propter<sup>n</sup> uentum qui eis nimium contrarius repugnabat.

14. Ascalonite, uiri<sup>a</sup> Christianis semper infesti, mox Christianorum signis recognitis, in galidis ferratis et armatis occurrere et configere cum eis accelerant. Sed post plurimam contentionem et utrimque sepius factam incursionem,<sup>b</sup> una ex galidis Ascalonitarum, quinquaginta milites continens, attrita et submersa est, cetera expugnatæ et repulse<sup>c</sup> sunt. Nec mora Christiani, ex omni parte in uictoria preuallentes, et in unum coadunati, Deo prosperante, tranquillo uentorum flamine relato et omni furore maris sedato, in uirtute magna a portu et statione Ascalonis sunt egressi, sicque pacifico nauigio Ptolomaidam peruentum est. Nec mora rex, aduentu tam gloriose matrone cognito, cum omnibus primoribus regni sui et uniuersis pueris domus sue, in uestitu diuersi generis et pulchritudinis, in regio cultu, in equis et mulis ostro et auro<sup>d</sup> fulgentibus, in tubis et<sup>e</sup> omni<sup>f</sup> dulcedine musicorum occurrit a naui egredienti. Sed et platee mirificis<sup>g</sup> et uariis tapetibus strate, uici purpureis uelis adornati in honore tam nobilissime et thesauris famosissime matrone rutilabant, sicut decet reges in omni gloria et pompa exaltari. Cum hac itaque iocunditate et laude ea inducta, et regi stabili<sup>h</sup> conubio copulata, nuptiarum magnus apparatus ornatusque factus est in regio palatio ciuitatis per dies aliquot, thesauri plurimi ab ea<sup>i</sup> in<sup>j</sup> militibus diuisi sunt, plurimi<sup>j</sup> in erarium regis<sup>k</sup> translati,<sup>l</sup> quibus multum rex et uniuersi qui bellis Turcorum arma amiserant nunc inestimabiliter releuati et ditati sunt. Hiis iam nuptiis finitis, et rege<sup>m</sup> Ierusalem cum sponsa sua ascendere disponente, Rotgerus<sup>26</sup> Antiochiam, a rege

<sup>k</sup> uiderentur A    <sup>l</sup> A adds a before longe    <sup>m</sup> recepti A    <sup>n</sup> H resumes at this point

14    <sup>a</sup> uiris ACHN    <sup>b</sup> concursionem N    <sup>c</sup> expulse H    <sup>d</sup> argento HN  
<sup>e</sup> ACH add in after et    <sup>f</sup> N adds genere et after omni    <sup>g</sup> magnificis A    <sup>h</sup> nobili N  
<sup>i</sup> om. H    <sup>j</sup> om. AN    <sup>k</sup> om. A    <sup>l</sup> allati N    <sup>m</sup> regem N

<sup>26</sup> Roger of Antioch.

as a gift for the king, and their skill at archery was considered inferior to none in the region of Jerusalem. When he heard of the arrival and the magnificence of this lady, the king sent to meet her three ships, which they call galleys, laden with outstanding men and men skilled in naval warfare, but as the sea was swollen by gale-force winds they were quite unable to meet and to join her. For the ships were driven a long way by the violence of the winds, until at last in the evening they took refuge in the harbour and bay of the town of Ascalon, and the following day until the ninth hour, since the sailors were quite unable to do anything or attempt to, they held back from their journey on the high seas, on account of the wind which was very strongly against them.

14. The Ascalonites, men always hostile to the Christians, soon recognized the Christians' symbols, and they hastened in iron-clad and armoured galleys to meet them and fight with them. But after a great struggle and attacks made frequently by both sides, one of the Ascalonites' galleys, carrying fifty soldiers, was destroyed and sunk; the rest were conquered and driven back. At once the Christians, who were prevailing triumphantly on all sides, and were by God's favour joined together as one, sailed out of the harbour and bay of Ascalon in great strength, since the gentle blowing of the winds had returned and all the fury of the sea was calmed, and thus they arrived at Acre after a peaceful voyage. At once, as she disembarked from her ship, the king, who knew of the approach of this glorious lady, met her with all the magnates of his kingdom and all his household retainers, in clothing of a varied and beautiful kind, in royal style, with horses and mules resplendent in purple and gold, with trumpets and all sweetness of music. Even the streets were strewn with wonderful and different carpets, the rows of houses were adorned with purple cloths and they glowed warmly in honour of so noble a woman and one so renowned for her treasures, as is fitting for monarchs to be exalted in all glory and pomp. And so she was brought in with this rejoicing and praise, and married to the king in enduring wedlock, and there was a great deal of preparation and decoration done for the wedding feast in the royal palace of the town over a period of days; very great treasures were shared out by her among the soldiers, and very great treasures were conveyed into the king's treasury, by means of which the king and all who had lost weapons in battles with the Turks were now inestimably relieved and enriched. Now when the wedding feast was over, and the king arranged to go up to Jerusalem with his wife, Roger,<sup>26</sup> graciously

benigne commendatus, uiam insistere disposuit, cui ipsa noua<sup>n</sup> regina mille marcas argenti, cum ostris preciosis, cum bisantiis quingentis, cum | mulis et equis egregiis dono contulit, preter gregarios milites  
 698 qui a longinquo regi ad opem<sup>o</sup> confluerunt, quibus<sup>p</sup> non modica premia auri et argenti pariter collata sunt.<sup>q</sup>

15. Sic quibusque<sup>a</sup> ad sua redire feruentibus, quidam uiam per Romaniam in arido<sup>b</sup> insistentes ciuitatem Stamyrram applicuerunt,<sup>27</sup> qui a Grecis, uiris Christianis, in omni amministratione necessariorum clementissime hospitio suscepti sunt. Nec mora Turci, qui a rege a Galilea fugati ciuitates et municipia regis Grecorum expugnata et attrita preda et spoliis in nihilum redegerant, eiusdem ciuitatis menia<sup>c</sup> aggressi, obsidionem in circuitu locauerunt, plurimam uim,<sup>d</sup> minas et terrores ciuibus inferentes. Hinc non post multos dies, et post terribiles assultus, magistram portam urbis in uirtute nimia<sup>e</sup> assilientes, militibus Grecorum uiris effeminatis parum resistentibus, in securi et ascia ianuam comminuentes, defensoribus tandem fessis, unanimiter irruerunt, et in uniuersos, tam ciues quam peregrinos, sagitta et arcu irruentes, non modicam cedem operati, plurimos<sup>f</sup> abduxerunt, <sup>g</sup>uniuersa pecunia<sup>g</sup> et que ibi preciosa reperta sunt ab hiis seuis predonibus transportata<sup>h</sup> sunt. In eadem uero ciuitate quidam de exercitu Christianorum hospitalitatis gratia moram facientes, ad quadraginta capti et decollati sunt, sed non sine plurima sanguinis sui ultione,<sup>i</sup> quia inestimabili uirtute et bello a porta ad quam defendendam locati erant, multis Turcis repulsis<sup>j</sup> et occisis, inuicti perstiterunt,<sup>k</sup> quousque per portam quam Greci tuebantur, aduersarii inmissi<sup>l</sup> sunt.

16. Quidam autem, circiter septem milia, reditum<sup>a</sup> uia<sup>b</sup> maris constituentes<sup>c</sup> et prosperis uelis ac sine turbine nauigantes, instante<sup>d</sup> festo beati Martini<sup>28</sup> ad portum et stationem insule Cypri applicuerunt, anchoras suas in profundum iacentes et in aridum ab ipsis nauibus descendere certantes. Nec mora uentus fortis ac<sup>e</sup> uehemens,

<sup>n</sup> om. N      <sup>o</sup> ad opem regis de longinquo A      <sup>p</sup> A adds rex after quibus  
<sup>q</sup> contulit A

15    <sup>a</sup> quibusdam H      <sup>b</sup> aridis N      <sup>c</sup> om. A      <sup>d</sup> A adds et assultus after uim  
      <sup>e</sup> magna N      <sup>f</sup> A adds quam before plurimos      <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> uniuersam pecuniam E  
      <sup>h</sup> asportata A      <sup>i</sup> effusione N      <sup>j</sup> repressis N      <sup>k</sup> persisterunt A  
      <sup>l</sup> intromissi N

16    <sup>a</sup> A adds suum after reditum      <sup>b</sup> uiam N      <sup>c</sup> continuantes HN      <sup>d</sup> in H  
      <sup>e</sup> sancti HN      <sup>f</sup> et N

commended by the king, decided to press on on the road to Antioch, and the new queen herself granted him as a gift a thousand marks of silver, with precious purple cloths, five hundred bezants, outstanding mules and horses; this is not to mention the common soldiers, who flocked together from distant parts to aid the king, to whom considerable sums of gold and silver were likewise granted.

15. Thus, as each and every one was keen to return to his own, some took a certain road on dry land through Rūm and arrived at the town of Myra,<sup>27</sup> where they were very kindly welcomed by the Greeks, Christian men, with all provision of supplies. At once the Turks, who had been driven out of Galilee by the king and had conquered and destroyed the cities and towns of the king of the Greeks and reduced them to nothing by looting and depredation, attacked the ramparts of this same town, and positioned a blockade around it, bringing great force to bear on the citizens, and threats and terrors. Not many days after this, and after terrible assaults which attacked the main gate of the city with great force, and with little resistance from the soldiers of the Greeks, effeminate men, the Turks broke down the door with hatchet and axe and charged in as one upon the defenders, who were wearied at last, and the Turks attacked everyone, citizens as well as pilgrims, with bow and arrow, inflicted a considerable slaughter, seized very many, and all the money and precious things they found there were carried off by these fierce robbers. In that same town certain of the Christians' army, who were staying to enjoy the hospitality, to the number of about forty, were captured and beheaded, but not without exacting great revenge for their bloodshed, because they stood firm and unconquered in immense strength and warfare, having driven back and killed many Turks from the gate which they had been stationed to defend, until the enemy gained entry through the gate which the Greeks were guarding.

16. Some people, around seven thousand, who decided to return by way of the sea and sailed with a favourable wind in their sails and without any tossing, put in at the harbour and staging post of the island of Cyprus as the festival of Saint Martin was beginning,<sup>28</sup> dropping their anchors into the depths and striving to disembark from these same ships onto dry land. At once a strong and violent wind, such as had not been heard of by the sailors for very many

<sup>27</sup> An ancient site near Kale (prov. Antalya, Turkey).

<sup>28</sup> 4 July 1113.

qualis per annos plurimos a nautis non est auditus, mari incubuit, motum et feruorem intolerabilem reddidit, naues quassauit, funes nauium suo | impetu attriuit, anchoras a profundo nimia uí sustulit, 699 procellas sic contra naues ampliauit ut naus in nauim<sup>g</sup> discurrens sine remige mutuam dissolutionem pateretur,<sup>h</sup> et sic tota illa congregatio Christianorum cum uniuerſa<sup>i</sup> suppellectili misera submersione absorberetur, nulli euaderent preter duas buzas que de numero tredecim nauium erant. Crastina autem die, <sup>j</sup>mari a feritate sua<sup>j</sup> sedato, tot milia corporum, nobilium et ignobilium, crebra illius inundatione in arido sunt eiecta<sup>k</sup> ut uix trium ebdomadarum curriculo sepultura per camporum planiciem illic a fidelibus conderentur.<sup>l</sup>

17. In anno secundo post nuptias regis Baldwini,<sup>29</sup> exercitus Babylonie copiosus nauali aduentu usque Sur allapsus est in assumptione beate<sup>a</sup> Marie,<sup>30</sup> ubi insidias Christianorum alii molientes, alii<sup>b</sup> rerum merca- tionem facientes,<sup>c</sup> post terciam diem natiuitatis ipsius Virginis<sup>31</sup> iam mora facta, reditum parauerunt. Ptolomaidam uero, que est Accaron, appropiantes, ordinauerunt nauales acies, omni armatura aduersus Christianorum uires munitas, quarum due maioris uirtutis et multi- tudinis post tergum custodiam<sup>d</sup> agentes, sed nimium rebus et homi- nibus occupate, a longe plus miliario subsecute sunt. Ciues uero <sup>e</sup>regis et<sup>e</sup> milites Ptolomaide,<sup>f</sup> qui solito more cotidie per menia diffusi erant, intuentes uela et malos gentilium Babyloniam re nauigantium, statim loriceis et galeis induti, tribusque galidis circiter quadringenti<sup>g</sup> inuecti undis inferuntur ut naues subsequentes aliqua bellica arte uexatas captiuarent. Naus uero ex duabus, que minus onusta erat armis et populis, effugere minime ualens, plurima defensione armorum cepit resistere, ab hora diei nona usque ad uesperum, sed tandem post nimiam cedem utrimque illatam cepit uiribus deficere, captaque usque ad portum Cayphas perducta est. Apud Caypham quidem<sup>h</sup> Sarraceni capti et uulnerati custodie<sup>i</sup> mancipati relinquuntur, incolumes uero usque Ptolomaidam cum sua <sup>j</sup>naui capta<sup>j</sup> transmissi sunt, cum pariter uulneratis quibusdam Christianis. Sed Christianis uulneratis a tribus

<sup>g</sup> nauem *E*      <sup>h</sup> paterentur *A*      <sup>i</sup> uniuerso *CEHN*      <sup>j j</sup> mare a feruore suo *N*  
<sup>k</sup> eiecte *H*      <sup>l</sup> condirentur *CE*

17      <sup>a</sup> sancte *AN*      <sup>b</sup> aliis *H*      <sup>c</sup> facientibus *CEHN*      <sup>d</sup> custodias *N*      <sup>e e</sup> et  
 regis *AN*      <sup>f</sup> Ptolomaidam *ACHN*      <sup>g</sup> quingenti *N*      <sup>h</sup> quidam *HN*  
<sup>i</sup> cotidie *N*      <sup>j j</sup> manu *N*

<sup>29</sup> In 1115; cf. FC, p. 586. Albert's chronology is confused in this book.

<sup>30</sup> 15 Aug. 1115.

years, pressed upon the sea, restored it to motion and unbearable raging, shattered the ships, destroyed the ropes of the ships with its violence, lifted the anchors from the depths by its excessive force, built up gale-force winds against the ships in such a way that one ship was running onto another and, having no oarsman, they suffered mutual destruction, and thus that entire assembly of Christians with all its equipment was swallowed up in a wretched drowning, and none escaped except two busses from a total of thirteen ships. Furthermore, on the following day, when the sea had calmed down from its fierceness, from its numerous drowning so many thousands of bodies, of nobles and commoners, were cast up on the dry land that it took a period of three weeks for the faithful to prepare their graves there on the flat plains.

17. In the year following King Baldwin's wedding,<sup>29</sup> a numerous army from Egypt was shipped up to Tyre on the Assumption of the Blessed Mary,<sup>30</sup> and there some dealt with the Christians' ambushes while others were engaged in trading things, staying there until after the third day of that very Virgin's nativity,<sup>31</sup> before they prepared for their return. When they were nearing Ptolomaida, which is Acre, they organized naval squadrons, protected with all their weaponry against the forces of the Christians; two of them which were stronger and better manned acted as a rearguard, but as they were excessively laden with goods and men they followed at a distance of more than a mile. The citizens of the king and the soldiers of Acre, who were spread out along the ramparts according to their daily custom, spotted the sails and masts of the gentiles sailing back to Egypt, and at once put on hauberks and helmets; around four hundred of them, carried in three galleys, were launched on the waves in order to try and harass and capture the trailing ships by some warlike stratagem. The ship which was the less laden of the two with weapons and people was quite unable to escape, and it began to fight back with a great deployment of weapons, from the ninth hour of the day until evening, but at length after a great slaughter inflicted on both sides it began to falter in strength and it was captured and taken all the way to the port of Haifa. At Haifa, indeed, captured Saracens who were wounded were put under guard and left, while those who were uninjured were sent to Acre with their captured ship, along with certain wounded Christians. But when the wounded Christians had been landed

<sup>31</sup> 11 Sept. 1115.

galidis expositis, ceteri adhuc incolumes qui euaserant Christiani, aliis secum assumptis sociis in duabus galidis, nauim<sup>k</sup> que amplius rebus, militibus et armis onerata et impedita tardior ibat, insecuti, iam quinque galidis ualide<sup>l</sup> assilientes cinxerunt, hiis econtra non minus ualide se defendentibus ac<sup>m</sup> omni genere armorum sagittarumque iaculatione uiriliter pro anima repugnantibus. Postremo post nimium bellicum laborem a mane usque ad mediam<sup>n</sup> diem utrimque grauatis, 700 fere gentilium nauis que dicitur cattus<sup>o</sup> | ab eorum manibus defensa et elapsa est. Quod uiri et milites Ptolomaide a menibus speculantes,<sup>p</sup> et Christianorum galidas defecisse, consilio facto, duas ad subueniendum illis<sup>q</sup> mittere constituerunt, et sic nauis, undique crebro assultu illarum sine intermissione fatigata ac superata, uespere Ptolomaidam ui perducta est. De Sur, que et<sup>r</sup> Tyrus dicitur,<sup>s</sup> due galide illis ad auxilium processerant, sed uidentes Gallorum constantiam et suorum defectionem, fugiendo in sua<sup>t</sup> uiam remensi sunt. Erant hac<sup>u</sup> in naui mille uiri pugnatores fortissimi, quos tota nocte ex iussu regis ad custodiendum ciues multis uigiliis et armis obsederunt; res eorum innumerabiles militibus diuise sunt; ex Sarracenis alii decollati, alii innumerabili precio redempti<sup>v</sup> et laxati<sup>v</sup> sunt.

18. Post hec in anno sequenti<sup>32</sup> prefatus Malducius, unus de prepotentibus Turcorum, post plurimam cedem et stragem Christianorum a partibus Romanie in Damascum rediens, apud Turcos et omnes gentiles nomine et fama exaltatus est, eo quod pre omnibus ampliorem tyrannidem in fideles Christi exercuisset. Vnde Duodechinus<sup>a</sup> princeps Damascenorum, graui inuidia et indignatione tactus,<sup>b</sup> omni uersutia qua nouit interitum illius moliebatur, sed tamen occulte, ne odium suorum incurreret, a quibus idem Malducius propter nimiam dationem suam et militie strenuitatem ualde carus habebatur. Quapropter, dum sepe circa mortem illius dolosa<sup>c</sup> machinatione<sup>d</sup> satageret nec inter plurimas uersutias locus hunc<sup>e</sup> perdendi daretur, tandem hanc sue fraudis reperit<sup>f</sup> uiam qua uirum mortificaret nomenque eius sic deleret. Quatuor namque milites ex

<sup>k</sup> nauem *E*      <sup>l</sup> ualde *N*      <sup>m</sup> ab *N*      <sup>n</sup> medium *AHN*      <sup>o</sup> cattus *N*  
<sup>p</sup> aspicientes *N*      <sup>q</sup> *N* adds galedas after illis      <sup>r</sup> est *N*      <sup>s</sup> om. *N*      <sup>t</sup> suam *AN*  
<sup>u</sup> enim *N*      <sup>v</sup> om. *N*

18      <sup>a</sup> Duodechinus *A*; Dochinus *HN*      <sup>b</sup> tractus *A*      <sup>c</sup> callida *A*  
<sup>d</sup> machinamento *E*      <sup>e</sup> huic *N*      <sup>f</sup> repperit *AHN*

<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Qalanisi was well placed to know when Mawdūd was assassinated, and he gives the date as 2 Oct. 1113, which is confirmed by Fulcher: *IQ*, pp. 139–42; *FC*, pp. 577, 582.

from the three galleys, the rest of the Christians, who had as yet escaped unharmed, took with them other comrades in two galleys, and pursued and surrounded the ship which was more loaded and hindered by goods, soldiers, and weapons and so went more slowly, attacking it vigorously now with five galleys, while they on their side defended themselves no less vigorously and fought back strongly for their lives with all kinds of weapons and a bombardment of arrows. At the last, after both sides had endured a great warlike struggle from dawn to midday, the gentiles' ship (which is called a cat) almost repulsed them and slipped through their hands. The men and soldiers of Acre, watching this from the ramparts and seeing that the Christians' galleys had failed, took counsel and decided to send two more to assist them, and so the ship, wearied and overcome by the ceaseless and constant attack by the galleys on all sides, was brought into Acre by force in the evening. Two Saracen galleys had put out from Sur, which is also called Tyre, to assist them, but when they saw the steadfastness of the Gauls and the failure of their own people, they made their way back home in flight. In that Saracen ship there were a thousand strong fighting men, whom the Christians hemmed in with many watches and weapons all night on the king's orders to protect the citizens; their countless possessions were shared out among the soldiers; some of the Saracens were beheaded, others were ransomed for a priceless sum and released.

18. After this in the following year<sup>32</sup> the aforementioned Mawdud, one of the Turkish chieftains, returned to Damascus from the region of Rūm after a great slaughter and killing of Christians, and he was exalted by name and reputation among the Turks and all the gentiles, because he had imposed a greater tyranny on Christ's faithful than all others. Hence Tughtigin, prince of the Damascans, was affected by intense envy and anger, and he worked for his destruction with all the cunning he knew, but yet secretly, so as not to incur the hatred of his people, by whom this same Mawdud was held very dear on account of his great generosity and his energy in military matters. For this reason, although Tughtigin was constantly preoccupied with bringing about the man's death by deceitful artifice, in spite of many cunning tricks he did not find an opportunity of destroying him, until at last he found a method for his trickery, by which he could kill the man and so destroy his name. For indeed, by means of gifts and wonderful promises he brought together four soldiers of the Ethiopian race to

genere Azapart,<sup>g</sup> donis ac magnificis promissis<sup>h</sup> conuenit, quatenus clam eum in armis furtiuis in die sui<sup>i</sup> sollempnii in secreto oratorii sui dum in cerimoniis ritus gentilis intentus haberetur, subito transfoderent, et sic ab eo dona promissa recipere mereruntur.<sup>j</sup> Inmissi igitur<sup>k</sup> clam oratorio, Malducium intrantem et cerimoniis secure insistentem<sup>l</sup> repentino impetu inuaserunt. Quem acutissimo ferro pariter trans precordia<sup>m</sup> figentes, hec prorsus ignorantem extinxerunt, fugaque mox dilapsi sunt. Dochinus, huius perfidie et homicidii conscius licet dissimulasset dum a suis rem actam comperisset, fictis lacrimis et planctu maximo<sup>n</sup> sine cordis affectione de morte tam magnifici principis cepit conqueri, et mortis illius auctores usquequaque persequi iussit et inuestigare.<sup>o</sup> Sed fraus illius post modicum apud Turcos cepit propalari, et ex eo<sup>p</sup> die in odia et inimicicias illorum<sup>q</sup> incidit, multasque insidias pro sua perfidia prorsus inexcusabilis pertulit.<sup>r 33</sup>

- 701 19. In anno secundo post necem<sup>a</sup> Malduci,<sup>34</sup> Burgoldus<sup>35</sup> de regno Corruzan egressus, ac Brodohan rex Halapie,<sup>36</sup> et Cocosander de ciuitate<sup>b</sup> de Lagabria,<sup>37</sup> cum quadraginta milibus Turcorum in terram Antiochie cum apparatu magno et intolerabili armatura profecti sunt, tentoria sua locantes in campestribus ciuitatum 'Rossa et<sup>d</sup> Roida<sup>c 38</sup> et Phemie,<sup>e</sup> quarum suburbia tormentis lapidum adterentes et expugnantes, Phemie nullatenus nocere ualentes, totam regionem inibi preda<sup>f</sup> et<sup>g</sup> igne depopulati sunt.<sup>g</sup> Tonimosam,<sup>h</sup> Turgulant Montfargiamque<sup>39</sup> ciuitates in uirtute magna et manu robusta expugnantes, Willelmum de Perce,<sup>40</sup> Christianum principem

<sup>g</sup> Azoparth *A*; Azopart *CH*; Ahopart *N*      <sup>h</sup> promissionibus *N*      <sup>i</sup> om. *HN*  
<sup>j</sup> mererentur *N*      <sup>k</sup> ergo *A*      <sup>l</sup> resistantem *H*      <sup>m</sup> pectora *N*      <sup>n</sup> magno *N*  
<sup>o</sup> inuestigari *A*      <sup>p</sup> ea *N*      <sup>q</sup> omnium *A*; eorum *N*      <sup>r</sup> extitit *HN*

19      <sup>a</sup> mortem *N*      <sup>b</sup> <sup>h</sup> belagabria *N*      <sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup> Royda rossa *N*      <sup>d</sup> om. *H*      <sup>e</sup> Femie  
*AC*      <sup>f</sup> predia magna *N*      <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> incendiis uastauerunt *A*      <sup>h</sup> Tomosam *N*

<sup>33</sup> William of Tyre also says that rumour implicated Tughtigin in Mawdūd's death, though Fulcher refers to the perpetrator only as 'a Saracen' (WT, p. 525; FC, pp. 577–8). Ibn al-Qalanisi, a resident of Damascus, describes the murder very circumstantially: he does not identify the killer other than as 'a man', and like Fulcher, not Albert, he writes that the single murderer was killed on the spot. Unlike both Latin authors he says that Mawdūd survived the initial attack but died later. He does not implicate Tughtigin and describes his grief (IQ, pp. 139–42). According to Anon. Syriac account 'Ismailians', or Assassins, killed Mawdūd (Anon. Syriac, p. 85). 34 1115.

<sup>35</sup> Bursuq ibn Bursuq of Hamadan, commander of the sultan of Baghdad's army.

<sup>36</sup> Albert is mistaken: Ridwan had died in 1113.

<sup>37</sup> Cocsander could be a version of Āqsunqur, the name Ibn al-Athir gives to Zangi's father, but 'Lagabria' has not been identified (IA, p. 202).

<sup>38</sup> Probably Rugia and Rubca in the Ruj valley to the south of Antioch (Rihā and

run him through secretly and suddenly with hidden weapons on the day of his ritual and in the solitude of his oratory while he was absorbed in the ceremonies of his gentile religion, and in this way they would earn the promised gifts from him. Therefore they were secretly let into the oratory and they attacked Mawdud with a sudden rush as he entered and unsuspectingly set about his rituals. They pierced him through the breast with sharpest iron, all at the same time, and killed him while he knew absolutely nothing of what was happening, and they soon escaped in flight. Tugtigin, who knew about this treachery and murder although he pretended not to until he found out about the deed from his men, began to lament with false tears and very great wailing—without his heart being touched—the death of this splendid prince, and he ordered them to seek out and pursue the perpetrators of his death wherever they might be. But after a while his deception became common knowledge among the Turks, and from that day he incurred their hatred and enmity, and he had to put up with many plots in return for his utterly inexcusable treachery.<sup>33</sup>

19. In the second year after Mawdud's murder,<sup>34</sup> Bursuq<sup>35</sup> of the realm of Khurasan, and Ridwan king of Aleppo,<sup>36</sup> and Cocosander of the state of Lagabria<sup>37</sup> marched out with forty thousand Turks, and they set out into the land of Antioch with much equipment and irresistible weaponry, pitching their tents on the plains of the towns of Rossa and Roida<sup>38</sup> and Apamea, destroying and subduing their suburbs with stone hurlers, and, as they were not able to harm Apamea at all, they devastated the whole district in that place with looting and fire. They overcame the towns of Tonimosa, Turgulant, and Montfargia<sup>39</sup> with their great strength and strong army, and captured and conquered and took away William of Percy,<sup>40</sup> a

Ruwayha, prov. Idlib, Syria). It is uncertain how many places Albert thought were called 'Rossa' (see above, iv. 13; viii. 2).

<sup>33</sup> Tonimosa and Turgulant have not been identified, but Montfargia may be Montferland, on the frontiers of the county of Tripoli overlooking the Orontes valley towards Homs.

<sup>40</sup> The identification is not certain, but this may be William Percy, lord of Topcliffe, Yorkshire, and founder of the well-known Percy family. William is known to have gone on the First Crusade and to have died in the Levant: *Cartularium Abbatiae de Whiteby*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, 2 vols. (Surtees Society, Durham; 1879–81), i. 2; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C. T. Clay, 12 vols. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, York; 1914–65) ix. 1. However, there was a tradition that this William died at Montjoie, outside Jerusalem (Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 15). A second possibility is William Gouet II, lord of the Perche: see K. Thompson, 'The formation of the county of Perche', in K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 299–314, esp. n. 27.

horumque<sup>i</sup> presidiorum presidem, captum ac uinctum abduxerunt; ceteros<sup>j</sup> in eis repertos alios capitali sententia peremerunt, alios captiuos tenuerunt. Hiis in regionibus diebus ebdomadarum undecim consedissee perhibentur.<sup>k</sup> Rex uero Baldwinus tunc Ierusalem moram<sup>l</sup> faciebat. Qui inuitatus ad auxilium militum Christi, cum quingentis militibus<sup>m</sup> et mille peditibus, et cum eo Dochinus princeps Damasci, nunc ipsi<sup>n</sup> regi fide alligatus,<sup>41</sup> in plurimo equitatu<sup>o</sup> uersus Antiochiam iter accelerauit.<sup>p</sup> Punctus filius Bertranni de Tripla, que est Tripolis,<sup>42</sup> affuit in eodem comitatu cum ducentis equitibus et duobus milibus peditum; usque ad ciuitatem Talamriam regia uia profectus, ubi Rotgerus de Antiochia et Baldwinus de Rohas cum decem milibus equitum et peditum illis occurrentes, et hac in terra octo diebus <sup>q</sup>moram facientes<sup>q</sup> castrametati sunt. Turci, regis audita presentia et suorum copiis, uersus ciuitatem Malatinam in montana fugam constituerunt, quia cum eo configere diffidebant. Rex Baldwinus,<sup>r</sup> comperto recessu Turcorum, redire cum suis disponens, uxorem Tancradi que filia erat regis Francie<sup>43</sup> secum duxit,<sup>s</sup> que ex regis consilio eidem Puncto copulata est, nuptiis gloriose et in omni plenitudine ac pinguedine celebratis in ciuitate Triple, que sibi hereditario iure a parentibus relicta est.

702 20. Post reuersionem regis, Turci sine mora ad Gastum,<sup>44</sup> et Harich,<sup>a</sup> et Sinar,<sup>b 45</sup> | ciuitates Gallorum, in fortitudine sua reuersi sunt, terram inuadentes omniaque illic reperta non parce depopulantes. Rotgerus et Baldwinus, hoc audientes, plurimum de reditu regis turbati sunt, eo quod procul iam abiens reuocari non posset. Et ideo consilio habito ne ei nuncios in uanum dirigerent, suos tantum ad quindecim milia collegerunt, ex omni genere tam Francorum quam Armenicorum. Erant enim<sup>c</sup> Turci in tres diuisi societates super fluuium Farfar, qui<sup>d</sup> inter duas ciuitates Cesaream Stratonis<sup>46</sup> et Femiam, facit alueum. Primo denique diluculo, in die exaltationis

<sup>i</sup> horum *N*<sup>j</sup> ceterosque *A*<sup>k</sup> referuntur *N*<sup>l</sup> moras *ACHN*<sup>m</sup> equitibus *HN*<sup>n</sup> ipse *N*<sup>o</sup> apparatu *N*<sup>p</sup> accelerant *N*<sup>q</sup> commorantes *A*<sup>r</sup> igitur *ACHN*<sup>s</sup> deduxit *A*20 <sup>a</sup> Barich *N*<sup>b</sup> Sanar *N*<sup>c</sup> autem *H*; *N* adds tunc after enim<sup>d</sup> que *E*

<sup>41</sup> Tughtigin was Roger of Antioch's ally rather than the king's. For this campaign the authoritative account is by the participant, Walter the Chancellor (of Antioch): WC, ed. Hagenmeyer, pp. 61–77; trans. and commentary Asbridge and Edgington, pp. 77–108. See also Fulcher of Chartres and Matthew of Edessa (FC, pp. 578–91; ME, pp. 218–19).

<sup>42</sup> Pons, son of Bertrand of Toulouse and count of Tripoli 1112–37.

Christian prince and the ruler of these fortresses; of the rest whom they found in the towns, some they destroyed with capital sentence, others they took captive. They are reported to have settled in these parts for the period of eleven weeks. King Baldwin stopped in Jerusalem at that time. He was summoned to assist Christ's soldiers and so he hastened on his way towards Antioch with many cavalry, taking five hundred knights and a thousand foot soldiers, and with him was Tughtigin prince of Damascus, now bound by oath to that selfsame king.<sup>41</sup> Pons, son of Bertrand of Tripla, which is Tripoli,<sup>42</sup> was in the same company with two hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry; he marched on the royal road all the way to the town of Talamria, where Roger of Antioch and Baldwin of Edessa met them with ten thousand cavalry and infantry, and they pitched camp and stayed in this land for eight days. When the Turks heard about the king's arrival and the strength of his forces, they decided to flee into the mountains towards the state of Melitene, because they were afraid to fight with him. King Baldwin, realizing the Turks had retreated, arranged to return home with his men, but he brought with him Tancred's widow who was the daughter of the king of France,<sup>43</sup> and she was married to that same Pons on the king's advice, with the wedding celebrated splendidly and with all plenty and abundance in the town of Tripoli, which was left to him by his parents by hereditary right.

20. After the king withdrew, the Turks at once returned in strength to Baghras<sup>44</sup> and Harim, and Sinar,<sup>45</sup> towns belonging to the Gauls, invading the land and laying waste unsparingly everything found there. Roger and Baldwin, hearing this, were greatly troubled about the king's return journey, because he was already going far away and could not be called back. And for that reason they took counsel and decided not to waste time sending messengers to him, and they assembled as many as fifteen thousand of their men, of all kinds, Franks and Armenians alike. For the Turks were divided into three armies above the river Orontes, which makes a channel between the two towns of Caesarea Stratonis<sup>46</sup> and Apamea. Then at very first

<sup>43</sup> Cecilia, daughter of King Philip I of France and Bertrada of Montfort, who had married Tancred in 1106.

<sup>44</sup> A castle some 10 miles north of Antioch.

<sup>45</sup> Sinar is not identified. The geographical detail Albert gives, including the battlefield by the Orontes river, below, is not found in any other source.

<sup>46</sup> Caesarea on the coast, which Albert mistakenly called Caesarea Cornelii in book v.

sancte crucis,<sup>47</sup> Rotgerus, Baldwinus factis aciebus ipsos Turcos aggressi sunt in castris, ubi, prelio commisso, quindecim milia Turcorum ceciderunt, pauci uero Christianorum occubuisse reperti sunt. Primo exercitu sic attrito, Rotgerus ad alterum dum tenderet in uociferatione magna, uniuersi hostes metu attoniti fugam ineunt ad uada predicti fluminis, in quo ad quinque<sup>e</sup> milia undis inuoluti et suffocati perierunt. Tercius dehinc exercitus, hac catholicorum uictoria stupefactus, dum<sup>f</sup> errore uiarum diffugium faceret, forte applicuerunt in regione Camulle,<sup>g</sup><sup>48</sup> in ualle quadam iuxta castellum Malbech,<sup>49</sup> ubi Dochinus cum octo milibus occurrens, grauiter cum eis preliatus est, tribus milibus illorum occisis et mille abductis captiuis. Erant enim<sup>h</sup> inter hos Turcos fugitiuos multi de progenie et sanguine Malduci, qui plurimum sibi sepe aduersabantur, de eius perfidia et nece iniqua propinqui illorum in terra Corruzana apud maiores et minores querimoniam facientes, et de nece<sup>i</sup> propinqui ultionem exequentes.<sup>j</sup> Hac de causa Dochinus semper suspectus et sollicitus, nunc regi Baldwino et Christianis fidelibus foederatus integrius adherebat, Turcis usquequaque nocere non desistebat.

21. In anno tercio postquam rex Baldwinus nuptias supradictas regaliter celebrauit,<sup>a</sup><sup>50</sup> tempore autumnii uero, ducentis equitibus, quadringentis assumptis peditibus, profectus est ad montem Oreb, qui uulgo appellatur Orel, ubi presidium nouum curriculo dierum decem et octo firmauit, ut sic potentius terram Arabitarum expugnaret, et non ultra mercatoribus hinc et abhinc<sup>b</sup> transitus daretur nisi ex regis gratia et licentia, uel ulle insidie aut uires inimicorum subito affuissent,<sup>c</sup> quin cito fidelibus<sup>d</sup> regis in arce constitutis paterent, et<sup>e</sup> eis sic regia<sup>f</sup> arx impedimento esset. Sic huius presidii munimine undique firmato ad resistendum inimicis, rex, prout<sup>g</sup> semper nouarum rerum erat audius, <sup>h</sup>sexaginta equites

<sup>e</sup> quindecim *A*      <sup>f</sup> cum *N*      <sup>g</sup> Camolle *A*      <sup>h</sup> autem *N*      <sup>i</sup> morte *N*  
<sup>j</sup> querentes *A*; exequentes *H*

21    <sup>a</sup> celebrauerat *N*      <sup>b</sup> hinc *ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> assultus facerent *N*      <sup>d</sup> *N* adds  
 Christianis *after* fidelibus      <sup>e</sup> ac *N*      <sup>f</sup> om. *A*      <sup>g</sup> ut *HN*      <sup>h</sup> *h* quadraginta  
 equitibus illustribus *N*

<sup>47</sup> 14 Sept. 1115.

<sup>48</sup> As before, Albert's 'valley of the camels' is probably the plain around 'Akkār in northern Lebanon.

<sup>49</sup> Qal'at al-Muhaylba, or Balātunus castle, on the Jabal Anṣāriyya, Syria. The identification is not certain. An 11th-c. Byzantine castle had been taken over by a local mountain clan. Roger of Antioch seized it in 1118. See Burns, *Monuments of Syria*, pp. 182-3.

light, on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,<sup>47</sup> Roger and Baldwin formed battle lines and attacked those very Turks in their camp, where, when battle was joined, fifteen thousand Turks fell, but few of the Christians were found to have died. When the first army was destroyed in this way, while Roger was making for the second army amidst great shouting, all the enemy were struck by terror and took flight to the waters of the aforesaid river, in which some five thousand were swept away by the waters and died by drowning. Then while the third army, dumbstruck by this triumph of the Christians, was scattering along ways it was unsure of, by chance it arrived in the region of Camolla,<sup>48</sup> in a certain valley next to the castle of Mehelbeh,<sup>49</sup> where Tughtigin met them with eight thousand, battled with them hard, and three thousand of them were killed and a thousand taken captive. For there were among these fugitive Turks many of Mawdud's offspring and blood, who were often greatly opposed to Tughtigin, making complaints among greater and lesser people in the land of Khurasan concerning his treachery and the wicked murder of their kinsman, and demanding vengeance for their kinsman's murder. On this account Tughtigin was always suspicious and careful, and now he was allied to King Baldwin and the Christian faithful he stuck to them more completely, and he did not desist from harming the Turks in every way he could.

21. In the third year after King Baldwin celebrated in regal style the wedding we have mentioned,<sup>50</sup> in autumn time, he set out, taking with him two hundred cavalry and four hundred infantry, to Mount Horeb, which is commonly called Orel, where in the course of eighteen days he established a new fortress, so that in this way he might more powerfully subdue the land of the Arabians, and passage to and fro would no longer be available for merchants except by the king's favour and licence, nor would any ambushes or enemy forces suddenly appear, but would quickly be apparent to the king's faithful stationed in the citadel, and in this way the royal citadel would be a hindrance to them. With the defence of this fortress thus established on all sides to withstand the enemy, the king, since he was always keen on new ideas, secretly called together sixty renowned cavalry

<sup>50</sup> In 1116, but Albert seems to be conflating two expeditions. On the first, in 1115, Baldwin penetrated east of the Dead Sea and established the castle of Montréal at Shawbak (Jordan); in the following year, according to Fulcher, he revisited Montréal and then advanced towards Mount Horeb and the Red Sea (FC, pp. 592-3). The castle is described by H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 23-5.

illustres<sup>h</sup> secreto conuocans uiam suam decreuit<sup>i</sup> uersus regnum  
 703 Babylonie, si forte in captione Sar|acenorum aut Idumeorum, aut  
 inuasionem ciuitatum aliquid insigne agere ualeret. Et iam deserta loca  
 et uaste solitudinis exuperans in habundantia escarum que<sup>j</sup> mulorum  
 tergo ferebantur, ad mare Rubrum uenisse perhibetur, in quo ipse et  
 sui<sup>k</sup> a caloribus<sup>k</sup> qui in terra hac grauissimi sunt balneando refrigerati  
 sunt, ac piscibus huius maris refocillati.<sup>i</sup> Ibi in monte Syna monachos  
 Deo seruientes audiens commorari, ad eos per deuexa montis causa  
 orationis et allocutionis decreuit accedere, sed rogatus<sup>m</sup> ab eorum  
 premissis nunciis<sup>m</sup> minime ascendit, ne<sup>n</sup> monachi, suspecti a gentili-  
 bus propter catholicum regem, de montis habitatione pellerentur.<sup>51</sup>  
 Abhinc enim<sup>o</sup> usque ad<sup>p</sup> Babylonie ciuitatem<sup>q</sup> infra quatuor dies<sup>q</sup>  
 uenire posse referebatur.

22. Verum, quia sibi uires erant<sup>a</sup> exigue cum quibus usque<sup>b</sup> huc per  
 loca solitudinis in silentio descenderat, et quia nunc cepit propter  
 moras aliquas pleniter aduentus illius<sup>c</sup> propalari, datum est ei ab  
 amicis consilium, ut nequaquam ulterius uiam perageret, sed quan-  
 tocius Ierusalem<sup>d</sup> in silentio securus repedaret. Si enim introitus aut  
 exitus ipsius regis innotuisset, supra centum milia cuiusque generis  
 gentiles ei in occursum confluentes in armis undique uias occupas-  
 sent. Nunc uero consiliis suorum adquiescens, et a terra egrediens in  
 cautela qua nouerat,<sup>e</sup> per uallem Hebron et presidium sancti Abrahe  
 redire disposuit, ubi cum suis pernoctans, corpora fessa cibariis terre  
 illius copiose refecit. Dehinc uiam que ducit ad<sup>f</sup> Ascalonem<sup>g</sup>  
 insistens, uniuersam predam que per campestria Ascalonis in pascuis  
 uagabatur contraxit: camelos ducentos, armenta bouum plurima,  
 greges ouium caprarumque, cum quibus potenter et sine excussione  
 Ierusalem reuersus est.

23. Post dies uero<sup>a</sup> aliquot Ptolomaidam descendens, mense Martio  
 inchoante, grauiter cepit egrotare, et de die in diem uehementius

<sup>i</sup> direxit N    <sup>j</sup> qui N    <sup>k k</sup> a coloribus C; om. N    <sup>i</sup> N adds sunt after refocillati  
<sup>m m</sup> eorum nunciis ad se premissis (missis A) ACHN    <sup>n</sup> ACHN add scilicet after ne  
<sup>o</sup> om. N    <sup>p</sup> ab E    <sup>q q</sup> quatuor diebus A

22    <sup>a</sup> om. H    <sup>b</sup> om. N    <sup>c</sup> eius A    <sup>d</sup> HN add in before Ierusalem  
<sup>e</sup> nouerant A    <sup>f</sup> om. ACHN    <sup>g</sup> Ascalonam N

23    <sup>a</sup> om. A

and sent them on their way towards the realm of Egypt, to see if perchance they could do some distinguished deed, such as capturing Saracens or Bedouins, or invading towns. And now he crossed the wilderness and places of desert solitude, taking plenty of food which was carried on the backs of mules, and he is reported to have come to the Red Sea, in which he and his men bathed to cool themselves down from the heat, which is very intense in this land, and they were refreshed by fishes from this sea. He heard that monks remained there on Mount Sinai in the service of God, and he decided to approach them by way of the mountain slopes in order to pray and to speak to them, but he was asked not to do this by way of messengers sent ahead by the monks, so he did not go up there at all, lest the monks, incurring suspicion from the gentiles on account of the Christian king, should be expelled from their mountain home.<sup>51</sup> For it was reported that it was possible to travel from this point to the town of Cairo in less than four days.

22. But because he had come down surreptitiously to this place through the deserts with such scant forces, and because, on account of some delays, his approach now began to be noised abroad, he was given some advice by friends: that he should pursue his journey not a step further, but should return to Jerusalem as quickly as possible, safely and secretly. For if the entry or exit of the king himself became known, over a hundred thousand gentiles of all sorts would swarm to meet him and would use force of arms to blockade the roads in all directions. He agreed to the advice of his men, and he left the land with all the caution he knew, and decided to return through the Hebron valley and the fortress of St Abraham, where he stopped the night with his men, copiously refreshing their weary bodies with the fruits of that land. Then he took the road which leads to Ascalon and seized all the booty which was roaming in the pastures throughout the plains of Ascalon—two hundred camels, very many herds of cattle, flocks of sheep and goats—returning to Jerusalem with them, mightily and without loss.

23. After some days, at the beginning of March, he came down to Acre, where he became seriously sick, and from day to day his bodily

<sup>51</sup> St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai desert. Its history began in 337 when St Helena ordered a monastery to be built around the believed site of Moses' Burning Bush. It was fortified by Emperor Justinian in the 6th c. (Procopius, *Buildings*, v. 8), and remains Greek Orthodox to this day, partly owing to a willingness to accommodate political realities, as shown in this incident.

corporis molestia aggrauari.<sup>52</sup> Qui uite diffisus thesauros quos habuit in uasis aureis et argenteis, in multis quoque<sup>b</sup> milibus bisantiorum, pauperibus partim iussit erogari,<sup>c</sup> pro peccatis suis | et anime sue salute; uinum, frumentum, oleum et ordeum, quod habebat Ierusalem<sup>d</sup> et alibi in locis plurimis, item pauperibus et orphanis et uiduis sine dilatione distribuere mandauit, uite sue nimium incertus. Domui quidem sue partem contulit, militibus quoque domesticis et aduenis, et cunctis qui sibi in auxilio militari seruierant conuentione<sup>e</sup> solidorum, bisantios, aurum et argentum et ostra plurima partitus<sup>f</sup> est. Omnia debita sua persolui precepit et constanter ammonuit ne anime sue essent impedimento. Sed Deo uolente, qui omnibus penitentibus dat uitam et mortem transfert, huic iam nullam spem uiuendi habenti precibus et lacrimis pupillorum et uiduarum sanitas redditur,<sup>g</sup> et corporis sui debilitate alleuiata, ex toto Christi athleta conualuit. Iam enim antea, tam ualida illius egritudine uulgata,<sup>h</sup> nauales<sup>i</sup> exercitus Babyloniorum qui Sur applicuerunt ut in ipsius regis morte ciuitates Christianorum oppugnarent, nunc illius salute et sanitatis reparatione audita, sine aliqua mora uiam aquarum in regionem suam<sup>j</sup> remensi sunt<sup>k</sup> absque ullius lesione et contritione.

24. Dehinc rege a languore suo<sup>a</sup> releuato, Arnolfus<sup>b</sup> cancellarius sepulchri Dominici, nunc antistite Gibilino<sup>c</sup> mortuo, patriarcha electus et constitutus est. Deinde Romam profectus,<sup>d</sup> a Paschali pontifice Romano benigne commendatus, et reuersus, et de omnibus obiectis excusatus, domnum regem ex ammonitione et iussione ipsius apostolici cepit arguere et monere ut predictam matronam quam duxit uxorem a thalamo suo remoueret,<sup>e</sup> propter adulterium quo in prima coniuge, orta de principibus Armenie, peccauit, et<sup>f</sup> eo quod legitimas nuptias adulterinis et illicitis foedauit.<sup>g</sup><sup>53</sup> Interdixit etiam

<sup>b</sup> om. N    <sup>c</sup> erogare N    <sup>d</sup> ACHN add in before Ierusalem    <sup>e</sup> HN add in before  
conuentione    <sup>f</sup> largitus ACHN    <sup>g</sup> condonatur A    <sup>h</sup> diuulgata ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> naualis N    <sup>j</sup> om. H    <sup>k</sup> om. H

24    <sup>a</sup> om. N    <sup>b</sup> Arnoldus N    <sup>c</sup> Gibelino AHN    <sup>d</sup> N adds est after profectus  
<sup>e</sup> amoueret H    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> ACHN add conubiis after foedauit

<sup>52</sup> 1117. This would appear to be the onset of the illness from which Baldwin died a year later. Possibly he was troubled by chronic sepsis, flaring up at intervals, which had been latent since his severe wound of 1103 (see above, ix. 22). This is the opinion of Fulcher of Chartres, who knew Baldwin well (FC, pp. 610–11 and n. 11).

<sup>53</sup> Baldwin's marriage to Adelaide of Sicily was bigamous not because his first wife still lived—she had died in 1097 while he campaigned in Cilicia—but because his second, whom he had married to strengthen his claim to Edessa, was still alive. For the Armenian

ills greatly worsened.<sup>52</sup> He despaired of living and ordered that the treasures which he had in gold and silver vessels, in many thousands of bezants too, should be paid out partly to the poor, for his sins and the salvation of his soul; he ordered them likewise to distribute wine, corn, oil, and barley, which he had in Jerusalem and elsewhere in many places, to the poor and orphans and widows without delay, he was so unsure he would live. He also granted a part to his household, to soldiers as well, both belonging to the household and outsiders, and he shared out bezants, gold and silver, and a very great deal of purple to all who had been bound to him in military service for agreed pay. He instructed and told them firmly that all his debts were to be repaid lest they should be a hindrance to his soul. But by the will of God, who gives life to all who are penitent and takes away death, by the prayers and tears of orphans and widows health was restored to this man who had no hope of living, the weakness of his body was lessened, and Christ's champion made a complete recovery. For the Egyptian navies, which had already previously put into Tyre when news got out that his illness was so severe, so that they could attack the Christians' towns on the death of this selfsame king, now, when they heard about his safety and recovery of health, took the seaway back to their own land without any delay, and without inflicting any damage or harm.

24. Then, once the king recovered from his weakness, Arnulf, the chancellor of the Lord's sepulchre, was chosen and appointed patriarch now Patriarch Gibelin was dead. Then Arnulf set out for Rome, where he was graciously commended by Pope Paschal, and he returned, cleared on all charges, and began to accuse and warn the lord king, on the advice and orders of the pope himself, that he should remove from his marriage bed the aforesaid lady whom he had made his wife, on account of the adultery which he committed with his first wife, descended from the princes of Armenia, and because he had disgraced his lawful marriage by an adulterous and unlawful one.<sup>53</sup>

marriage, see above, iii. 31. William of Tyre blamed Arnulf for plotting to deceive Adelaide in the first place, and does not ascribe to him any role in the dissolution of the marriage (WT, pp. 525–7, 541–3). Fulcher of Chartres implicates Arnulf in neither the marriage nor the divorce (FC, pp. 575–7, 601). Bigamy was the pretext for the dissolution, rather than the reason: no one had objected when the marriage was contracted, but now that it seemed likely Baldwin would die without an heir there was a real danger that the crown would pass to Roger II of Sicily: see above, xii. 13 and note; Murray, *Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 115–17; Mayer, *Mélanges*, pp. 64–72. William of Malmesbury's story is that the king dismissed Adelaide because she had an incurable cancer: WM, i. 688–9.

illi hac de causa, quod consanguinitatis eiusdem matrone, orbe de sanguine Gallorum, reus haberetur. Ex hac ammonitione constituto concilio<sup>b</sup> in urbe Ptolomaida in ecclesia sancte crucis, rex ab uxore sua sequestratus est, Arnolfo patriarcha hoc agente, et omni clero et populo adiudicante. Illa uero tristis et dolens, ab hoc uinculo maritali synodali lege soluta, Siciliam nauigio est reuersa. Rex uero ab ipsa die et deinceps in obseruantia indictae penitentiae persistens,<sup>c</sup> mira abstinentia et castimonia ab omnibus illicitis corpus edomuit, a Deo tactus et ammonitus.<sup>d</sup>

705 25. Post aliquantulum<sup>a</sup> deinde temporis, audita querimonia super omnibus aduersitatibus<sup>b</sup> que ab Ascalonitis fiebant peregrinis Ierusalem uenientibus aut redeuntibus,<sup>c</sup> rex Baldwinus, accepto consilio suorum, ipsum regnum<sup>e</sup> Babylonie expugnare decreuit, ut si forte terra et regnum diuitieque illius dissiparentur, minus Ascalon superbi-  
re et rebellare ualeret, que sepius opulentia regni illius et copiis armorum releuari et exaltari<sup>d</sup> solebat. Et iam ueris temperie<sup>e</sup> aspirante, assumptis ducentis et sedecim equitibus, quadringentis<sup>f</sup> uero<sup>g</sup> peditibus bellico opere doctis et assuetis, uiam insistit per loca horrida<sup>h</sup> et solitaria, cum uehiculis cibariorum, non predam, non quicquam contingens de uniuersis locis Arabie, que illi aut familiaritate confoederata erant, aut aliquem respectum faciebant. Vndecim denique diebus iam uia continuata cum omni manu predicta, aperitur eis<sup>i</sup> fluuius Nili, qui perluit<sup>j</sup> regionem terre Egypti. In quem descendentes, a sudore loti sunt. Inde castra mouentes, die quadam Iouis<sup>k</sup> ante mediam quadragesimam, mense Martio,<sup>54</sup> applicuerunt in terminos cuiusdam ciuitatis que uocatur Pharamia,<sup>55</sup> muris, portis, et menibus munitissima. Et hec de regno erat Babylonie urbs spaciosissima, non amplius quam trium dierum itinere a Babylonia distans. Sexta uero feria, que proxima erat dies, ordinatis signis et aciebus tantilli exercitus, lorice et galeis induti, aggredientes ipsam ciuitatem,<sup>l</sup> uacuam defensoribus, portas eius patentes ingressi sunt in uirtute et assultu et clamore magno. Vbi necessariarum rerum

<sup>b</sup> consilio N      <sup>c</sup> insistens A      <sup>d</sup> monitus ACH

25      <sup>a</sup> aliquantum HN      <sup>b</sup> om. N      <sup>c</sup> regem N      <sup>d</sup> extolli ACHN  
<sup>e</sup> tempore AHN      <sup>f</sup> A adds et before quadringentis      <sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> arida ACHN  
<sup>i</sup> ci AH      <sup>j</sup> perfluit N      <sup>k</sup> ferie quinte ACHN for Iouis  
<sup>l</sup> om. N

He also forbade him on these grounds, that he was guilty of consanguinity with the same woman, who was descended from the blood of Gauls. On his suggestion a council was arranged in the city of Acre in the church of the Holy Cross, at which the king was separated from his wife, with Patriarch Arnulf advocating this and all the clergy and people giving judgement. Sad and grieving, released by synodal law from this marriage bond, the lady sailed back to Sicily. From that day onwards the king was steadfast in observing the appointed penance and, having been moved and reproved by God, he subdued his body by wonderful abstinence and chastity from everything unlawful.

25. Then after a short period of time, when he heard complaints about all the acts of hostility by the Ascalonites towards the pilgrims on their way to and from Jerusalem, King Baldwin took advice from his men and decided to conquer the realm of Egypt itself, so that if perchance the land and realm and its riches could be dispersed, then Ascalon would be less apt to be proud and rebellious, since it had been accustomed often to receive relief and encouragement from that country's wealth and plentiful weapons. And now, as the season of spring was beginning, he took two hundred and sixteen cavalry and four hundred infantry who were trained and experienced in warfare, and made his way through wild and lonely places. He took waggons of supplies since he could not seize booty or anything from all the places of Arabia, which were either allied to him in friendship, or held him in some regard. When they had already been on the road for eleven days with all the aforesaid army, the river Nile was visible in front of them, which bathes this region of the land of Egypt. They went down into the river and washed their sweat away. Moving camp from there, on one Thursday before the middle of Lent, in the month of March,<sup>54</sup> they arrived within the territory of a certain town which is called Farama,<sup>55</sup> well fortified with walls, gates, and ramparts. And this was the most extensive city in the realm of Egypt, not more than three days' journey from Cairo. On the Friday, which was the next day, the standards and battle lines of the tiny army were drawn up, and they put on hauberks and helmets and attacked that selfsame town, which was empty of defenders, entering its open gates in strength and attack and with a great din. There they found an incredible supply of

<sup>54</sup> 21 Mar. 1118.

<sup>55</sup> Now al-Farama (classical Pelusium), a town some 12 miles east of the Suez Canal in Egypt.

copiam inauditam reppererunt,<sup>m</sup> in uino, frumento, oleo et ordeo, in carne et piscibus, et omnibus que uesci possunt. Auri et argenti et totius preciosi ornatus nullus erat numerus quod illic<sup>n</sup> repertum est. Vniuersi quidem<sup>o</sup> habitatores ciuitatis,<sup>p</sup> repente audita fama tam proximi aduentus regis, totius defensionis et rerum suarum obliti, fuge tantum intenti, procul ab urbe recesserunt, solum de uita et salute sua<sup>q</sup> curantes. Rex <sup>r</sup>et sui<sup>r</sup> corpora, curriculo undecim<sup>s</sup> dierum itinere et inestimabili calore torride plage fessa et grauata, recreantes cibus et potibus habundanter<sup>f</sup> repertis, sexta feria et sabbato et ipsa dominica quieuerunt ab omni inpugnatione, iuxta uoluntatem suam omnia facientes.

- 706 26. Dominica uero die qua mediatur ieiunium,<sup>56</sup> uiri sensati et sue salutis solliciti conuenerunt regem, in hunc modum loquentes: 'Pauci sumus et iam ciuitati et regno Babylonie uirtus nostra innotuit, et hec Babylon non amplius hinc quam uia trium dierum <sup>a</sup>remota esse<sup>a</sup> perhibetur. Vnde consilium adinuicem contulimus ut, ab hac ciuitate exeuntes, uiam sicut deuouimus continuemus, et non moram hic faciamus.' Rex itaque, suorum consiliis satisfaciens, summo diluculo sociis ammonitis muros ciuitatis diruit, ignes uniuersis edificiis turrium et edium inmisit, totis uiribus ante omnes precipue stragi illius incumbens, ne Babylonis ultra uires et opem conferret. Hanc uero stragem ut dictum est dum rex pre cunctis ualidius et attentius exerceret in ruina murorum, in edificiolorum incendio, trans<sup>b</sup> modum menbris calore et labore uexatis uehementi infirmitate corripitur, et magis ac magis molestia corporis<sup>c</sup> cepit augeri. Iam uero tenebris relatis, et prorsus sole sublato, uitam desperans, primores<sup>d</sup> exercitus sui conuocans, debilitatem sui corporis detexit, nec se posse mortem nunc euadere adtestatur. Hac audita regis desperatione et desolatione, uniuersi a minimo usque ad maximum ceperunt ingemiscere, fletus nimii ac<sup>e</sup> lacrimae ab oculis erumpere, et <sup>f</sup>magna in cunctis<sup>f</sup> facta est desolatio. Nulli quippe spes aut fiducia redeundi ultra in Ierusalem erat, sed arbitrabantur hoc in exilio capitali sententia se esse perimendos.

<sup>m</sup> inuenerunt *A*      <sup>n</sup> ibi *HN*      <sup>o</sup> quippe *ACHN*      <sup>p</sup> urbis *A*      <sup>q</sup> om. *N*  
<sup>r</sup> et *A*      <sup>s</sup> nouem *H*      <sup>t</sup> abundantissime *A*

26      <sup>a</sup> abesse *A*      <sup>b</sup> ultra *ACHN*      <sup>c</sup> om. *A*      <sup>d</sup> priores *N*      <sup>e</sup> et *N*  
<sup>f</sup> maxima in omnibus *A*

<sup>56</sup> 24 Mar. 1118.

necessities: wine, corn, oil and barley, meat and fish, and everything which can be eaten. There was no limit to the quantity of gold and silver and entirely precious ornament to be found there. For in fact all the inhabitants of the town, when they suddenly heard the rumour of the king's approach being so close, forgot all about the defence and their possessions, being intent only on flight, and they withdrew to a distance from the city, caring only about their lives and safety. With the food and drink they found in abundant quantity the king and his men refreshed their bodies, which were tired and weary after the eleven-day journey and the incalculable heat of that parched region, and on the Friday, the Saturday, and the Lord's day itself they refrained from any attack, doing everything according to their desire.

26. On the Sunday which marks the middle of Lent,<sup>56</sup> men who were sensible and concerned about their own safety came to the king and spoke in this way: 'We are few and already our strength is known to the town and the realm of Cairo, and this Cairo is reported to be no further from here than a journey of three days. And so we have taken counsel with each other and decided we should leave this town and continue the journey as we vowed, and not stay in this place.' Therefore the king gave in to his men's advice, and at crack of dawn he roused his comrades and slighted the walls of the town, and he set fire to all the buildings of the towers and houses, paying special attention with all his might, more than anyone, for the town's destruction so that it would no longer bring forces and assistance to the Egyptians. It is said that while the king was working more vigorously and enthusiastically than anyone else at this destruction, at the demolition of the walls, at the burning of the buildings, he was attacked by sickness in his limbs, which were troubled beyond measure by the heat and effort, and his physical distress began to increase more and more. Darkness returned, and the sun had completely set, and now he despaired of his life, calling together the chief men of his army, to whom he revealed the weakness of his body, asserting that he could not now escape death. When they heard the king's despair and desolation, everyone from the smallest to the greatest began to lament, great weeping and tears burst forth from their eyes, and a great desolation came upon all of them. For indeed no one any longer was at all hopeful or confident of returning to Jerusalem, but they thought they were going to suffer the capital sentence in exile.

27. Ad quos corroborandos Baldwinus<sup>a</sup> rex licet mire aggrauatus sic ait: 'Quare sic, uiri fortissimi et sepius in<sup>b</sup> periculis probati,<sup>c</sup> animus uester in mei solius imminutione disturbatur, fletus, desolatio et dolores geminantur? Non, fratres mei dulcissimi et commilitones karissimi,<sup>d</sup> mors mei solius corda uestra sic mollescere et deficere faciat et infirmare<sup>e</sup> etiam in terra peregrina et inimicorum. Memen-  
 707 tote in Dei nomine quod<sup>f</sup> mea uirtus uirtus unius est hominis, et quod<sup>g</sup> adhuc inter uos quamplurimi habentur<sup>h</sup> quorum uirtus et consilium parum aut nihil a meo distat. Et idcirco estote uiri robustissimi,<sup>i</sup> et, in dolore mortis mee tristes nequaquam effeminari incipiat, sed decet uos sollicitos esse, quo modo caute redeatis in uirtute armorum uestrorum et regnum Ierusalem retineatis,<sup>j</sup> sicut a principio uie Deo deuouistis.' Et hoc dicto, ammonuit summa prece et in fidei obseruantia uniuersos qui aderant ut si obiret, numquam corpus eius exanime in terra hac<sup>k</sup> Sarracenorum ullo sepulchro recondere<sup>l</sup>, ne ludibrio et derisui<sup>m</sup> gentilibus haberetur, sed cum omni arte et labore quo ualerent ad terram Ierusalem cadauer suum reportarent et iuxta fratrem suum Godefridum sepelirent. Hoc audientes, uix<sup>n</sup> a fletu se cohibentes, responderunt quod graue et importabile onus illis imponeret, cum etiam uix uacui ad terram Ierusalem redire sperarent, et cum etiam impossibile esset in diebus grauissimi<sup>o</sup> et estiu<sup>o</sup> caloris aliquod cadauer reseruare, tangere et portare. Ad hec rex magis<sup>p</sup> ac magis<sup>q</sup> instat et ammonet uniuersos ut causa sue dilectionis hunc laborem non recusent. Et post hec dicta<sup>r</sup> sic precatur, dicens: 'Statim cum mortuus fuero, precor ut aluum meum<sup>s</sup> ferro aperientes, interiora mea tollatis, corpus uero<sup>t</sup> sale et aromatibus conditum corio aut tapetibus inuoluatis, et sic ad catholicas exequias<sup>u</sup> Ierusalem iuxta sepulchrum<sup>v</sup> fratris mei referatur et sepeliatur.'<sup>w</sup> Nec mora Addonem<sup>x</sup> coquum<sup>57</sup> qui erat de domo sua accersitum sacramento alligauit in alui sue sectione et uiscerum eiectione. Cui et ait: 'Scias me in breui moriturum, et idcirco, sicut me diligis aut uiuentem incolumem dilexisti, sic modo mortuo fidem serues, me ferro exintera,<sup>y</sup> sale interius et exterius me<sup>z</sup> adprime frica, oculos,<sup>z</sup>

27 <sup>a</sup> om. ACHN<sup>b</sup> om. A<sup>c</sup> A adds sic after probati<sup>d</sup> dulcissimi C<sup>e</sup> infirmari HN<sup>f</sup> quia ACHN<sup>g</sup> quia ACHN<sup>h</sup> habeantur ACHN<sup>i</sup> fortissimi HN<sup>j</sup> teneatis N<sup>k</sup> om. N<sup>l</sup> redderet N<sup>m</sup> in derisu N<sup>n</sup> ACHN add et before uix<sup>o</sup> estus et A<sup>p</sup> om. ACHN<sup>q</sup> A adds statim afterdicta <sup>r</sup> meum A<sup>s</sup> cum N<sup>t</sup> om. A<sup>u</sup> om. N<sup>v</sup> conditur N<sup>w</sup> Haddonem N<sup>x</sup> exintera N<sup>y</sup> om. AN<sup>z</sup> N adds meos after oculos

27. To put heart into them King Baldwin, although he was in terrible pain, spoke thus: 'You are very courageous men and have often been tried by dangers, so why is your spirit troubled in this way by the loss of me alone? Why these repeated laments, this desolation and grief? My sweetest brothers and dearest comrades, let not the death of me alone make your hearts falter and fail like this, even in this alien land and enemy territory. Remember in God's name that my strength is the strength of one man, and that there are very many among you still whose strength and wisdom are little or no different from mine. And for that reason, men, be very strong, and make sure you do not, sorrowing in your grief at my death, become womanish, when you ought to be anxious as to how you may safely return with the strength of your weaponry and keep the kingdom of Jerusalem, as you vowed to God to do from the outset of the journey.' When he had said this, he told all who were there, very insistently and appealing to their good faith, that if he should die they should never bury his lifeless body in any grave in this land of the Saracens, lest it should be an object of mockery and derision to the gentiles, but with all the skill and exertion they could muster they should carry his corpse back to the land of Jerusalem and bury it next to his brother Godfrey. Hearing his speech and scarce able to keep themselves from weeping, they replied that he was laying on them a heavy and unsupportable burden, since they could scarcely hope to return even empty-handed to the land of Jerusalem, and since it would also be impossible to keep, handle, and carry any corpse in those days of extreme summer heat. Whereupon the king insisted even more, and told them all that because they loved him they should not refuse this task. And after he said this he entreated them, saying: 'As soon as I am dead, I entreat you to open up my belly with a knife, take out my insides, preserve my body with salt and spices and wrap it in a hide or in carpets, and in this way it may be taken back to a Christian funeral in Jerusalem and buried next to my brother's grave.' Without delay he summoned Addo the cook,<sup>57</sup> who was a member of his household, and he bound him by an oath to undertake the cutting of his belly and the discarding of his internal organs. He also said to him: 'You know that I am shortly to die, and on this account, as you love me or used to love me when I was alive and well, even so should you keep faith with me when I am nearly dead, and disembowel me with a knife, rub me

<sup>57</sup> Addo is not otherwise known.

nares, aures et os meum non parce imple, et cum ceteris me reportare non desinas, et sic desiderium meum scito te adimplere, et in hoc fidem mihi te crede seruare.<sup>7</sup> Et hoc disposito, feria tertia<sup>a b</sup> que est dies Martis<sup>b</sup> uehementius infirmitate usque ad interitum cepit torqueri in oculis suorum primatum fidelium.

28. Illi uite eius defectionem intuentes, quia uir magne erat sapientie dum adhuc incolumis esset requirunt quem post mortem suam uelit heredem<sup>a</sup> regni Ierusalem locari et<sup>b</sup> coronari, quatenus ex eius consilio et decreto certius et sine lite coronandus posset coronari.<sup>c</sup> Qui fratri Eustachio regnum destinat, si forte uenerit.<sup>58</sup> Si uero etate nequuerit, Baldwinus de Burg eligatur, aut talis qui populum Christianum regat, ecclesias<sup>d</sup> defendat, qui stabilis in fide maneat, quem nulla aduersariorum uirtus terreat, aut merces leuiter<sup>e</sup> corrumpat. Et hoc dicto, uir in terra natiuitatis sue de Lotharingia ex nobili<sup>f</sup> sanguine nobilissimus, rex in regno | Ierusalem gloriosissimus ac uictoriosissimus, Dei athleta fortissimus, spiritum uite exalauit,<sup>g</sup> in fide Christi<sup>h</sup> stabilis et in confessione purgatus, et<sup>i</sup> dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione munitus. Iam sic<sup>j</sup> defuncto principe clarissimo in terra barbarorum, egregii proceres et commilitones, equites et pedites, pre dolore in lacrimas cum magno ululatu et planctu fluxere nimias, et amplius fletum congeminassent, nisi timor esset quem in terra undique hostili apprehenderunt in tanti principis amissione. Quapropter, dissimulata illius morte et omni tristitia, sicut obnixe rogauit,<sup>k</sup> secta est alius illius, uiscera exposita et sepulta, corpus uero salsum interius et exterius in oculis, ore, naribus et<sup>l</sup> auribus,<sup>m</sup> aromatibus quoque ac balsamo conditum, corio consutum ac tapetibus inuolutum, equis impositum ac firmiter alligatum est, ita ut nulla gentilium astucia percipere<sup>n</sup> posset cum obisse, et sic in audaciam persequendi exercitum desolatum undique ebullientes animarentur.<sup>59</sup> Hac arte

<sup>a</sup> quarta N      <sup>b b</sup> om. ACHN

28    <sup>a</sup> om. N      <sup>b</sup> aut HN      <sup>c</sup> constitui HN      <sup>d</sup> N adds Dei after ecclesias  
<sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> nobilium A      <sup>g</sup> Deo reddidit N      <sup>h</sup> om. N      <sup>i</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>j</sup> om. N      <sup>k</sup> rogauerat N      <sup>l</sup> om. AN      <sup>m</sup> om. N      <sup>n</sup> comprehendere A

<sup>58</sup> Eustace III, count of Boulogne, d. 1125, was the elder brother of both Godfrey and Baldwin. William of Tyre tells how Eustace reluctantly set out, but received news while in Apulia that Baldwin of Edessa had been chosen king, and he returned home, doubtless with relief (WT, pp. 548–50). Fulcher says Baldwin's succession was agreed unanimously ('communiter'; FC, pp. 615–16). Ibn al-Athir agrees with Albert that Baldwin of Bourcq had the advantage of being on the spot, in that he was in Jerusalem for Easter (IA, p. 315; below, xii. 30).

first of all inside and outside with salt; fill my eyes, nostrils, ears, and mouth with it unstintingly, and be sure to take me back with the rest: and in this way know that you are fulfilling my wishes, and believe that you are keeping faith with me in this matter.' When it was arranged, on the third day, which is Tuesday, he began to be racked more severely by illness, to the point of death, before the eyes of his faithful nobles.

28. They realized his life was fading away, and because he was a man of great wisdom they asked him while he was still of sound mind whom he wanted to be appointed and crowned as heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem after his death, so that on his advice and instruction the man could be crowned who should be crowned, quite surely and without dispute. Baldwin resolved the kingdom should go to his brother Eustace, if by any chance he would come.<sup>58</sup> If indeed he was unable because of his age, Baldwin of Bourcq should be chosen, or some such man who would rule the Christian people, defend the churches, who would remain steadfast in the faith, whom no force of enemies would frighten, no bribe easily corrupt. Having said this, Baldwin, a man who was the noblest of noble blood in his native land Lotharingia, most splendid and victorious king in the kingdom of Jerusalem, most valiant champion of God, breathed his last, steadfast in the faith of Christ and purified by confession, and fortified by partaking of the Lord's body and blood. Now their famous prince had died this way in the land of the barbarians, the foremost nobles and fellow soldiers, cavalry and infantry, burst into great floods of tears on account of their grief, with a great wailing and lamentation, and they would have yet redoubled their weeping, but for the fear they felt in losing so great a prince in a land which was everywhere hostile. Because of this they concealed his death and all their sadness, and, just as he resolutely asked, his belly was cut, his internal organs were taken out and buried, his body was salted inside and out, in the eyes, mouth, nostrils, and ears, also embalmed with spices and balsam, then it was sewn into a hide and wrapped in carpets, placed on horseback and firmly tied on: this was done so that the gentiles' cunning would not be able to perceive that he had died, which might inspire them to boldness in hunting down the bereaved army, by seething up on all sides.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Fulcher refers briefly to the embalming of the corpse, but seems to imply that it was the intestines which were salted and encoffined. He gives the place of death as 'Laris': al-'Arish, Egypt (FC, pp. 611-12).

corpus exanime compositum hoc uehiculo, caute per terram peregrinam, per loca deserta et inuia deductum, per regionem uallis Hebron, ubi castellum et sepultura sanctorum patriarcharum Abraham, Isaac et Iacob usque in hodiernum diem a fidelibus honoratur, reditum fecerunt per dies continuos, a dextris et sinistris<sup>a</sup> semper custodiam armatorum<sup>b</sup> equitum et peditum habentes. Dehinc, cum extincto corpore regis in campestribus Ascalonis applicantes, erectis signis, ordinatis cuneis, in sola uirtute militari confidentes, sine impedimento et aliquo aduersariorum incursu transisse perhibentur, quousque montana Ierusalem ipso die sancto<sup>a</sup> et celebri Palmarum<sup>a 60</sup> unanimiter cum regio cadauere ingressi sunt.

29. "Eadem denique<sup>a</sup> die a monte Oliuarum dominus patriarcha Arnolfus<sup>b</sup> cum clero suo post palmarum consecrationem descenderat, cui de templo Domini et de<sup>c</sup> uniuersis ecclesiis fratres occurrentes ad diem festum conuenerunt, in ymnis et laudibus in celebratione diei sancte<sup>d</sup> qua et Dominus Iesus, in asello residens ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem ingredi dignatus est.<sup>61</sup> Sic uero omnibus Christianorum conuentibus<sup>e</sup> ad id sollempne in laude<sup>f</sup> Dei<sup>g</sup> congregatis, ecce rex defunctus in medium<sup>h</sup> psallentium allatus est. In cuius uisione uoces suppressae et laudes humiliatae sunt, fletus tam cleri quam populi plurimus auditus est. Verumtamen palmarum expleto officio, et omnibus per portam que dicitur Aurea, per quam Dominus Iesus ad Passionem ueniens inmissus est, cum rege defuncto intromissis, decretum est<sup>i</sup> communi consilio ut statim corpus exanime sepulture traderetur, quod diu reseruatum<sup>j</sup> et iam<sup>j</sup> fetidum, diutius reseruari<sup>k</sup> graue | et inconueniens ab omnibus referebatur.<sup>l</sup> Nec mora, catholicis exequiis expletis, a domno patriarcha terre est commendatus, iuxta fratris<sup>m</sup> uterini Godefridi sepulchrum, in loco Caluarie, in uestibulo templi dominici sepulchri, ubi mausoleo, sicut decet reges, in memoriam et honorem sui nominis, magno et mirifico opere et marmore candido polito, inter ceteros sepultos promotus est, sicut

<sup>a</sup> H adds a before sinistris

<sup>b</sup> armorum N

<sup>a a</sup> om. N

29 <sup>a a</sup> Eademque N

<sup>b</sup> om. HN

<sup>c</sup> om. N

<sup>d</sup> sancti CEHN

<sup>e</sup> conuentibus N

<sup>f</sup> laudibus ACHN

<sup>g</sup> om. N

<sup>h</sup> medio AHN

<sup>i</sup> om. H

<sup>j j</sup> etiam H; om. N

<sup>k</sup> om. N

<sup>l</sup> ferebatur AH

<sup>m</sup> N adds sui after fratris

<sup>60</sup> 7 Apr. 1118.

<sup>61</sup> Albert's description of the procession in 1118 is interesting because later Frankish liturgical books record that the patriarch went to Bethany before dawn on Palm Sunday,

When the lifeless body had been arranged in this skilful manner on the transport, they made their return cautiously through the alien land, bringing it down through deserts and out-of-the-way places, through the region of the Hebron valley, where the fortress and tombs of the holy fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are honoured by the faithful to this very day, travelling for days on end, always keeping a guard of armed cavalry and infantry to the right and left. Then, arriving on the plains of Ascalon with the king's dead body, they put their faith in military strength alone, with banners flying and battle formation, and they are reported to have crossed them without hindrance or any enemy attack, until, on that very day, holy and honoured Palm Sunday,<sup>60</sup> together with the royal corpse they all entered the mountains of Jerusalem.

29. On that same day the lord patriarch Arnulf had come down from the Mount of Olives with his clergy after the consecration of palms, and his brothers came out from the Temple of the Lord and from all the churches to meet him for the festival, with hymns and songs of praise in celebration of the holy day on which Lord Jesus, riding on a donkey, deigned to enter the holy city of Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup> So, with all the Christian congregations gathered together for the festival in praise of God, suddenly the dead king was borne into the middle of the people as they sang. At the sight of him their voices were hushed and their praises were brought low, and a very great weeping was heard from the clergy and people alike. Nevertheless the Palm Sunday service was completed, and everyone came in with the dead king through the gate which is called Golden, through which Lord Jesus had entered when coming to his Passion, and it was decided by common consent that the lifeless body should at once be taken to its burial, because it had been kept for a long time and it was already stinking, and to keep it longer was felt by all to be offensive and unbefitting. As soon as the Christian burial rites were over he was consigned to the earth by the lord patriarch, next to the tomb of his brother Godfrey, in the place of Calvary, in the porch of the temple of the Lord's Sepulchre, where a mausoleum, such as befits kings, was built in memory and honour of his name, of great and wonderful workmanship, and white polished marble, grander than the rest of the tombs, just as also his brother

approaching Jerusalem via the valley of Jehosaphat, where his procession was joined by the other church communities and they entered the Golden Gate together: see M. Lindner, 'Topography and iconography in twelfth-century Jerusalem', in B. Z. Kedar, ed., *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 81-98, at 90.

et frater eius Godefridus eodem mausolei honore exaltatus<sup>n</sup> est.<sup>62</sup> Iam sepulto tam clarissimo rege<sup>o</sup> Ierusalem, Arnolfus patriarcha uenerabilis, pre dolore mortis tanti principis<sup>p</sup> et athlete Christi uehementi infirmitate corripitur, et spacio trium ebdomadatum male habens, uitam finiuit, iuxta patriarcharum sepulchra appositus.

30. Eodem die quo rex Baldwinus humatus est, et patriarcha Arnolfus cepit egrotare, clerus et populus tam rudis ecclesie, tanto rege ac<sup>a</sup> defensore uiduatus, de regis restitutione agere ceperunt, dicentes non esse utile consilium ut rege ac defensoris solatio locus et gens diu careret, et locus et terra a nullo defensa periret. Cumque diuersi diuersa dicerent, tandem<sup>b</sup> omnibus acceptum fuit<sup>b</sup> ut Baldwinus de Burg in throno regni Ierusalem locaretur, eo quod miles inperterritus multa pericula in preliis pro salute Christianorum sepe sustinuisset, et terram Rohas strenue ab omni assultu hostili defensam retinuisset. Et statim ab omnibus acclamatum est illum coronam regni iure accipere,<sup>c</sup> et dominum patriarcham eum in regem<sup>d</sup> procreare et promouere.<sup>d</sup> Venerat namque idem Baldwinus ad diem festum adorare in Ierusalem, de omnibus que acciderant nescius. Patriarcha autem,<sup>e</sup> adhuc uiuens licet egrotus, uidens populi deuotionem et constantiam erga Baldwinum, <sup>f</sup>et ipse assensum benigne attribuit, et eundem Baldwinum<sup>f</sup> quantulumcumque<sup>g</sup> renitentem, et diuitias Rohas sibi<sup>h</sup> sufficere protestantem, in regem<sup>i</sup> et dominium<sup>j</sup> Ierusalem unxit<sup>k</sup> et consecrauit. Vinctus quippe<sup>j</sup> Baldwinus in regem et in sancte Resurrectionis die<sup>63</sup> preclara<sup>m</sup> coronatus,<sup>n</sup> honorifice est exaltatus, in leticia hiis sacris diebus iocundatus, et iusticiam Dei in omnibus deuotissime operatus. Die uero statuta, sicut iustum est et reges decet, uniuersis<sup>o</sup> primoribus regni in palatium Salemonis regis conuocatis, singulis beneficia contulit, fidem et sacramentum ab eis suscipiens, et honorifice quemque in sua remisit. Ciuitates uero Neapolym, Samariam, Ioppen, Cayphas,<sup>p</sup> castellum sancti Abraham,<sup>q</sup>

<sup>n</sup> sublimatus HN<sup>o</sup> principe ACHN<sup>p</sup> regis ACHN30 <sup>a</sup> et N<sup>b b</sup> ab omnibus decretum est N<sup>c</sup> suscipere ACH<sup>d d</sup> promouere et consecrare N<sup>e</sup> om. N<sup>f f</sup> om. HN<sup>g</sup> quantulumque E<sup>h</sup> om. N<sup>i</sup> H adds ipse assensum benigne attribuens, and N adds ipse assensum benigne attribuit et before in regem<sup>j</sup> dominum HN<sup>k</sup> traxit N<sup>l</sup> quidem N<sup>m</sup> om. A<sup>n</sup> honoratus H<sup>o</sup> omnibus A<sup>p</sup> Caipham N<sup>q</sup> Abrahæ AHN

<sup>62</sup> The tombs of Godfrey and Baldwin in the chapel of Mount Calvary were destroyed in a great fire in 1808 and can no longer be seen. Their appearance is shown in a cutaway drawing of the 17th c.: Vincenzo Favi, *Relazione del Viaggio di Gerusalemme*, London, British

Godfrey was elevated by that same honour of a mausoleum.<sup>62</sup> Now that the very renowned king of Jerusalem was buried, Arnulf, the venerable patriarch, was taken ill on account of grief for the death of so great a prince and champion of Christ, and he was sick for a period of three weeks, then he ended his life and was buried next to the graves of the patriarchs.

30. On the same day as King Baldwin was buried, and Patriarch Arnulf began to sicken, the clergy and people of the Church, which was so undeveloped and had been bereft of so great a king and defender, began to deal with the king's replacement, saying that it was useless advice for the place and people to lack for long a king and the comfort of a defender, and for the place and land, defended by no one, to perish. And when various people had said various things, at length it was approved by all that Baldwin of Bourcq should be placed on the throne of the kingdom of Jerusalem, because he was an undaunted knight who had often endured many perils in battles for the safety of Christians, and he had kept the land of Edessa vigorously defended from all enemy attack. And at once it was acclaimed by all that he should accept the crown of the kingdom by right, and the lord patriarch should make him and promote him king. For that same Baldwin had come for the festival to worship in Jerusalem, not knowing anything about what had happened. Moreover, the patriarch himself, still alive though ill, seeing the people's devotion and commitment towards Baldwin, also graciously bestowed his consent, and he anointed and consecrated that same Baldwin—though he was somewhat reluctant and protested that the wealth of Edessa was enough for him—as king and lord of Jerusalem. In fact, Baldwin was anointed as king and crowned on the splendid day of the Holy Resurrection,<sup>63</sup> he was exalted with honour, rejoicing in happiness on these holy days, and he most devotedly administered God's justice in all things. On an appointed day, just as is right and fitting for kings, all the nobles of the kingdom were called together in the palace of King Solomon, and he granted each his fief, receiving fealty and an oath of allegiance from them, and sending each back home with honour. He subjected to his authority the cities of Nablus, Samaria, Jaffa, Haifa, the castle of St Abraham, Acre, Sidon, Tiberias, and the

Library Add. 33566, fo. 90, reproduced in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, ed. E. Hallam (London, 1989), p. 107.

<sup>63</sup> 14 Apr. 1118.

710 Ptolomaidam,<sup>f</sup> Sagittam, Tabariam et ceteras ciuitates et loca que erant de regno Ierusalem suo | subiecit imperio, quoslibet redditus earum suis constituens primatibus, <sup>g</sup>quoslibet uero<sup>g</sup> sue mense attitulauit. Mortuo rege Baldwino et Arnolfo patriarcha, Baldwino quoque<sup>f</sup> in regem uncto, Germundus,<sup>64</sup> uir bone conuersationis, ab omni clero et<sup>h</sup> populo in<sup>v</sup> patriarcham eligitur, et consecratus a sanctis pontificibus cathedram episcopalem Ierusalem meruit obtinere, ad regendum populum Dei uiui et corroborandam nouam et sanctam ecclesiam Ierusalem.

31. In anno secundo regni<sup>a</sup> Baldwini de Burg,<sup>65</sup> noui regis Ierusalem, principis Rohas ciuitatis, quidam Sarraceni de regno Arabie, quidam de gente<sup>b</sup> Idumeorum quos moderni Biduinos<sup>c</sup> uocant, armenta camelorum supra triginta milia, boum centum milia, greges ouium et<sup>d</sup> caprarum inaudita milia, de terra et regione sua educentes et ad pascua cogentes in latere regni<sup>e</sup> Damascenorum, illuc persecuti sunt herbarum copiam licentia et consensu principis terre<sup>f</sup> Damasci, pro pacto<sup>g</sup> bisantiorum quod ab eis ipse domnus terre erat<sup>h</sup> accepturus. Cum tot milibus pecorum<sup>i</sup> equites et pedites<sup>j</sup> supra quatuor milia ad custodiendos greges sunt egressi, de terra Egypti, Arabie et Idumeorum, in arcu et pharetra, lancea et<sup>k</sup> gladio, in omni plenitudine<sup>l</sup> ciborum necessariorum. Hii dum pacifice in latere regni Damasci super gregem suum<sup>66</sup> custodiam solliciti,<sup>m</sup> nec quicquam metuerent fiducia Dochini, principis Damasci, cuius gratia et licentia per pascua diffusi erant cum uxoribus et pueris, sicut mos est horum<sup>n</sup> gentilium, fama tantorum pastorum a terra longinqua usque<sup>o</sup> huc progressorum attigit aures Gozelini de Curtenai,<sup>p</sup> qui dono regis Baldwini fratris Godefridi<sup>q</sup> terram et redditus<sup>r</sup> Tabarie in beneficio obtinuit, eo quod altis parentibus ortus, filius sit amite Baldwini de Burg, facti regis Ierusalem. Hic uero Gozelinus, tam innumerabili gregum comperta multitudine in loco remoto et solitudinis, Godefrido de Burs<sup>s</sup> et de

<sup>f</sup> Ptolomaidem C      <sup>g</sup> quoslibetque N      <sup>e</sup> de Burch N      <sup>h</sup> in N      <sup>v</sup> et N

31      <sup>a</sup> regis N      <sup>b</sup> genere N      <sup>c</sup> Bidumos CN; Hiduinos E      <sup>d</sup> om. H      <sup>e</sup> om. A  
<sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> pactu H      <sup>h</sup> om. H      <sup>i</sup> om. HN      <sup>j</sup> equitum et peditum N  
<sup>k</sup> om. N      <sup>l</sup> pinguedine HN      <sup>m</sup> om. A; sollicite CE      <sup>n</sup> om. N      <sup>o</sup> om. ACHN  
<sup>p</sup> Cortenai CN      <sup>q</sup> N adds ducis after Godefridi      <sup>r</sup> redditus N      <sup>s</sup> Burch N

<sup>64</sup> Warmund (or Gormond) of Picquigny (dép. Somme, France), in the diocese of Amiens, patriarch of Jerusalem 1118–28. Nothing is known of his career before his

other cities and places which belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem, appointing some of their revenues to his nobles, awarding some of them to his own table. After the deaths of King Baldwin and Patriarch Arnulf, and also after Baldwin was anointed as king, Warmund,<sup>64</sup> a man of good character, was elected as patriarch by all the clergy and people, and when he was consecrated by the holy bishops he was worthy to receive the cathedral see of Jerusalem, to rule over the people of the living God and to strengthen the new and holy church of Jerusalem.

31. In the second year of the reign of Baldwin of Bourcq,<sup>65</sup> the new king of Jerusalem, prince of the city of Edessa, certain Saracens from the realm of Arabia, and certain people of the race of the Idumei, whom people nowadays call Bedouins, were leading out of their land and region herds of camels, over thirty thousand, ten thousand oxen, flocks of sheep, and countless thousands of goats, and driving them to pasture on the flank of the realm of Damascus, where they attacked the ample grass by permission and consent of the prince of the land of Damascus, in return for an agreed sum of bezants which the lord of the land himself was going to receive from them. With so many thousands of beasts, over four thousand cavalry and infantry went along to guard the herds, from the lands of Egypt, Arabia, and the Bedouins, taking bow and quiver, lance and sword, and a great abundance of food supplies. While these people were peacefully keeping watch over their flock<sup>66</sup> on the flank of the kingdom of Damascus, and not fearing anything because they trusted Tughtigin, prince of Damascus, by whose favour and permission they had spread out over the pastures with their wives and children, as is the custom of these gentiles, news that so many herdsmen had travelled here all the way from a distant land reached the ears of Joscelin of Courtenay, who held the land and revenues of Tiberias in fief by gift of King Baldwin the brother of Godfrey, because he came of high-born parentage, being the son of Baldwin of Bourcq's father's sister, that same Baldwin who had become king of Jerusalem. This Joscelin, when he realized such a countless multitude of herds was in a remote and solitary place, made no delay in informing Godfrey of Bures, also

appointment, even whether he was resident in the Levant or summoned from the West (Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 64-5).

<sup>65</sup> Baldwin II's second regnal year was Apr. 1119-Apr. 1120.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Luke 2: 8.

terra ciuitatis Parisius,<sup>67</sup> uiro egregio et militi<sup>r</sup> clarissimo in omni opere bellico, fratrique illius Willelmo indicare non distulit, et ad inuadendam predam utrosque fratres<sup>n</sup> adhortatus est. Qui illius adhortationi adquiescentes, centum sexaginta equitibus, uiris bello audacissimis et predarum audissimis, peditibus uero sexaginta in arcu, lancea et gladio ferocissimis<sup>v</sup> ammonitis et congregatis, profecti sunt in regionem eandem qua<sup>m</sup> pastores et pastorum cus|todes, fortissimi milites Arabite,<sup>x</sup> Egyptii, Idumei, accubabant et armenta cum ouibus et capris spaciose in longitudine et latitudine uagabantur. Vt uero ad locum peruentum est, Gozelinus cum quinquaginta equitibus in una acie a dextris attitulatus est ad subueniendum. Willelmus, totidem<sup>y</sup> in suo cuneo ordinatis equitibus, galea et lorica indutis, sinistra ex parte procul positus remansit, ut uires auxiliares<sup>z</sup> sociis bellum insistentibus<sup>a</sup> conferret. Godefridus de Burs, sexaginta equites in sua acie retinens, cum omni comitatu robustorum peditum in medio constitutus, audacter pastores impetit pastorumque magistros, <sup>b</sup>predam abducere<sup>b</sup> conatus, et omnibus uiribus rapine insudans, nimium processit inter manus defensorum gregis. Quatuor namque milia, cornibus et signis auditis, in momento affuerunt ad excutiendos greges. Qui Godefridum cum suis coronantes, grauiter cum eis<sup>c</sup> commiserunt, dum Godefridus et sui paucissimi, tantorum uim sufferre non ualentes, ad quadraginta<sup>d</sup> in arcu, lancea<sup>e</sup> et<sup>f</sup> gladio ceciderunt,<sup>g</sup> uiri fortissimi et usque ad diem hanc in omnibus preliis inuictissimi, singuli redditibus<sup>h</sup> terrarum et locorum possessionibus ditati, in obsequio militari et ipsi equites sub se habentes, alius uiginti, alius decem, alius uero<sup>i</sup> quinque ad minus. Octo tantum captiui abducti sunt,<sup>j</sup> reliqui armis inimicorum interierunt. Willelmus,<sup>k</sup> audita uociferatione adinuicem fortiter dimicantium, ascenso equo cum suis, dum subuenire uellet angustiatis, per fructecta et loca arida errore uiarum retardatur,<sup>l</sup> et sic sociis in magno positis periculo nequaquam succurrere<sup>m</sup> ualuit. Gozelinus uero, intelligens casum et interitum uirorum fortium, et ipse inter manus crudelium audacter aduolat,<sup>n</sup> nullo tamen auxilio occisis iam et attritis sociis potuit

<sup>67</sup> milite *N*      <sup>n</sup> milites *A*      <sup>v</sup> fortissimis *N*      <sup>m</sup> quam *N*      <sup>x</sup> Arabie *N*      <sup>y</sup> *N*  
*adds cum before totidem*      <sup>z</sup> auxiliatrices *ACHN*      <sup>a</sup> incipientibus *N*  
<sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> predamque adducere *N*      <sup>c</sup> suis *H*      <sup>d</sup> sexaginta *A*      <sup>e</sup> *N adds et before*  
lancea      <sup>f</sup> *om. N*      <sup>g</sup> occiderunt *N*      <sup>h</sup> redditibus *N*      <sup>i</sup> *om. A*      <sup>j</sup> *om. N*  
<sup>k</sup> *N adds uero after Willelmus*      <sup>l</sup> tardatur *N*      <sup>m</sup> subuenire *N*      <sup>n</sup> inuolat *ACH*

of the land of the city of Paris,<sup>67</sup> an eminent man and a knight very renowned in all the work of war, and his brother William, and Joscelin encouraged both brothers to seize booty. Going along with his encouragement, they summoned and assembled a hundred and sixty cavalry, men very bold in battle and very greedy for booty, and sixty infantry very fierce with bow, lance, and sword, and they set out into that same region where the herdsmen and the herdsmen's guards, who were very strong soldiers from Arabia, Egypt, and the Bedouins, were settled and the cattle, with the sheep and goats, were ranging extensively far and wide. As they reached the place, Joscelin was assigned, with fifty cavalry in one battle line, to assist on the right. William, with a like number of cavalry ordered in his battle formation, wearing helmets and hauberks, remained in position at a distance on the left side, so that he could bring up reinforcements to his comrades as they pressed forward in battle. Godfrey of Bures, keeping back sixty cavalry in his line, with all the company of hardy infantry stationed in the middle, boldly charged the herdsmen and the herdsmen's commanders, trying to carry off booty and striving for plunder with all his forces, but he advanced too far among the gangs of men defending the flock. For indeed four thousand arrived in a moment, having heard the horns and signals, to drive away the flocks. They surrounded Godfrey with his men, joined intense battle with them, until Godfrey and his very few, unable to withstand the strength of so many, fell to bow, lance, and sword: some forty of them fell, the strongest of men and unconquerable before that day in any battle, some of them enriched by the revenues of lands and by landed property, themselves having knights under them in military service, one twenty, another ten, another five at least. Only eight were captured and taken away; the rest died by the weapons of the enemy. William, hearing the shouting of people as they fought each other fiercely, mounted his horse with his men, but, while he wanted to help the men who were in difficulties, he was held up by losing his way through the scrubby ground and dry places, and so he was utterly unable to assist his comrades who were in great danger. Joscelin himself, realizing the plight and destruction of the brave men, also sped boldly among the gangs of cruel adversaries, yet he was unable to bring any assistance to comrades who were already

<sup>67</sup> The brothers were members of the Montlhéry family and came from Bures-sur-Yvette (départ. Essonne, France). William was to have the more outstanding career: after coming to the East in 1114 as an 'act of penance' he was made lord of Galilee in 1119. See Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, pp. 172, 174-5.

prodesse. Referuntur tamen<sup>o</sup> supra sexcentos<sup>o</sup> Sarracenorum in eodem prelio <sup>9</sup>perempti fuisse.<sup>9</sup> Pedites uero Christianorum de sexaginta uix decem per deuia et opaca loca elapsi sunt. Contigerunt hec damna grauissima egregiorum militum ipso die Dominice Resurrectionis,<sup>68</sup> quando omnes uiri catholici solent quiescere a laboribus et cunctis<sup>r</sup> seditionibus, uacare elemosinis et orationibus. Estimo quia hac de causa dati sunt in manibus<sup>s</sup> inimicorum, quod tam sanctissima die rapinis inhiabant, et idcirco sociorum auxilio per inuia errantium destitutos<sup>r</sup> fuisse.

712 32. Tam lacrimabili strage fortissimis uiris<sup>a</sup> peremptis, crudelis rumor ad regem Baldwinum ab Ierusalem profectum et Ptolomaide com-  
morantem transuolat,<sup>b</sup> | de nece et infortunio nominatorum procer-  
um,<sup>c</sup> quorum auxilio et consilio<sup>d</sup> ecclesia Ierusalem confortata multum de die in diem proficiebat. Quo audito et morte<sup>e</sup> Godefridi dilectis-  
simi militis agnita concussum est cor eius dolore uehementi et uultus eius<sup>f</sup> ab omni hilaritate decidit, et<sup>g</sup> uniuersorum corda qui hiis<sup>h</sup> Paschalibus gaudiis leticia affluebant in luctum et gemitum per omnes uicos et plateas ciuitatis Ptolomaidis commutata<sup>i</sup> sunt. Nec mora uniuersis incolis ciuitatis<sup>j</sup> Ierusalem conuocatis in ultionem confratrum occisorum,<sup>k</sup> et de uniuersis locis Christianorum habitationis rex contraxit exercitum, et usque Bethan<sup>69</sup> cum sex milibus ueniens, tentoria sua per campestria locari iussit. Nocte eadem cepit tedere exercitum Ierusalem et ceteros qui conuenerant uie et ultionis huius, eo quod Damascenorum ciuitas nimium <sup>l</sup>uicina et<sup>l</sup> Turcorum armis munita erat. Interea dum sic hesitarent, Idumei, exterriti<sup>m</sup> fama aduentus noui regis, diffisi ope Turcorum et fidei illorum leuitate, decreuerunt regi dare quatuor milia bisantiorum pro cede suorum, ut sic, ex eius gratia et consensu, deinceps securi pacifice<sup>n</sup> gregem suum custodiant, et nulla eis<sup>o</sup> uis inferatur.<sup>p</sup> Quod rex ex consilio suorum fieri concessit, uidens populi sui inconstantiam abhinc<sup>q</sup> proficisci nolentis.<sup>r</sup> Accepta quidem<sup>s</sup> rex hac auri massa, Ptolomaidam rediit,

<sup>a</sup> autem ACHN      <sup>r</sup> quingentos N      <sup>9 9</sup> occisi fuisse H; corruiisse N  
<sup>r</sup> omnibus A      <sup>s</sup> manus N      <sup>t</sup> constitutos N

32    <sup>a</sup> om. N      <sup>b</sup> peruolat N      <sup>c</sup> principum A      <sup>d</sup> solatio A      <sup>e</sup> mortem N  
<sup>f</sup> illius A      <sup>g</sup> ac ACH      <sup>h</sup> N adds in before hiis      <sup>i</sup> commutati N      <sup>j</sup> om. N  
<sup>k</sup> Christianorum N      <sup>l l</sup> om. N      <sup>m</sup> exercitu N      <sup>n</sup> N adds et before pacifice  
<sup>o</sup> E has suffered damage from this point      <sup>p</sup> inferretur N      <sup>q</sup> om. H      <sup>r</sup> uolentis N  
<sup>s</sup> om. HN

<sup>68</sup> 30 Mar. 1119 was Easter Day, but it seems from AA xii. 33 that Good Friday was intended. Both fell at the very end of Baldwin II's first regnal year.

slain and destroyed. Nevertheless, more than six hundred Saracens are reported to have been killed in this same battle. But of the Christians' sixty foot soldiers, scarcely ten escaped by means of out-of-the-way and obscure places. This very severe destruction of renowned soldiers took place on the very day of the Lord's Resurrection,<sup>68</sup> when all Christian men are accustomed to rest from their labours and from all disputes and to find time for alms and prayers. I think that it was for this reason they were given into the hands of the enemy, because they were greedy for plunder on so very holy a day, and therefore were deprived of the assistance of their comrades who were wandering in the trackless wastes.

32. After these very brave men died in so lamentable a massacre, the cruel news flew to King Baldwin, who had set out from Jerusalem and was staying at Acre, concerning the slaughter and ill-fortune of the renowned nobles, whose help and advice had strengthened the Church of Jerusalem and greatly benefited it from day to day. When he heard it and knew of the death of Godfrey his beloved knight, his heart was afflicted with violent grief and his face banished all expression of happiness, and the hearts of all who were flocking happily to these Easter joys were changed to grief and lamentation throughout all the streets and neighbourhoods of the town of Acre. At once all the inhabitants of the state of Jerusalem were called on to avenge their slaughtered brothers, and from all the places of Christian habitation the king drew together an army, and he came to Bethan<sup>69</sup> with six thousand and ordered their tents to be pitched on the plains. That same night the army of Jerusalem and the rest who had assembled began to be reluctant regarding this expedition and revenge, because the city of Damascus was too close and was defended by Turkish weapons. Meanwhile, as they wavered in this way, the Bedouins, who were terrified by the news of the approach of the new king, placing little faith in the might of the Turks and mistrusting their fickleness, decided to give the king four thousand bezants compensation for the slaughter of his men, so that in this way, by his favour and consent, they could from then on safely and peacefully guard their flock, and no force would be brought to bear on them. On the advice of his men the king agreed it should be so, seeing the unreliability of his people who did not want to set out from here. Having received this mass of gold, then, the king returned to

<sup>69</sup> Baysān (Arabic)/Bet She'an (Hebrew), classical Scythopolis.

pro anima Godefridi et pro animabus ceterorum occisorum elemosinas fieri constituens et missarum plurimas celebrationes.

33. Item ipso in anno secundo regni Baldwini secundi,<sup>70</sup> in Sabbato sancto<sup>a</sup> eiusdem Resurrectionis, qua Godefridus et predicti milites in crastino sunt ab Idumeis trucidati, quando ignis de celo gratia Dei ad corroborandam fidem dominice resurrectionis in lampade olei in sepulchro dominico reposita<sup>b</sup> flammam in momento suscitatur ad incendendum hac nocte Paschali cereum,<sup>71</sup> quidam peregrini, circiter septingenti,<sup>c</sup> qui, adorato Domino Iesu<sup>d</sup> in Ierusalem<sup>d</sup> ante sepulchrum ipsius uenerabile, et qui uiso miraculo ignis<sup>e</sup> celitus accensi, in gaudio et hilari corde ab Ierusalem descenderant ut fluentia Iordanis uisitarent iuxta ritum fidelium, et iam a montanis usque ad castellum Cuscheth<sup>f</sup> et de Burgeuins<sup>72</sup> processissent, in solitudinis loco, ecce Sarraceni de Sur et Ascalona<sup>g</sup> assunt<sup>h</sup> armis ferocissimi, peregrinos incurrentes et cum eis prelia conserentes. Peregrini sicut inermes et multis diebus uia aggrauati, cibis pro nomine Iesu attenuati, cito superati in fugam uersi<sup>i</sup> sunt. Quos impii carnifices insecuti, trecentos in ore gladii peremerunt, sexaginta uero captiuos tenuerunt. Hiis miseriis et cedibus peregrinorum auditis Ierusalem et in circuitu eius, rex et domnus patriarcha Germundus cum omnibus uiris magnis afflicti sunt doloribus, qui milites in ultionem fidelium interfectorum sine mora dirigunt. Sed frustra hii ad arma contendunt, uiam insistunt. Nam statim Sarraceni post stragem hanc fugitiui facti sunt et in menibus Sur et Ascalonis cum captiuis Christianis, cum spoliis Christianorum, inmissi sunt.<sup>j73</sup>

33    <sup>a</sup> secundo *N*    <sup>b</sup> repositam *C*    <sup>c</sup> quingenti *N*    <sup>d d</sup> om. *ACHN*    <sup>e</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>f</sup> Cuscheth *ACH*; Cusebeth *N*    <sup>g</sup> Ascalone *HN*    <sup>h</sup> *A* adds in    <sup>i</sup> conuersi *N*  
<sup>j</sup> *C* adds Finit liber duodecimus Hierosolimitane expeditionis. Amen.

<sup>70</sup> 1119.

<sup>71</sup> The Easter Fire, as described by other commentators, including Caffaro, who witnessed the spectacle in 1101 (*Ann. Ian.*, pp. 8–9), and Ekkehard (Frutulf and Ekkehard pp. 178, 332).

<sup>72</sup> Neither of these places has been identified. The Egyptians had evidently launched an

Acre, decreeing that there should be a distribution of alms for the soul of Godfrey and for the souls of the others killed, and the celebration of many masses.

33. Likewise in that very same year,<sup>70</sup> the second of Baldwin II's reign, on Holy Saturday of that same Easter, the day after which Godfrey and the aforesaid soldiers were slaughtered by the Bedouins, when, to strengthen faith in the Lord's resurrection, by God's grace fire from heaven rekindles in a moment on the oil lamp kept in the Lord's sepulchre the flame to light the candle on this Easter night,<sup>71</sup> certain pilgrims, around seven hundred, who, having worshipped Lord Jesus in Jerusalem before his very own venerable sepulchre, and having seen the miracle of the fire kindled from heaven, had gone down from Jerusalem in joy and with glad hearts in order to visit the waters of the Jordan in accordance with the rite of the faithful, and had already made their way from the mountains as far as the castles of Cuscheth and of Burgevins,<sup>72</sup> in a place of solitude, when suddenly there appeared Saracens from Tyre and from Ascalon, armed and very fierce, who charged the pilgrims and joined battle with them. The pilgrims were virtually unarmed and they were weary after a journey of many days, weakened by fasting for Jesus' name, and they were quickly overcome and put to flight. The wicked butchers pursued them, putting three hundred to the sword and holding sixty captive. When these wretched deeds and the slaughter of pilgrims were heard in Jerusalem and around it, the king and Lord Patriarch Warmund were afflicted by grief, along with all the great men, and they instructed soldiers to avenge the slain faithful at once. But they hastened to arms and took to the road in vain. For after this massacre the Saracens had at once become fugitives and had entered the walls of Tyre and Ascalon with their Christian prisoners and the Christians' spoils.<sup>73</sup>

attack through the two major ports which remained in their hands, Tyre and Ascalon, which were not captured by the Franks until 1124 and 1153 respectively.

<sup>73</sup> The narrative breaks off at this point.

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## APPENDIX

### CHAPTER TITLES

The original *Historia* did not have chapter divisions or titles: as explained in the Introduction, these were added by a copyist. Here the titles are listed with variant readings from E<sub>3</sub>, C, H, N, and A. It should be remembered that E<sub>3</sub> was a later hand which added these titles as a contents table at the beginning of the work, and that C lacks chapter titles at the head of Book i; N at the beginning of Books i and ii.

*Incipiunt capitula primi libri*<sup>a</sup>

- I Proemium sequentis operis.
- II Quomodo Petrus primus auctor extiterit expeditionis in Ierusalem, et quomodo patriarcham adierit.
- III Quid patriarcha Petro responderit, et quomodo Christianorum auxilia inuitauerit.
- IV Quomodo maiestas Domini Iesu in somnis Petro apparuerit, et allocuta sit.
- V<sup>b</sup> Quomodo Petrus Romam uenerit, legationem patriarche apostolico retulerit, et de terre motu.
- VI De quodam<sup>c</sup> Walthero<sup>d</sup> eunti Ierusalem, quid egerit uel quid pertulerit.
- VII Quomodo Petrus cum copioso exercitu tendens Ierusalem uindictam sociorum in Vngaria fecerit.
- VIII Quomodo Maroam fluuium cum difficultate transierit.
- IX Quomodo duci Bulgarorum<sup>e</sup> obsides dantur, quibus receptis grauis contentio cum Bulgaris<sup>f</sup> oritur.
- X Quomodo dux, exercitum insecutus, plurima diripuerit,<sup>g</sup> multos captiuos duxerit.
- XI Quomodo Petro cum exercitu causa pacis obuiam duci regresso, plurima iuuentus prostrata sit.
- XII Qualiter exercitus ex magna parte dispersus sit, et iterum<sup>h</sup> ad<sup>i</sup> xxxta milia readunatus.
- XIII Quomodo imperator Petro legatos direxerit ut ueniret Constantinopolim.
- XIV Quomodo Petrus secundam imperatoris legationem acceperit, ut Constantinopolim maturaret iter.

Book i    <sup>a</sup> om. A. No titles for bk. i CN    <sup>b</sup> V om. H; chs. VI-IX numbered V-VIII  
<sup>c</sup> quoda E    <sup>d</sup> Walthero E    <sup>e</sup> Bulgatorum E    <sup>f</sup> Bulgariis A    <sup>g</sup> diripuit E  
<sup>h</sup> om. E    <sup>i</sup> ab E

- XV Quomodo Petrus et exercitus ab imperatore benigne susceptus sit, deinde mare transierit.
- XVI Quomodo in terra urbis Nicee iuuentus predas fecerit, et castellum quoddam Solimanni ceperit.
- XVII Quomodo Solimannus dux congregatis Turcis predictum castrum expugnauerit, quosdam captiuos duxerit, reliquos occiderit.
- XVIII Quomodo exercitus per dies octo Petrum expectauerit, et quomodo Turci quosdam de exercitu decollauerint.
- XIX Quomodo Christianis ad ultionem sociorum armatis<sup>i</sup> Solimannus cum multa manu occurrerit pugnaturus.
- XX Quomodo Turci cum Christianis grauiter conflixerint.
- XXI Quomodo Turci infinitam multitudinem Christianorum peremerint.
- XXII Quomodo tria milia Christianorum qui euaserant a Turcis obsessi imperatoris auxilio liberantur.
- XXIII Quomodo quidam Godescalcus magnum manum in eandem expeditionem<sup>k</sup> contraxerit.
- XXIV Qualiter omnis exercitus Godescalci insolenter agens in Vngaria peremptus<sup>l</sup> sit.
- XXV Quomodo ex diuersis regnis<sup>m</sup> copiosa gens in eandem expeditionem<sup>k</sup> adunata sit.
- XXVI De strage Iudeorum Colonie.
- XXVII De simili "strage facta" Moguntie.<sup>n</sup>
- XXVIII Quomodo exercitus negato transitu cum Vngaris conflixerit.
- XXIX Qualiter subito disturbato<sup>p</sup> exercitu innumerabilis multitudo perierit.
- XXX De<sup>q</sup> superstitione anseris et capelle.
- <sup>r</sup>Expliciunt capitula primi libri.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>s</sup>Incipiunt capitula libri<sup>k</sup> secundi.

- I Cum quibus et quo tempore dux Godefridus secundam inierit profectionem.
- II Principes per internuncios conueniunt Pannonie regem, quare perdiderit populum Domini.<sup>e</sup>
- III Responsio regis, et quomodo ducem accersierit.
- IV Dux Pannoniam ingrediens quam decenter exceptus sit, et quid<sup>d</sup> inter eum et regni primores conuenerit.
- V Vbi exercitus iussu ducis castra posuerit.

<sup>i</sup> armatis E      <sup>k k</sup> om. E. As a consequence, XXVI-XXX are numbered XXVIII-XXVIII in E      <sup>l</sup> interemptus A      <sup>m</sup> gentibus A      <sup>n n</sup> om. A  
<sup>a</sup> Mogontie H      <sup>p</sup> turbato A      <sup>q</sup> Du E      <sup>r r</sup> om. A. Finiunt capitula H

Book ii      <sup>a</sup> No ch. titles for bk. ii N      <sup>b</sup> om. H      <sup>c</sup> Dei A      <sup>d</sup> quicquid E

- VI Obsidibus datis, qualiter Vngariam transierit.
- VII Vbi rex obsides reconsignat, et qualiter rex Grecie ducem per internuncios appellarit.
- VIII Quid dux resalutato regi<sup>o</sup> mandauerit, et pro retentis principibus quid egerit.
- IX Rex Grecie quomodo captiuus<sup>f</sup> principibus absolutis, regno suo consuluerit, ducem<sup>g</sup> simul accersiens.
- X Post aliquantas utrimque animositates tandem dux cum imperatore pacem componit.
- XI Causa imperatoris dux<sup>h</sup> castrorum loca<sup>h</sup> mutat, beniuolentie<sup>i</sup> nuncios ad eum<sup>j</sup> mittit, <sup>k</sup>rogatus uenire<sup>k</sup> dissimulat.
- XII Imperator alimenta emenda subtrahit, exercitus partes Grecie inuadit.
- XIII<sup>l</sup> Frater ducis cum periculo populum transducit,<sup>m</sup> dimicantes inter se partes<sup>n</sup> dux dirimit.
- XIV Imperator promissis obsidibus ducem ad se inuitat, et<sup>o</sup> quid ipse dux<sup>o</sup> legatis Boemundi responderit.
- XV Filio<sup>o</sup> imperatoris obside accepto, dux curiam ingreditur.<sup>r</sup>
- XVI Quam gloriose dux ab imperatore susceptus sit, et exhibitus, et quid inter eos conuenerit.
- XVII Monitu imperatoris populus Domini Cappadociam migrat, dux imperatorem pro necessariis rebus<sup>s</sup> sepius interpellat.<sup>t</sup>
- XVIII Boemundus adueniens egre persuasus est<sup>u</sup> imperatoris homo fieri.
- XIX Nepos Boemundi clanculo digreditur, dux cum suis decenter ab imperatore dimittitur, <sup>v</sup>Rübertus comes homo illius efficitur.<sup>v</sup>
- XX Exercitus uersus Niceam <sup>w</sup>iter dirigit.<sup>w</sup> De Reimundo comite et<sup>x</sup> Petro Heremita et de<sup>y</sup> quibusdam aliis principibus.
- XXI De obsidione urbis Nicee.
- XXII Item dispositio<sup>a</sup> obsidionis, quibus principibus que<sup>b</sup> partes ciuitatis<sup>c</sup> delegate<sup>d</sup> sint.
- XXIII Item<sup>e</sup> de eodem.
- XXIV De uiris sacri<sup>f</sup> ordinis,<sup>g</sup> et uulgo inermi, et de<sup>h</sup> lacu ciuitatis.
- XXV De principe<sup>i</sup> urbis Nicee<sup>j</sup> et<sup>k</sup> de exploratoribus eius.
- XXVI Item de uno exploratorum illorum et quam sollicite populus Dei gentilium pretoletur<sup>l</sup> aduentum.

<sup>e</sup> rege A      <sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> ducens E      <sup>h h</sup> castra A      <sup>i</sup> A adds causa after  
beniuolentie      <sup>j</sup> eos E      <sup>k k</sup> dux A      <sup>l</sup> A numbers this ch. X and so subsequent  
numbers are -3      <sup>m</sup> transduxit H      <sup>n</sup> om. A      <sup>o</sup> om. A      <sup>p</sup> om. E      <sup>q</sup> E adds Et  
before filio      <sup>r</sup> intrat A      <sup>s</sup> om. E      <sup>t</sup> compellat A      <sup>u</sup> om. H      <sup>v v</sup> et de  
Roberto A      <sup>w w</sup> uadit A      <sup>x</sup> A has XVIII here, so next ch. is XIX, and so on  
<sup>y</sup> om. A      <sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> disposit E      <sup>c</sup> quo E      <sup>d</sup> ciuitates C      <sup>e</sup> digate E  
<sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> om. E      <sup>h</sup> ordi E      <sup>i</sup> om. A      <sup>j</sup> principibus E      <sup>k</sup> terre E  
<sup>l</sup> om. E      <sup>l</sup> prestolatur E

- XXVII Aduentus Solimanni. Exortatio Podiensis episcopi, conflictus et uictoria populi Christiani.
- XXVIII De munificentia imperatoris in principes et de Turco falsi nominis Christiano.
- XXIX De uiris capitaneis in eadem obsidione occumbentibus.
- XXX Item de aliis ibidem pereuntibus.
- XXXI De murorum et precipue cuiusdam turris oppugnatione.<sup>m</sup>
- XXXII Populus Dei supradictum lacum nauali obsidione circumdat.
- XXXIII Prophani resistentes ualde Christicolos defatigant. "Vbi dux ipse<sup>r</sup> Turcorum bellicosissimum<sup>b</sup> sagitta traicit.
- XXXIV De occiso Christiano<sup>q</sup> bellatore qui ad ludibrium fidelium<sup>r</sup> in muro suspenditur.
- XXXV Quomodo Langobardus<sup>r</sup> quidam nouum genus machine operatus sit.
- XXXVI De euersione immanissime turris, et domina ciuitatis quomodo capta sit.
- XXXVII<sup>r</sup> Deditio ciuitatis Nicee, et de quadam sanctimoniali femina<sup>a</sup> captiua.
- XXXVIII Qualiter ex consultu principum populus Dei in duas partes diuisus sit.
- XXXIX De immanissima cede "Christiani populi" per insidias "principis Niceni."<sup>w</sup>
- XL De nuncio fidelium Christi ad ducem.
- XLI Vbi dux et "qui cum eo erant subueniunt pereuntibus.
- XLII Vbi dux et<sup>x</sup> alii quidam procerum ex nomine notantur, qui tunc fortiter pro Deo egerunt.
- XLIII Post uictoriam quid inter fideles Dei<sup>r</sup> conuenerit, et<sup>z</sup> quomodo sacer ordo curauerit cadauera<sup>a</sup> prostratorum.

<sup>b</sup>Expliciunt capitula libri secundi.<sup>b</sup>

Incipiunt capitula libri<sup>a</sup> tercii.<sup>b</sup>

- I Post uictoriam Christi fideles ubi castra locauerint, et miserabili sitis cruciatu quanti expirauerint.<sup>c</sup>
- II Item de eodem.
- III<sup>d</sup> Ultra progrediuntur, exercitus in geminas partes diuiditur, primores uenatu<sup>e</sup> uacant.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>m</sup> impugnatione A      <sup>n</sup> A has XXXII here, so from now only -1      <sup>o</sup> om. A  
<sup>p</sup> bellicosissimus E      <sup>q</sup> Christianorum E      <sup>r</sup> om. A      <sup>s</sup> Longobardus A  
<sup>t</sup> XXXVI AH: both remain -1      <sup>u</sup> om. A      <sup>v</sup> Christianorum A      <sup>w</sup> Solimanni A  
<sup>x</sup> om. E, which therefore numbers the last ch., like A and H. XLII      <sup>y</sup> Christi A  
<sup>z</sup> om. E      <sup>a</sup> corpora A      <sup>b</sup> Finiunt capitula H

Book iii      <sup>a</sup> om. H      <sup>b</sup> Vti A      <sup>c</sup> perierint A      <sup>d</sup> III om. A, which is consequently -1 from this point  
<sup>e</sup> uenatu H      <sup>f</sup> om. A

- IV Dux urso conflagrans grauiter sauciatur, sed alterius militis auxilio perempta bestia uiuus<sup>g</sup> eripitur.
- V Tancradus fixis iuxta Tharsis ciuitatem<sup>h</sup> tentoriis, apud ciues de urbis<sup>i</sup> traditione nunc minis nunc blanditiis agit.
- VI Ciues deditionem pollicentur, uiri exercitus Dei longe<sup>j</sup> a se<sup>j</sup> diuisi, hostes adesse<sup>k</sup> alterutris<sup>l</sup> suspicantur.
- VII Obsessi fedus rumpunt, Tancradus<sup>m</sup> et Baldwinus mixtis copiis obsidionem reparant, et de situ ciuitatis.<sup>n</sup>
- VIII De mutua quorundam principum altercatione, ubi et Tharenses Tancradum<sup>o</sup> sibi preesse desiderant.
- IX De eadem re.
- X De eodem et qualiter Tancradus Azaram<sup>p</sup> urbem intrauerit.
- XI Vbi Baldwinus princeps ciuitatis factus conchristianos<sup>q</sup> partis Tancradi intromittere non uult.
- XII Christiani extra portam manentes noctu a gentilibus<sup>r</sup> extincti sunt.
- XIII<sup>r</sup> Huius<sup>r</sup> necis populus Dei<sup>r</sup> Baldwinum insimulans ad arma concurrat, cui satisfaciens contra reliquos Dei inimicos uehementer insurgit.
- XIV Vbi uiri Baldwini cum piratis Christianis fedus ineunt, et Tharsis simul petunt.
- XV Tancradus Mamistram ciuitatem armis capit, et<sup>s</sup> instinctu cuiusdam Richardi castra Baldwini hostiliter<sup>t</sup> inuadit.
- XVI Baldwinus et Tancradus bellum conserunt,<sup>u</sup> in quo Tancradus inferior inuentus est.
- XVII Tancradus et Baldwinus pacem inter se reformant. De<sup>v</sup> prospero euentu Baldwini in expugnandis munitionibus et de perfidia cuiusdam Armenici.
- XVIII Quam inuitus idem Armenicus commissum sibi presidium reddiderit.
- XIX Dux ciuitatis Rohas Baldwinum in auxilium<sup>x</sup> uocatus ire perrexit, a Turcis uetatus<sup>y</sup> iterato reproperat.<sup>b</sup>
- XX Baldwinus qualiter in urbe Rohas exceptus sit, et quam magnanime<sup>c</sup> ducis illius dona respuerit, et petitio senatorum.<sup>d</sup>
- XXI A duce urbis Rohas Baldwinus in filium adoptatus, petitione ipsius Samusart<sup>e</sup> ciuitatem inpugnat, sed infecto negotio reuersus est inanis.

<sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> om. A      <sup>i</sup> uerbis E      <sup>j</sup> om. A      <sup>k</sup> EN add de after adesse  
<sup>l</sup> adulteris E      <sup>m</sup> Tanchradus H      <sup>n</sup> urbis H      <sup>o</sup> Tancradum ACN      <sup>p</sup> Azaran A  
<sup>q</sup> est Christianus E      <sup>r</sup> noctu agentibus N      <sup>s</sup> XII N, so numbered -t (as A) from this point  
<sup>t</sup> Cuius A      <sup>u</sup> om. A      <sup>v</sup> H adds de after et      <sup>w</sup> om. A  
<sup>x</sup> conferunt N      <sup>y</sup> E adds et before de      <sup>z</sup> H adds uocat, Baldwinus after auxilium  
<sup>a</sup> necatus E      <sup>b</sup> properat E; reproparat N      <sup>c</sup> magnanimiter N      <sup>d</sup> seniorum H  
<sup>e</sup> Samosat E

- XXII Conspirate plebis consilium in ducem suum Baldwinus<sup>f</sup> reprimere uolens nichil<sup>g</sup> proficit.
- XXIII Quam misere dux idem interfectus sit.<sup>h</sup>
- XXIV Occiso duci<sup>i</sup> Baldwinus<sup>j</sup> subrogatur,<sup>k</sup> uenalem arcem Samusart emere primo contempsit, postmodum<sup>l</sup> consilio suorum rebus preciosissimis<sup>l</sup> comparauit.
- XXV Presidium Sororgia in manus Baldwini non sine labore traditur, et Balduch fraudulentia denotatur.<sup>m</sup>
- XXVI Tancradus dampnosa Christianis presidia destruit, et oblata sibi ab hostibus munera prudenter<sup>n</sup> reponit.
- XXVII De ciuitate Marese<sup>o</sup> ubi et uxor Baldwini diem<sup>p</sup> obiit.
- XXVIII De ciuitate Arthesia, ubi Christiani Armenici<sup>q</sup> secum manentibus Turcis capita<sup>r</sup> descantes fratres benigne recipiunt.<sup>j</sup>
- XXIX Populus Dei profana multitudine circumplexi ferro<sup>r</sup> sibi uiam aperiunt, et uix euadunt, obsessi fiducialiter agunt.
- XXX Profani<sup>u</sup> Arthesiam obsidentes, de aduentu Christiani exercitus per exploratores edocti, nequaquam usque in noctem obsidionem soluunt.
- XXXI Exercitu Dei adueniente, Arthesia<sup>v</sup> fidelium tuitione munitur, Baldwinus triumphis clarus nouis nuptiis illustratur.
- XXXII Christi populus adunatus non ultra diuiditur, quem Podiensis episcopus circumspectum fore paterne alloquitur.
- XXXIII Relicta Romania preelectos sequentes signiferos ad pontem usque fluuii Pharphar<sup>w</sup> perueniunt.<sup>x</sup> Vbi a Turcis bellicose<sup>y</sup> excepti sunt.<sup>y</sup>
- XXXIV<sup>z</sup> Dura conflictatio fidelium et Turcorum pro transitu pontis.
- XXXV Monitu Podiensis episcopi pontem superant,<sup>a</sup> commisso prelio bellatores Christi uictores redeunt, principem Antiochie nuncia dura<sup>b</sup> percellunt.
- XXXVI Iter Antiochiam indicitur, antistes populum alloquitur, et per eum qui principes exercitum precedere, qui extremas custodias obseruare debeant ordinatur.<sup>c</sup>
- XXXVII Antiochiam peruenientes quid egerit<sup>d</sup> et quantus estimatus sit exercitus Dei.<sup>e</sup>
- XXXVIII Descriptio qualiter obsessa sit urbs.
- XXXIX Item de eadem re.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Baldewinum E      <sup>g</sup> nil A      <sup>h</sup> est E      <sup>i</sup> duce A      <sup>j</sup> Balduwino E  
<sup>k</sup> subrogatus A      <sup>l</sup> om. A      <sup>m</sup> notatur H      <sup>n</sup> om. N      <sup>o</sup> Marese N      <sup>p</sup> om. A  
<sup>q</sup> Arminici AN      <sup>r</sup> capiti E      <sup>s</sup> recipientibus E      <sup>t</sup> om. N      <sup>u</sup> Prophania A  
<sup>v</sup> om. N      <sup>w</sup> Pharfar CN; Farfar H      <sup>x</sup> A has XXXIII here, so subsequent numbers agree with CH      <sup>y</sup> exceptis E      <sup>z</sup> XXXIII N; remains -1 from this point.      <sup>a</sup> superat E  
<sup>b</sup> dira H      <sup>c</sup> ordinantur E      <sup>d</sup> egerint N      <sup>e</sup> A adds uiuentis after Dei      <sup>f</sup> De eodem A

- XL De ponte fluminis ad cuius destructionem machina<sup>g</sup> exquisite componitur.<sup>h</sup>
- XLI Congressio ualida pontis, ubi machina Christianorum in faul-  
lam redigitur,<sup>i</sup> et instrumenta alia instaurantur.
- XLII<sup>j</sup> De nauali ponte fidelium ad cuitandas Turcorum insidias.
- XLIII Qualiter Turci Christianos ad equorum pabula missos clam<sup>k</sup>  
inuaserunt.<sup>l</sup>
- XLIV Fideles, in ultionem suorum consurgentes, post mutuam cedem  
pars<sup>m</sup> gladiis consumpti, pars<sup>n</sup> in flumine suffocati sunt.
- XLV<sup>o</sup> Custodia porte pacto pecunie Tancrado mandatur.
- XLVI De clerico et matrona qui dum aleis luderent insidiosè<sup>p</sup>  
perempti sunt.
- XLVII De milite propria incuria prostrato, et de pomerio quod  
fidelibus nociuum succiditur.
- XLVIII De Hugone comite qui neces fidelium dolens<sup>q</sup> Turcorum  
fraudibus prudenter occurrit.
- XLIX Vbi comitis eiusdem filius Turcorum seuissimum pessumdans  
post non nulla uite<sup>r</sup> discrimina uictor regreditur.<sup>s</sup>
- L Deficientibus uictui necessariis, principes in hoc electi de  
circumpositis terris predas innumeras abducunt.
- LI Vbi a gentibus<sup>t</sup> preda excutitur.
- LII De preda Roberti comitis et inualescente<sup>u</sup> fame minores quid  
egerint<sup>v</sup> uel quid<sup>w</sup> passi sint.<sup>x</sup>
- LIII Mors atrocissima cuiusdam archidiaconi et comitum eius.
- LIV De morte filii regis<sup>y</sup> Danorum et Florine cuiusdam matrone et  
eorum qui in<sup>z</sup> balneis occisi sunt.
- LV Porta Christianis mortifera, Reimundus comes prophanos  
aliquantum a fidelium incursione<sup>a</sup> coercescit.<sup>b</sup>
- LVI Pro<sup>c</sup> redemptione cuiusdam captiui iuuenis parentes eius<sup>d</sup>  
uolentes turrin suam Christianis tradere<sup>e</sup> et expulsi sunt, et  
iuuenis<sup>f</sup> a Christianis<sup>f</sup> occisus est.<sup>g</sup>
- LVII<sup>h</sup> Decretum populi Dei et denotatio duorum qui in adulterio  
deprehensi sunt.
- LVIII Dux Godefridus, iam recuperata salute, et Reimundus comes  
per regiones diuisi ad contrahendas<sup>i</sup> predarum copias destinan-  
tur.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>g</sup> machine H      <sup>h</sup> componuntur H      <sup>i</sup> regreditur N      <sup>j</sup> XL again A, and  
continues -2      <sup>k</sup> om. A      <sup>l</sup> inuaserint AC      <sup>m</sup> partim H      <sup>n</sup> partim H      <sup>o</sup> H  
omits this and succeeding ch. nos.      <sup>p</sup> insidione HN      <sup>q</sup> nocens E      <sup>r</sup> om. H  
<sup>s</sup> egreditur A      <sup>t</sup> gentilibus CH      <sup>u</sup> inualescentes E      <sup>v</sup> egerunt N      <sup>w</sup> aut A  
<sup>x</sup> sunt N      <sup>y</sup> gegis E      <sup>z</sup> om. N      <sup>a</sup> inuasionem N      <sup>b</sup> coercescit E      <sup>c</sup> De A  
<sup>d</sup> om. H      <sup>e</sup> reddere A      <sup>f</sup> om. A      <sup>g</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> C, like N, has LVI and both  
continue -1      <sup>i</sup> comprehendas N      <sup>j</sup> distrahuntur E

- LIX Legatio Babilonii<sup>k</sup> regis ad populum Dei, et quomodo Winimerus<sup>l</sup> Laodiciam et strennue cepit et stulte amisit.
- LX Consilium obsesse Antiochie catholicis proditur.<sup>m</sup> Episcopus Podiensis et dux<sup>n</sup> Godefridus populum Dei uerbis consolatoriis adhortantur.
- LXI Electi milites hostilia castra inuadere, multitudine graui superueniente minime<sup>o</sup> terrentur.
- LXII Peregrini sermone pontificis roborati, septingentos hostium palam triumphant, sectisque ceruicibus dehonestant.
- LXIII Boemundus et comites eius, dum pontem hostibus incommensabilem facere nituntur, partim cesi, partim lesi sunt, et hoc duci Godefrido flebiliter<sup>p</sup> nunciatur.
- LXIV Fidelibus in ultionem suorum consurgentibus, anceps utrimque fuga<sup>q</sup> diutius agitur.
- LXV Vbi dux loricatedum Turcum uno ictu medium diuidit, et post cruentam pugnam<sup>r</sup> fideles uictoria comitatur.
- LXVI Quidam obsessorum Antiochie ad Christianos clanculo confugerunt, et presidium iuxta pontem exstructum<sup>s</sup> custodie Reimundi delegatum est.

<sup>t</sup>Expliciunt capitula libri tercii.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>u</sup>Incipiunt capitula libri quarti<sup>u</sup>

- I Audiens princeps Antiochie Christianorum uictoriam, quid facto opus sit a suis fidelibus sciscitatur.
- II Annotatio nunciorum Darsiani,<sup>b</sup> et qui sint quos<sup>c</sup> ad auxilium inuitat.
- III Allegatio cause apud regem Corrozan.<sup>d</sup>
- IV Qualiter ipse rex accepit uerba nunciorum.
- V Insultatio Corbahan<sup>e</sup> contra populum Dei in conspectu<sup>f</sup> uocatorum regis.<sup>f</sup>
- VI <sup>g</sup>Expugnate Nicee<sup>h</sup> princeps<sup>g</sup> uirtutem predicat <sup>i</sup>Christiani exercitus.<sup>i</sup>
- VII Corbahan<sup>j</sup> in superbia magna<sup>j</sup> minatur in breui se experturum<sup>k</sup> fortitudinem Christi militum.<sup>j</sup>
- VIII Rex Corrozan de belli euentu magos<sup>m</sup> consulit, et Turcorum principes ex nomine uocantur.

<sup>k</sup> Babilonici *H*      <sup>l</sup> Winemarus *H*      <sup>m</sup> *A* has LIX at this point and so following nos.  
are as *CN* (-t)      <sup>n</sup> om. *E*      <sup>o</sup> non *H*      <sup>p</sup> om. *A*      <sup>q</sup> pugna *H*      <sup>r</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>s</sup> locatum *A*      <sup>t</sup> Expliciunt capitula *A*; Finiunt capitula *CH*; om. *N*

Book iv      <sup>u</sup> Capitula libri quarti *C*; Incipiunt capitula quarti *H*; om. *N*  
<sup>b</sup> Darsiarii *E*      <sup>c</sup> quot *E*      <sup>d</sup> Corrazan *H*; Corrosan *N*      <sup>e</sup> Corban *A*  
<sup>f</sup> nunciorum *A*      <sup>g</sup> Solimannus *A*      <sup>h</sup> Nicee *E*      <sup>i</sup> Christianorum *A*  
<sup>j</sup> om. *A*      <sup>k</sup> expertinum *E*      <sup>l</sup> uirtutem Christianorum *A*      <sup>m</sup> magis *E*

- IX De munificentia Baldwini in principes et de tentorio duci transmissio.
- X De conuentu nationum ad obsidionem Christianorum festinantium<sup>n</sup> et de accusatione Baldwini.
- XI Prophanis<sup>o</sup> Rohas obsidere parantibus Baldwinus obuiat, dimicat et<sup>b</sup> triumphat.
- XII Corbahan triduo<sup>q</sup> Rohas frustra obsidet, Baldwinus recedentem bellicose insequitur.
- XIII Christiani exercitus quidam castris se subtrahunt et uiri industrii in occursum gentilium exploratum pergunt.
- XIV Perspecto<sup>r</sup> nationum<sup>e</sup> apparatu, 'quod principes' inierint consilium.
- XV Misterium archani consilii Boemundi de traditione Antiochie.
- XVI Quam prudenter ipsum consilium inter primates uentilatum sit, ceteris ignorantibus.
- XVII Quam caute sibi conuenerint fidelium interpres et traditor ciuitatis.
- XVIII Godefridus et Robertus electos in hoc bellones ne primum murorum ascensum horreant exhortantur.
- XIX Viri cordati qualiter per coriciam scalam urbem<sup>u</sup> intromissi sunt.<sup>v</sup>
- XX Scala dirupta nonnulli pereunt, sed denuo<sup>w</sup> reparata fiducialiter ascendunt.
- XXI Inmissi stragem custodum operantur, gentiles alii somno experrecti Christianos impugnant.
- XXII Tumultuantibus hinc inde partibus principes tunc primum traditam esse<sup>x</sup> ciuitatem multitudini indicant.<sup>y</sup>
- XXIII Fideles portas urbis aperiunt, uexillum Boemundi in arce preminet, prima luce<sup>z</sup> geritur bellicosissimus Mars.<sup>z</sup>
- XXIV Pagani qua quisque poterat fugit,<sup>a</sup> aliqui de altissimis rupis cadentes<sup>b</sup> elisi sunt et extincti.<sup>b c</sup>
- XXV De opibus inuentis in ciuitate et qua die capta sit urbs.
- XXVI De fuga et nece regis Antiochie.
- XXVII De Rotgero qui gentilem exercitum precedentes bellator excipiens, insperata morte preuentus est.<sup>d</sup>
- XXVIII Excusatio<sup>e</sup> fratrum quare non subuenerint<sup>f</sup> coram se<sup>f</sup> pereunti, et de exequiis Rotgeri.
- XXIX Obsidio nationum<sup>g</sup> circa Antiochiam.

<sup>n</sup> om. A    <sup>o</sup> Prophanos E    <sup>p</sup> ac E    <sup>q</sup> om. E    <sup>r</sup> Conspecto A    <sup>s</sup> narium E  
<sup>t</sup> om. N    <sup>u</sup> om. ACH    <sup>v</sup> sint C    <sup>w</sup> de uno E    <sup>x</sup> om. A    <sup>y</sup> nunciant A  
<sup>z</sup> bellum geritur A    <sup>a</sup> fugam iniit H    <sup>b</sup> extincti sunt A    <sup>c</sup> H adds sunt after extincti  
<sup>d</sup> sit A    <sup>e</sup> Excusati H    <sup>f</sup> om. A    <sup>g</sup> After na- there is a leaf missing from N which had the rest of the titles for bk. iv

- XXX Dux <sup>h</sup>Godefridus bellans<sup>h</sup> in fugam uertitur, et plurimi comitum eius diuersis mortibus<sup>i</sup> profligantur.<sup>j</sup>
- XXXI Boemundus acriter impugnatur, sed<sup>k</sup> auxilio fratrum superior efficitur, <sup>l</sup>et qua necessitate<sup>l</sup> prophani remotius castra locarint.
- XXXII Vbi Corbahan hos et illos per singulas portas distribuit et Tancradus menia oppugnantes<sup>m</sup> aggreditur.
- XXXIII Christiani presidium nouum<sup>n</sup> retinere<sup>o</sup> se posse desperantes, demoliuntur incendio.
- XXXIV De magnitudine famis in populi Dei, et<sup>p</sup> quam care uendebantur uilissima.
- XXXV Turci urbem latenter<sup>q</sup> recuperare uolentes detecti<sup>r</sup> sunt, qui post diutinam colluctationem muro depulsi<sup>s</sup> misere perierunt.
- XXXVI De quibusdam Christianis uictum extra muros querentibus, et de nece nautarum obsessis alimenta uendentium.<sup>t</sup>
- XXXVII Quomodo primorum quidam desperatione uiuendi <sup>u</sup>de ciuitate<sup>u</sup> clam fugerint.
- XXXVIII Verba consolatoria clerici cuiusdam ad populum.
- XXXIX Item exhortatio principalium uirorum et fugitiui principes quomodo Constantinopolim nauigare ceperint.
- XL Quomodo predicti uiri Grecum<sup>v</sup> imperatorem<sup>w</sup> ab auxilio fratrum reuocauerint.
- XLI Alii quidam principes fugam meditantes bonorum uirorum exhortationibus<sup>x</sup> retinentur.
- XLII De milite Christiano cuius equus fugientis<sup>y</sup> cecidit.
- XLIII De inuentione dominice lancee.
- XLIV Vbi Petrus legatione fungitur apud<sup>z</sup> Corbahan principem obsidionis.<sup>a</sup>
- XLV Item de eodem, et quam tumide<sup>b</sup> princeps uerba legationis acceperit.
- XLVI Petrus reuertitur, responsio maioribus aperitur, et quid facto opus sit in commune disquiritur.
- XLVII Bellum indicitur, omnes quasi morituri in crastinum preparantur, et distribute acies sub ducibus ordinantur.
- XLVIII Relicto in urbe Reimundo comite, fideles portis erumpunt, quibus gentiles a magistra arce signo accepto occurrunt.
- XLIX Christi populus in prima acie uictor gentilium fumo impeditur.
- L Peregrini multifarie dissipantur, acies Boemundi in mortis articulo posita Godefridi duci nunciatur.

<sup>h</sup> om. A      <sup>i</sup> motibus H      <sup>j</sup> profligantur A      <sup>k</sup> om. A      <sup>l</sup> quare A  
<sup>m</sup> impugnantes A      <sup>n</sup> om. H      <sup>o</sup> retineri E      <sup>p</sup> om. A      <sup>q</sup> om. A      <sup>r</sup> detecti E  
<sup>s</sup> pulsi A      <sup>t</sup> uendentibus A      <sup>u</sup> om. A      <sup>v</sup> om. A      <sup>w</sup> A adds Grecorum after  
imperatorum      <sup>x</sup> et hortationibus E      <sup>y</sup> labentis A      <sup>z</sup> ad A      <sup>a</sup> om. A  
<sup>b</sup> timide EH

- LI Dux hostes fugat et proterit, fratres a porta mortis educit.  
 LII Item de eodem.  
 LIII Corbahan uictis suis spem uiuendi in fuga ponit, quem Podiensis episcopus insectatur ac<sup>e</sup> perdit.  
 LIV<sup>d</sup> Vbi notantur principes qui pre inopia mendicant.  
 LV<sup>e</sup> De eadem re, <sup>f</sup>de fuga et cede hostium.<sup>f</sup>  
 LVI<sup>s</sup> De direptione castrorum, et diuersitate uinculorum.

<sup>h</sup>Expliciunt capitula libri quarti.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Incipiunt capitula libri quinti.<sup>a</sup>

- I De diuinorum misteriorum restitutione et de<sup>b</sup> patriarche relocatione.  
 II Quibus principibus subiecta sit<sup>e</sup> Antiochia.  
 III De duobus principibus ad imperatorem directis <sup>d</sup>quorum unus periit, alius<sup>e</sup> uix euasit.<sup>d</sup>  
 IV De plaga mortalitatis <sup>f</sup>que facta est<sup>f</sup> in populo Dei.  
 V De insidiis Turcorum et<sup>s</sup> de quodam<sup>h</sup> Folberto et uxore eius.  
 VI De inimiciis inter Brodoan <sup>i</sup>de Alapia<sup>i</sup> et principem de<sup>j</sup> Hasart.  
 VII Consilium Turci Christiane mariti de adipiscenda Christianorum amicitia.  
 VIII Legatio principis Hasart<sup>k</sup> ad Godefridum ducem <sup>l</sup>et quomodo dux hesitat cum Turcis fedus inire.<sup>l</sup>  
 IX Mahumet filius principis obses duci Godefrido<sup>m</sup> datur, <sup>n</sup>columbe federis nuncie emittuntur.<sup>n</sup>  
 X Brodoan Hasart obsidet, Christianorum superuenit exercitus.  
 XI <sup>o</sup>Boemundus et Reimundus duci Godefrido associantur, obsidio soluitur sed per insidias quidam de Christianis occiduntur.<sup>o</sup>  
 XII<sup>p</sup> A principe Hasart cum magna gratiarum actione suscipitur dux Godefridus,<sup>q</sup> fedus renovatur.  
 XIII Dux ingrauescente pestilentia <sup>r</sup>coactus necessitate temporis<sup>r</sup> recessit ab Antiochia.  
 XIV Dux ipse<sup>s</sup> cum paucis presidia Christianis<sup>t</sup> inimica subuertit.  
 XV Baldwinus <sup>u</sup>confluentes ad se Christianos donis plurimis remunerat,<sup>u</sup> Turcos edomat.

<sup>e</sup> et *A*    <sup>d</sup> LIV *om. H*    <sup>e</sup> LIII *H*    <sup>f f</sup> *om. A*    <sup>s</sup> LIV *H*    <sup>h h</sup> libri quarti *om. A*; Finiunt capitula *CH*

Book v    <sup>a a</sup> Capitula libri quinti *C*; Incipiunt capitula quinti *H*; *om. N*    <sup>b</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>c</sup> *om. A*    <sup>d d</sup> *om. A*    <sup>e</sup> alter *H*    <sup>f f</sup> *om. A*    <sup>s</sup> *om. A*    <sup>h</sup> *om. A*    <sup>i i</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>j</sup> *om. H*    <sup>k</sup> Hasare *E*    <sup>l l</sup> *om. A*    <sup>m</sup> *om. A*    <sup>n n</sup> *om. A*    <sup>o o</sup> Obsidio soluitur, per insidias Christiani occiduntur. *A*    <sup>p</sup> XI *N* (*mistake on turning page*)—*ch. nos. -1 from this point*    <sup>q</sup> et *A*    <sup>r r</sup> *om. A*    <sup>s</sup> *om. A*    <sup>t</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>u u</sup> Christianos donat *A*

- XVI Baldwinus <sup>v</sup>conspirantes aduersum se proscribit et custodie  
mancipat.<sup>v</sup>
- XVII Baldwinus <sup>w</sup>nimia datione exhaustus<sup>w</sup> pro redemptione cap-  
tiuorum munera suscipit, <sup>x</sup>quosdam excruciat et urbe depellit.<sup>x</sup>
- XVIII De socero Baldwini et <sup>y</sup>de dolo Balas in presidio Malacha.<sup>y z</sup>
- XIX Quomodo <sup>a</sup>quidam uiri sensati Baldwinum contra perfidiam  
Turci<sup>a</sup> muniunt.
- XX <sup>b</sup>Quomodo Baldwinus perfidiam Turci in captione suorum  
experitur.<sup>b</sup>
- XXI Baldwinus grauiter<sup>c</sup> torquetur de captione suorum militum.<sup>d</sup>
- XXII Balduch capite truncatur, <sup>e</sup>sex de sociis Baldwini restituuntur.<sup>e</sup>
- XXIII Multitudo <sup>f</sup>Theutonicorum superueniens predicta<sup>f</sup> mortalitate  
consumitur.
- XXIV Sansadonias matrem cum filiis redimit.<sup>g</sup> Winemarus<sup>h</sup> reduci-  
tur,<sup>i j</sup>Mahumet obses diligenter custoditur, nauigia reparan-  
tur.<sup>j k</sup>
- XXV De prodigio celitus ostenso et de<sup>l</sup> uariis <sup>m</sup>super hoc<sup>m</sup> coniectur-  
is.<sup>n</sup>
- XXVI De gestis<sup>o</sup> principum et Boemundi dominio<sup>p q</sup>in Antiochia.<sup>q</sup>
- XXVII<sup>r</sup> Qualiter dux Godefridus Turcorum deprehendit insidias, et in  
paucis prostrauit plurimos.<sup>s</sup>
- XXVIII De murmure Christianorum et colloquio primorum.
- XXIX De horrenda<sup>t</sup> famis angustia in obsidione Marre.<sup>u</sup>
- XXX<sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup>Quomodo comes<sup>w</sup> Reimundus castellum <sup>y</sup>deiecerit et Marram  
ceperit.<sup>y</sup>
- XXXI<sup>z</sup> <sup>a</sup>Quomodo<sup>x</sup> Reimundus, Turcorum et Sarracenorum presidii  
expugnatis, presidium Arcas<sup>b</sup> obsederit, et de difficultate  
eiusdem obsidionis.<sup>a</sup>
- XXXII<sup>c</sup> Quomodo questio facta sit de lancea dominica <sup>d</sup>et quomodo  
puer Mahumet obses mortuus a Godefrido duce patri honor-  
ifice est remissus.<sup>d</sup>
- XXXIII Quomodo dux <sup>e</sup>Godefridus et Robertus Flandriensis ciuitatem  
Gibel obsederint,<sup>f</sup> et quomodo Reimundus comes pecunia

<sup>v v</sup> aduersarios suos proscribit et punit *A*      <sup>w w</sup> om. *A*      <sup>x x</sup> om. *A*      <sup>y y</sup> dolo  
Balas *A*      <sup>z</sup> Malacham *N*      <sup>a a</sup> amici Baldewinum contra dolos *A*      <sup>b b</sup> Baldewinus  
perfidiam Turci experitur. *A*      <sup>c</sup> om. *A*      <sup>d</sup> om. *A*      <sup>e e</sup> socii Baldewini redduntur *A*  
<sup>f f</sup> Christianorum *A*      <sup>g</sup> redemit *E*      <sup>h</sup> Winimarus *E*; Winemaris *N*      <sup>i</sup> *N* adds  
XXIII here, but from XXV nos. are correct      <sup>j j</sup> om. *A*      <sup>k</sup> preparantur *N*      <sup>l</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>m m</sup> om. *A*      <sup>n</sup> iniecturis *E*      <sup>o</sup> iestis *E*      <sup>p</sup> dominico *E*      <sup>q q</sup> om. *A*      <sup>r</sup> XXVI  
*C*, and subsequent nos. -*r*      <sup>s s</sup> Dux deprehendit insidias et Turcos prosternit. *A*  
<sup>t</sup> om. *A*      <sup>u</sup> Marte *E*      <sup>v</sup> XXX om. *CN*      <sup>w w</sup> om. *A*      <sup>x x</sup> om. *E*      <sup>y y</sup> deiecit  
Marram cepit *A*      <sup>z</sup> XXIX *C*; XXX *E*      <sup>a a</sup> Reimundus presidia Sarracenorum  
expugnauit. *A*      <sup>b</sup> Accas *E*; Archas *H*      <sup>c</sup> XXX *C*; XXXI *EN*, and so on to end of book  
<sup>d d</sup> om. *A*      <sup>e e</sup> ciuitatem Gibel obsederit *A*      <sup>f</sup> obsederunt *H*

corruptus eisdem principes dolosa legatione ab obsidione reuocauit.<sup>e</sup>

XXXIV Quomodo principes <sup>z</sup>ab obsidione Gibel castra amouerint<sup>h</sup> et Reimundo in auxilium<sup>i</sup> properauerint.<sup>g</sup>

XXXV <sup>j</sup>Predicti principes, falsa legatione seducti, a societate Reimundi se subtrahunt, quos ille blanditiis et donis reuocat ad concordiam.<sup>j</sup>

XXXVI <sup>k</sup>Qualiter creuit murmur in populo ducis quod tamdiu differetur uia in Ierusalem.<sup>k</sup>

XXXVII Obsidio ab<sup>l</sup> Arcas soluitur, <sup>m</sup>principes procul ab urbe Tripolis figunt<sup>n</sup> tentoria, camellos mellitos per plana repertos suxit populus.<sup>m</sup>

XXXVIII <sup>o</sup>Inito federe, preses ciuitatis Tripolis ductorem uie populo Dei concessit, cuius ductu loca difficillima pertransit.<sup>o</sup>

XXXIX De difficultate itineris et <sup>p</sup>quomodo fedus inierint<sup>p q</sup> cum incolis urbis Baurim.

XL Quomodo a serpentibus multi <sup>r</sup>perierint in regione Sydonis, et de amissione cuiusdam Waltheri.<sup>r</sup>

XLI Quomodo transierint <sup>s</sup>ciuitates Tyrum, Ptolomaidam, Caiphaz, Cesaream. sicque<sup>s</sup> sanctam pentecosten celebrauerint.<sup>s</sup>

XLII Quomodo ciuitatem Ramam uacuam inuenirent et <sup>t</sup>posserint ac<sup>t</sup> episcopum <sup>v</sup>in ea<sup>v</sup> constituerint.

XLIII <sup>w</sup>Dum<sup>x</sup> ad montana progreditur exercitus, nocte eclipsis lune apparuit.<sup>w</sup>

XLIV Quomodo Christiani <sup>y</sup>incole urbis Betleem<sup>z</sup> duci Godefrido legatos dirigunt ut maturet<sup>a</sup> ad subueniendum et de gratulabunda susceptione sociorum.<sup>y</sup>

XLV Qualiter exercitus maturauerit Ierusalem, comperta legatione a Betleem, <sup>b</sup>et de preda a finitimis<sup>c</sup> urbis<sup>d</sup> adducta<sup>b</sup> et qualiter ante muros Ierusalem in laudibus <sup>e</sup>et ymnis<sup>e</sup> constiterint.<sup>f</sup>

XLVI Qualiter et a quibus principibus ciuitas<sup>g</sup> obsessa sit.

<sup>h</sup>Expliciunt capitula<sup>h</sup>

<sup>z z</sup> om. A <sup>h</sup> amouerint N <sup>i</sup> auxilio H <sup>j j</sup> Principes seducti a Reimundo se subtrahunt. A <sup>k k</sup> Creuit murmur in populo Dei. A <sup>l</sup> ad E <sup>m m</sup> Tripolis figuntur tentoria A <sup>n</sup> signant N <sup>o o</sup> Fedus cum preside Tripolis inquit ductorem illis uiarum difficilium tribuit. A <sup>p p</sup> federe A <sup>q</sup> inierit E <sup>r r</sup> om. A <sup>s s</sup> multas ciuitates et A <sup>t</sup> peregerunt A <sup>u u</sup> om. A <sup>v v</sup> om. A <sup>w w</sup> Vbi in nocte eclipsis lune apparuit. A <sup>x</sup> Cum C <sup>y y</sup> Betleem duci legacionem mittunt ut maturaret ad subueniendum. A <sup>z</sup> Bethleem H <sup>a</sup> maturaret C <sup>b b</sup> om. A <sup>c</sup> finitimus N <sup>d</sup> urbem C <sup>e e</sup> om. A <sup>f</sup> constiterunt H <sup>g</sup> A adds sancta after ciuitas <sup>h h</sup> Finiunt capitula C; om. EN

<sup>a</sup>Incipiunt capitula<sup>a</sup>

- I<sup>b</sup> Prima die congressionis diuersi uarie affliguntur.  
 II Consilium primorum quomodo ciuitas capi possit.  
 III De instrumentis uincende urbi compositis.<sup>c</sup>  
 IV Quidam <sup>d</sup>e populo<sup>d</sup> dum longius<sup>e</sup> uictum querunt mortem incurrunt.  
 V Vbi unus gentilium illustris<sup>f</sup> et duo nobiles<sup>g</sup> Christianorum trucidantur.  
 VI Quando obsessa sit urbs, et de raritate potus.  
 VII Consilium inclusi cuiusdam super negotio incepto.  
 VIII De indicta processione que tunc gesta sint.<sup>h</sup>  
 IX Machinis muro applicitis, ingenia partium <sup>i</sup>inter se<sup>j</sup> confligunt.<sup>j</sup>  
 X Arietem muros perforantem obsessi dissipare moliantur.  
 XI Qui undique machine<sup>k</sup> presint disponuntur.  
 XII <sup>l</sup>Quanta instancia ciues a machinis forinsecis<sup>m</sup> fatigantur.<sup>n</sup>  
 XIII Vbi porte que Babiloniis<sup>o</sup> nunciis <sup>p</sup>peruia erat custodia<sup>p</sup> deputatur.  
 XIV De duobus regis Babilonii nunciis <sup>q</sup>diuerso mortis genere<sup>q</sup> pereuntibus.  
 XV De instrumentis prophanorum contra machinas fidelium.  
 XVI De crucifixo cui <sup>r</sup>perfidorum insania nocere non ualuit.<sup>r</sup>  
 XVII Item de diuersis perfidorum machinis.  
 XVIII Vbi<sup>s</sup> ignis aceto sopitur, et catena gentilibus<sup>s</sup> ui<sup>u</sup> extorquetur.  
 XIX Qui sanctam ciuitatem obtinuerint<sup>v</sup> primi.  
 XX De diffugio et interitu perditorum.<sup>w</sup>  
 XXI Quid factum sit per portas <sup>x</sup>toto irrumpente<sup>x</sup> populo.  
 XXII De cisterna regii<sup>y</sup> palatii.  
 XXIII Item<sup>c</sup> de generali cede ciuium et direptione templi Domini.  
 XXIV Relatio<sup>a</sup> de templo Domini.  
 XXV De oratoriis sancte ciuitatis, et <sup>b</sup>quam deuote<sup>b</sup> dux sepulchrum Domini uisitauerit.<sup>c</sup>  
 XXVI Visio cuiusdam de duce.  
 XXVII Interpretatio somnii.  
 XXVIII De auaricia <sup>d</sup>Reimundi et Tanceradi, et de nece quorundam gentilium.<sup>d</sup>

Book vi    <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> Incipiunt capitula libri sexti *A*; Capitula libri sexti *C*    <sup>b</sup> In *H* the chs. are not numbered    <sup>c</sup> appositis *H*    <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> om. *A*    <sup>e</sup> om. *A*    <sup>f</sup> om. *A*    <sup>g</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>h</sup> sit *A*; fuit *N*    <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup> om. *A*    <sup>j</sup> affligunt *C*    <sup>k</sup> maxime *E*    <sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup> Quam fortiter ciues a machinis infestentur. *A*    <sup>m</sup> forinsecus *E*    <sup>n</sup> fatigantur *E*    <sup>o</sup> a Babilonicis *H*    <sup>p</sup> <sup>p</sup> perue erant custodie *H*    <sup>q</sup> <sup>q</sup> diuerse *A*    <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> perfidi nocere non ualuerunt *A*    <sup>s</sup> <sup>s</sup> om. *A*    <sup>t</sup> gentibus *C*; gentilium *H*    <sup>u</sup> non *N*  
<sup>v</sup> obtinuerunt *N*    <sup>w</sup> perfidorum *A*    <sup>x</sup> <sup>x</sup> irruente *A*    <sup>y</sup> regni *E*    <sup>z</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>a</sup> Delatio *A*    <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> quomodo *A*    <sup>c</sup> uisitavit *CN*; uisitare *H*    <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> quorundam principum, et nece gentilium. *A*

- XXIX Vbi<sup>e</sup> consilio maiorum ira Tancradi<sup>f</sup> sedatur.  
 XXX Internitio superstitum gentilium.  
 XXXI De anteriori Turcorum dominio<sup>g</sup> in urbe Ierusalem.<sup>h</sup>  
 XXXII Quomodo Turci eliminati sunt,<sup>i</sup> et <sup>j</sup>de mendosa Babilonii<sup>k</sup> regis promissione.<sup>j</sup>  
 XXXIII Promotio gloriosi ducis in Ierusalem.  
 XXXIV Somnium cuiusdam militis de duce.  
 XXXV Solutio<sup>l</sup> somnii.  
 XXXVI Item<sup>m</sup> uisio cuiusdam Aquensis clerici de ipso<sup>n</sup> duce.  
 XXXVII Explanatio uisus.<sup>o</sup>  
 XXXVIII Qualiter inuenta sit portio ligni salutaris.  
 XXXIX De obitu patriarche Ierosolimitani.  
 XL De clericis et campanarum<sup>p</sup> signis <sup>q</sup>apud dominicum sepulchrum institutis.<sup>q</sup>  
 XLI Quomodo dux copiis hostium occurrerit.  
 XLII Populus a preda gentilium premonitus abstinere.  
 XLIII Prefecto gentili dux exponit cur populus <sup>r</sup>letus pergat<sup>r</sup> ad prelium.  
 XLIV Plebs Christianorum<sup>s</sup> cruce signata <sup>r</sup>in occursum pergit<sup>r</sup> armatis.  
 XLV Qualiter fuerit eorum acies ordinata.  
 XLVI Post alterna discrimina pars inimica diffugit.  
 XLVII De nece et spoliis occisorum.  
 XLVIII Populus rapinis<sup>t</sup> inhians sternitur, manus continens superior efficitur.  
 XLIX Item de nece perditorum.<sup>v</sup>  
 L Quando prelium hoc commissum sit, et de ibidem gestis.  
 LI Comes Reimundus Ascalonam<sup>w</sup> et Assur<sup>x</sup> contra Christianos <sup>y</sup>consilio suo obfirmat.<sup>y</sup>  
 LII Dux et comes Reimundus pacificantur.  
 LIII Principibus repatriare uolentibus dux ualefacit,<sup>z</sup> et ciues Assur duci confederantur.<sup>z</sup>  
 LIV De ceteris fidelibus<sup>b</sup> repatriantibus.  
 LV<sup>c</sup> Boemundus Laodiciam <sup>d</sup>Christianorum urbem<sup>d</sup> obsidet.<sup>c</sup>  
 LVI Episcopus Pise redeuntes peregrinos humiliter<sup>f</sup> salutat.  
 LVII Mutua collocutio episcopi et peregrinorum.  
 LVIII Boemundus nolens obsidionem soluere deseritur ab omnibus.

<sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>f</sup> tabernaculi N      <sup>g</sup> domini E      <sup>h</sup> om. A      <sup>i</sup> sint C      <sup>j</sup> rex  
 Babilonie mentitus sit A      <sup>k</sup> Babylonici H      <sup>l</sup> A adds eiusdem after solutio  
<sup>m</sup> om. A      <sup>n</sup> om. AH      <sup>o</sup> uisionis A      <sup>p</sup> campanarii A; campariarum E      <sup>q</sup> in  
 Ierusalem A      <sup>r</sup> letetur A      <sup>s</sup> Christiana A      <sup>t</sup> occurrit A      <sup>u</sup> prede A  
<sup>v</sup> perfidorum A      <sup>w</sup> Ascaloniam H      <sup>x</sup> Sur A      <sup>y</sup> firmat A      <sup>z</sup> ualedicit E  
<sup>a</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> fidelium E      <sup>c</sup> LIV N, and -1 from here      <sup>d</sup> om. A      <sup>e</sup> obsedit  
 AE      <sup>f</sup> om. A

- LIX Armati<sup>e</sup> fideles Laodiciam peruenientes<sup>h</sup> Boemundum fugisse reperiunt.  
 LX Boemundus Laodicensibus reconciliatur, 'et de quibusdam aliis.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>j</sup>Expliciunt capitula libri sexti.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Incipiunt<sup>b</sup> capitula libri septimi.

- I Ciues Assur transgressores federis dux obsidet iterato.
- II Lacrimosa narratio de Gerhardo<sup>c</sup> milite.
- III Vbi, ducis machina procumbente, plurimi Christianorum pariter<sup>d</sup> conflagrarunt.
- IV<sup>e</sup> Exhortatio ducis ad milites.
- V Populo penitencia indicitur, sed concremata simili machina iterum plectitur.
- VI Soluta obsidione Assur Boemundus et Baldwinus sanctam ciuitatem ingrediuntur.
- VII De ambitione et patriarchatu Pisani episcopi.
- VIII Principes cum duce Iordanem adierunt.
- IX Vbi ciues Assur graui membrorum abscisione multantur.
- X Milites decem Christiani triginta gentilium equites fugant et necant.
- XI Apud Assur iterum Babylonii a ducis militibus detruncantur.
- XII Assur ciuitas<sup>f</sup> facta est tributaria, et Ioppe restauratur.
- XIII Principes circumiacentium ciuitatum munerarios duci se sponte offerunt.
- XIV De eodem et quod dux pacem statuerit per terram.
- XV Supradictus Gerhardus incolumis remissus beneficiis illustratur.<sup>g</sup>
- XVI De pertinacia Grossi Rustici.
- XVII Tancradi nuncios princeps Damasci perdit, terram eius dux inuadens Grossum Rusticum ad fedus cogit.<sup>h</sup>
- XVIII Vbi dux gloriosus cepit egrotare.
- XIX Venetiorum<sup>i</sup> muneribus dux honoratur, et perinde uehementius egritudine premitur.
- XX Consilio ducis castelli Cayphas obsidio preparatur.
- XXI Obitus<sup>j</sup> gloriosi ducis, et Warneri<sup>k</sup> militis.
- XXII Obsidio castelli Cayphas.
- XXIII<sup>l</sup> Tancradi hortatu obsidio lentata paululum reparatur.

<sup>e</sup> om. A      <sup>h</sup> uenientes A      <sup>i</sup> om. A      <sup>j</sup> om. CN; Expliciunt capitula AH

Book vii      <sup>a</sup> A has a leaf missing which contained titles I-XXVIII      <sup>b</sup> om. C

<sup>c</sup> Gerbardo E      <sup>d</sup> om. E      <sup>e</sup> IV om. N, which then numbers to XXIII incorrectly (-1)

<sup>f</sup> om. E      <sup>g</sup> honoratur H      <sup>h</sup> cogit E      <sup>i</sup> Venenorum E      <sup>j</sup> Obitu E

<sup>k</sup> Warneri C; Varnheri E      <sup>l</sup> H omits titles XXIII-XXV

- XXIV Quanta pertulerint illic fortissimi milites.  
 XXV Oppidum Cayphas expugnatur.  
 XXVI<sup>m</sup> Tancradus expulso Geldemaro castellum Cayphas obtinuit.  
 XXVII<sup>n</sup> Consilio<sup>o</sup> maiorum Boemundus ad regnandum<sup>p</sup> Ierusalem euocatur, sed in itinere capitur.  
 XXVIII Donimannus princeps Turcorum obsessis Malatine<sup>q</sup> Christianis minitans contempnitur.  
 XXIX Baldwinus 'liberare uolens Boemundum nil proficit.'<sup>r</sup>  
 XXX Baldwinus per legatos<sup>v</sup> conuenitur, ut 'fratris loco regnum Ierosolimitanum<sup>v</sup> suscipiat.  
<sup>w</sup>XXXI Baldwinus Ierusalem<sup>x</sup> profecturus, equiuocum suum ciuitati<sup>y</sup> Roas prefecit.<sup>w</sup>  
 XXXII Baldwinus<sup>z</sup> diro<sup>z</sup> imminentis prelii nuncio pulsatus, cum paucis obuiam<sup>a</sup> pergit.  
 XXXIII<sup>b</sup> De eodem.  
 XXXIV Ipse<sup>c</sup> fugam simulans, <sup>d</sup>reuersus gloriosam<sup>e</sup> adeptus est uictoriam.<sup>d</sup>  
 XXXV<sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>Quam sagaciter<sup>g</sup> Baldwinus uersuciam Tancradi preuertit.  
 XXXVI <sup>h</sup>Tancrado solo aduentu Baldwini perterrita, Baldwinus sanctam ingressus est ciuitatem.<sup>h</sup>  
 XXXVII 'Perquisitis rebus defuncti germani, Baldwinus a uiris fortibus temptare fortia persuadetur.'<sup>i</sup>  
 XXXVIII Urbem Ascalonam obsidens, <sup>j</sup>post aliquot dies infecto negotio obsidionem<sup>j</sup> soluit.  
 XXXIX <sup>k</sup>Quam ingeniose<sup>k</sup> uicerit gentem Azoparth<sup>l</sup> sub terra latitantem.  
<sup>m</sup>XL De eadem re.<sup>m</sup>  
 XLI <sup>n</sup>Dum per difficilia loca militem agit, plures frigore extinguuntur.<sup>n</sup>  
 XLII Ciuitas Susumus igne deletur.  
 XLIII In natale<sup>b</sup> Domini apud Bethleem Baldwinus <sup>q</sup>unctus est<sup>q</sup> in regem.  
 XLIV 'Prima sessione regis Tancradus<sup>r</sup> accusatur, uocatus adesse<sup>s</sup> dedignatur.

<sup>m</sup> XXIII H      <sup>n</sup> XXIV H, but then correct to XLIV      <sup>o</sup> Consiliorum C  
<sup>p</sup> regnum C      <sup>q</sup> Malarine E      <sup>r</sup> A starts here      <sup>s</sup> (in XXXII) om. E  
<sup>t</sup> profici H      <sup>v</sup> internuncios A      <sup>v</sup> regnum fratris A      <sup>w</sup> om. H      <sup>x</sup> om. A  
<sup>y</sup> om. A      <sup>z</sup> om. A      <sup>z</sup> om. A      <sup>b</sup> XXX E, and -3 to end      <sup>c</sup> om. A  
<sup>d</sup> uictoriam obtinet A      <sup>e</sup> gloriosa E      <sup>f</sup> XXXV om. A; subsequent titles wrongly numbered      <sup>g</sup> om. A  
<sup>h</sup> Baldewinus a uiris fortibus ad fortia animatur. A      <sup>i</sup> obsidionem deinde A  
<sup>k</sup> Quomodo A      <sup>l</sup> Azorpath E; Azopart H      <sup>m</sup> om. A      <sup>n</sup> A loca difficilia pergente eo plures frigore moriuntur. A      <sup>o</sup> extinguuntur H      <sup>p</sup> natali C  
<sup>q</sup> ungitur A      <sup>r</sup> Tancradus apud regem A      <sup>s</sup> uenire A

- XLV 'Rege cum Tancrado pacificato,' Tancradus Antiochiam dux electus<sup>u</sup> proficiscitur.
- XLVI Rex contra patriarcham apostolicam sedem appellat.
- XLVII Domnus<sup>u</sup> apostolicus cardinalem Mauricium cognitorem Ierosolimam<sup>u</sup> mittit.
- XLVIII Patriarcha multis <sup>x</sup>et<sup>y</sup> grauibus a rege<sup>x</sup> capitulis impetitus,<sup>z</sup> ab officio <sup>a</sup>suspensus est.<sup>a</sup>
- XLIX In cena Domini patriarcha <sup>b</sup>dolens se eo die officio suo priuari, regem donis promissis placat.<sup>b</sup>
- L Rex cardinalem alloquitur de<sup>c</sup> restituendo patriarcha.
- LI De amicitia inter patriarcham et cardinalem, <sup>d</sup>et regis concordia, et de conuentione<sup>e</sup> gentilium cum rege.<sup>d</sup>
- LII<sup>f</sup> De mutuis gentilium legationibus.
- LIII De redemptione<sup>g</sup> Turcorum.
- LIV Quomodo ciuitas Assur subiugatur.
- LV<sup>h</sup> Cesarea<sup>i</sup> ciuitas obsidetur.
- LVI Eadem ciuitas Cesarea<sup>j</sup> superatur.
- LVII <sup>k</sup>Quomodo rex, audita fama Babyloniorum, eorum prestolatus sit aduentum.<sup>k</sup>
- LVIII <sup>l</sup>Quomodo rex patriarcham conuenerit, ut uel ipse milites procuraret, uel ad procurandum eos sibi aliquid pecunie impertiret.<sup>m</sup>
- LIX <sup>n</sup>Qualiter orta sit<sup>n</sup> contentio inter regem et patriarcham.
- LX Contentio inter regem et patriarcham presente cardinali Mauricio.<sup>o</sup>
- LXI <sup>p</sup>Patriarcha ratione uictus milites se<sup>q</sup> procurare promisit, quod tamen implere contempsit.<sup>p</sup>
- LXII Patriarcha potestate <sup>r</sup>et oblatione<sup>r</sup> sepulchri dominici priuatur.
- LXIII<sup>s</sup> Pecunia patriarche regi aperitur.
- LXIV<sup>t</sup> Rex pecuniam militibus diuidit. <sup>u</sup>Crudelis legatio a Babylonia uenit.<sup>u</sup>
- LXV Tres regis acies a Babyloniis attrite<sup>v</sup> deficiunt.<sup>w</sup>
- LXVI<sup>x</sup> Rex <sup>y</sup>a pontificibus<sup>y</sup> ammonitus, coram cruce dominica<sup>z</sup> prosternitur.

<sup>1 1</sup> Rex et Tancradus pacificantur. *A*      <sup>u</sup> om. *A*      <sup>v</sup> om. *A*      <sup>w</sup> Ierusalem *A*  
<sup>x x</sup> om. *A*      <sup>y</sup> in *E*      <sup>z</sup> imperitus *E*      <sup>a a</sup> suspenditur *A*      <sup>b b</sup> pro officio regem  
donis placat. *A*      <sup>c</sup> pro *A*      <sup>d d</sup> om. *A*      <sup>e</sup> inuentione *N*      <sup>f</sup> LI *C*, and so incorrect  
(-1) to end      <sup>g</sup> redemptionem *E*      <sup>h</sup> *E* does not number this ch., so next is LII, and so  
on      <sup>i</sup> Cesaria *E*      <sup>j</sup> om. *A*      <sup>k k</sup> Rex Babiloniorum prestolatur aduentum. *A*  
<sup>l l</sup> Rex patriarcham milites procurare compellit. *A*      <sup>m</sup> impatiret *E*      <sup>n n</sup> orta est *A*  
<sup>o</sup> om. *A*      <sup>p p</sup> Patriarcha uictus milites procurare promisit nec egit. *A*      <sup>q</sup> om. *E*  
<sup>r r</sup> om. *A*      <sup>s</sup> LXIII om. *H* which is then -1. *N* has correct numbering to LXV      <sup>t</sup> LXII  
*C* (as for previous ch.)—now -2      <sup>u u</sup> om. *A*      <sup>v</sup> om. *E*      <sup>w</sup> sunt *A*      <sup>x</sup> LXVII *N*  
<sup>y y</sup> om. *A*      <sup>z</sup> Domini *AH*

- LXVII<sup>a</sup> Post confessionem <sup>b</sup>delictorum episcopo G. crucem Domini preferente, <sup>b</sup> rex per medios hostes irrumpit.  
 LXVIII Mira Domini<sup>c</sup> Iesu et sancte crucis eius<sup>d</sup> uictoria.  
 LXIX Renouato bello catholici<sup>e</sup> regis ad suos adhortatio.  
 LXX De gloriosa<sup>f</sup> regis uictoria, et reditu in Ierusalem.  
 LXXI De obitu Wicheri<sup>g</sup> Alemanni militis egregii.<sup>h</sup>  
 Expliciunt<sup>i</sup> capitula.<sup>i</sup>

Incipiunt<sup>a</sup> capitula libri<sup>b</sup> octau.<sup>c</sup>

- I<sup>d</sup> Quod primo Baldwini regis anno innumera Langobardorum<sup>f</sup> multitudo per Bulgariam profecta sit Ierosolimam.<sup>e</sup>  
 II Vbi Constantinopolitanus imperator eosdem Langobardos uendere et emere per castella Bulgarorum permittit, et eis rapinas interdicit.<sup>g</sup>  
 III Langobardi <sup>h</sup>regis edictum negligentes Grecos et Bulgaros inuadunt, sed mox ab imperatore conuocati Constantinopolim tendunt.<sup>h</sup>  
 IV Imperator a Langobardis iniuriatus uendere eos et emere inibi prohibet, illi palatium eius unanimiter obsident.<sup>i</sup>  
 V Imperatore tandem per episcopum Mediolanensium pacificato, Langobardi, Constantinopolim relinquentes, Nicomediam applicuerunt ciuitatem.<sup>j</sup>  
 VI Cunradus<sup>k</sup> imperatoris Heinrici stabularius cum nonnullis occidentalis Francie principibus Nicomedie Langobardis associatur.<sup>k</sup>  
 VII Quod in diebus Pentecosten innumerabilis Christianorum<sup>n</sup> exercitus ab urbe Nicomedia<sup>o</sup> egressus uersus regionem Flaganie iter suum direxit.<sup>p</sup>  
 VIII Vbi populus in itinere suo illicite<sup>r</sup> luxuriatur, presidium Acris funditus diruens, sata et segetes uicinas Turcorum succendens.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>a</sup> LVII N, which continues LVIII-LXI for last chs. <sup>b b</sup> om. A <sup>c c</sup> Miraculum N  
<sup>d</sup> om. AH <sup>e</sup> om. A <sup>f</sup> om. A <sup>g</sup> Wikeri E <sup>h</sup> optimi A <sup>i i</sup> om. A  
<sup>j</sup> Finiunt C

Book viii <sup>a</sup> om. AC <sup>b</sup> om. AH <sup>c</sup> om. A <sup>d</sup> H has no numbers  
<sup>e e</sup> Langobardorum multitudo profecta sit Ierusalem. A <sup>f</sup> Langobarum E;  
 Longobardorum HN <sup>g g</sup> Constantinopolis imperator emere et uendere eis  
 permittit. A <sup>h h</sup> Grecos et Bulgaros inuadunt. A <sup>i i</sup> Imperator iniuriatus  
 Longobardos emere et uendere prohibet. A <sup>j j</sup> Imperatore placato, Longobardi  
 Nicomediam applicant. A <sup>k k</sup> Cunradus Henrici regis stabularius Longobardis  
 iungitur. A <sup>l</sup> Conradus E; Coenradus N <sup>m m</sup> Vbi exercitus innumerabilis recedit a  
 Nichomedia. A <sup>n</sup> om. E <sup>o</sup> Nicodemia E <sup>p</sup> direxit N <sup>q q</sup> Populus in  
 itinere illicite luxuriatur. A <sup>r</sup> allicite E

- IX Reimundus comes, donis Turcorum corruptus, exercitum ducit<sup>r</sup> per uiam solitudinis, et comites per uices agunt custodias in exercitu.<sup>s</sup>
- X Turci cum Reimundo prelio<sup>u</sup> decertant, <sup>v</sup>et turme Christianorum propter hostes in unum conglobate mixtim per solitudinem gradiuntur.<sup>v</sup>
- XI <sup>w</sup>Qualiter exercitus in solitudine quindecim diebus euagando, sitis et inedia miserias pertulerit grauissimas.<sup>w</sup>
- XII <sup>x</sup>De mille peditibus Christianorum qui in uallibus<sup>v</sup> ordeum colligentes circumuerti sunt et combusti igne<sup>u</sup> Turcorum.<sup>x</sup>
- XIII Turci <sup>a</sup>in uiginti milibus cum ducibus suis Donimanno<sup>b</sup> et Solimanno,<sup>a</sup> cum Christianis dimicantes <sup>c</sup>ad septingentos<sup>c</sup> corruerunt.
- XIV Vbi<sup>d</sup> Christiani quoddam<sup>e</sup> presidium Turcorum comminuerunt, <sup>f</sup>sed, insidiis eorum excepti, ad septingentos<sup>f</sup> perierunt.<sup>g</sup>
- XV Episcopus <sup>h</sup>Mediolanensium omnem exercitum ad confessionem delictorum suorum cohortatur, et universa multitudo ad debellandos hostes in quinque acies cum ducibus suis ordinatur.<sup>h</sup>
- XVI Langobardi <sup>i</sup>in prima fronte pugnantes deficiunt, post quos reliquie acies cum ducibus fugientes diffugiunt, cesis Turcorum tribus milibus.<sup>i</sup>
- XVII Reimundus comes <sup>j</sup>prelio uictus uersus montana fugiens cum decem militibus silicem quandam precelsam occupat, de qua per socios liberatus media nocte cum suis omnibus fugam iniit.<sup>j</sup>
- XVIII <sup>k</sup>Post fugam Reimundi uniuersi duces exercitus cum reliqua<sup>j</sup> multitudine tentoriis et uxoribus suis in uia derelictis celerem fugam arripiunt.<sup>m k</sup>
- XIX Quomodo<sup>n</sup> Turci fugientium tentoria diripuerint,<sup>o p</sup>et uxores eorum quasdam iugularint, quasdam<sup>q</sup> captiuarint.<sup>p</sup>
- XX Quod post depredationem mulierum Turci fugientes Christianos insecuti diuersa eos cede lacerauerint, plurima eorum spolia in itinere relictis colligentes.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>r s</sup> Reimundus donis corruptus exercitum ducit per solitudinem. *A* <sup>r</sup> duxit *H*  
<sup>u</sup> prelia *C* <sup>v v</sup> *om. A* <sup>w w</sup> Exercitus in solitudine miserias pertulit grauissimas. *A*  
<sup>x x</sup> Mille pedites Christiani a Turcis circumuerti sunt et combusti. *A* <sup>y</sup> ualle *H*  
<sup>a</sup> ignibus *E*; ige *H* <sup>a a</sup> *om. A* <sup>b</sup> Doniciando *E* <sup>c c</sup> *om. A* <sup>d</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>e</sup> *om. A*; quidam *E* <sup>f f</sup> et quidam *A* <sup>g</sup> rerierunt *E* <sup>h h</sup> Mediolanensis  
exercitum hortatur sua peccata confiteri. *A* <sup>i i</sup> pugnantes primum deficiunt. *A*  
<sup>j j</sup> uictus uersus montana fugit. *A* <sup>k k</sup> Vniuersi duces celerem fugam arripiunt. *A*  
<sup>l</sup> *om. E* <sup>m</sup> arripuit *E* <sup>n</sup> *om. A* <sup>o</sup> diripiunt *A*; diripuerunt *HN* <sup>p p</sup> *om. A*  
<sup>q</sup> quosdam *E* <sup>r r</sup> Turci fugientes Christianos diuersa cede lacerant. *A*

- XXI <sup>3</sup>Quod Christiani exercitus centum sexaginta milia siti<sup>1</sup> ac fame fuga<sup>2</sup> et sanguine a Turcis in bello occisa sint.<sup>3</sup>
- XXII <sup>4</sup>Qualiter residuus Christianorum exercitus uagus et profugus cum ducibus suis Constantinopolim repedauerit.<sup>5</sup>
- XXIII <sup>6</sup>De quadringentis Christianis qui Turcos insequentes euaserunt, et de aliis mille militibus qui in regressione Turcorum gladiis eorum<sup>7</sup> iugulati<sup>8</sup> ceciderunt.<sup>9</sup>
- XXIV <sup>10</sup>Quomodo comites ac<sup>11</sup> duces exercitus dispersi, ad se Constantinopolim confugientes imperator benigne suscepit, et quod Reimundo infestus postea eidem amicus extiterit, et quod ibi Mediolanensis episcopus obierit.<sup>12</sup>
- XXV <sup>13</sup>Qualiter eodem tempore nobilissimus princeps Wilhelmus de terra<sup>14</sup> occidentalis Francie egressus cum<sup>15</sup> quindecim milibus peditum<sup>16</sup> per aridam Bulgariam descenderit.<sup>17</sup>
- XXVI <sup>18</sup>Quod idem comes, cum omni apparatu suo Constantinopolim ueniens, susceptus ab imperatore donariis multis sit honoratus.<sup>19</sup>
- XXVII <sup>20</sup>Quomodo comes et exercitus eius Constantinopolim relinquentes ad Stanconam ciuitatem Turcorum peruenerint.<sup>21</sup>
- XXVIII <sup>22</sup>Vbi eis Turci occurrentes bello eos uexabant, comitem unum Langobardorum sagitta perimentes.<sup>23</sup>
- XXIX Christiani Turcis resistentes, <sup>24</sup>et Stanconam ciuitatem<sup>25</sup> frustra expugnantes, Relei urbem applicuerunt, ubi siti estuantes ad trecentos perierunt.<sup>26</sup>
- XXX Turci <sup>27</sup>cum Christianis decertantes uictum fugientemque ducem<sup>28</sup> Wilhelmum insecuti sunt, et de fuga Rùberti et alterius Wilhelmi.<sup>29</sup>
- XXXI <sup>30</sup>Quomodo post fugam ducis Turci residuos Christianos occiderint, uxores eorum captiuantes.<sup>31</sup>
- XXXII <sup>32</sup>Qualiter Wilhelmus comes a Turcopolis deceptus cum magno discrimine Antiochiam peruenerit.<sup>33</sup>
- XXXIII Tancradus <sup>34</sup>nouus princeps Antiochie<sup>35</sup> Wilhelmum profugum remunerat.

<sup>3 3</sup> Centum sexaginta milia a Turcis occisa sunt. *A* <sup>1</sup> site *N* <sup>2</sup> om. *E*  
<sup>4 4</sup> Residuus exercitus Constantinopolim repedauit. *A* <sup>5 5</sup> Quadringenti Christiani  
Turcos euaserunt. *A* <sup>6 6</sup> et *N* <sup>7 7</sup> om. *E* <sup>8 8</sup> Duces exercitus imperator benigne  
suscepit. *A* <sup>9 9</sup> et *E* <sup>10 10</sup> Wilhelmus princeps per Bulgariam descendit. *A*  
<sup>11 11</sup> regno *H* <sup>12 12</sup> om. *H* <sup>13 13</sup> perditum *E*; *H* adds adiunctis after perditum <sup>14 14</sup> Idem  
comes ad imperatorem ueniens donis est honoratus. *A* <sup>15 15</sup> Idem Constantinopolim  
relinquens Stanconam peruenit. *A* <sup>16 16</sup> Turci eos bello uexant, comitem unum  
perimentes. *A* <sup>17 17</sup> Relei urbem applicant. *A* <sup>18 18</sup> om. *E* <sup>19 19</sup> Wilhelmum  
fugientem insecuntur. *A* <sup>20 20</sup> om. *H* <sup>21 21</sup> Post fugam ducis Turci residuos  
Christianos occidunt. *A* <sup>22 22</sup> Wilhelmus comes cum magno discrimine Antiochiam  
uenit. *A* <sup>23 23</sup> om. *A*

- XXXIV <sup>p</sup>Quomodo Wilhelmus princeps Pictauis, et Welfo<sup>q</sup> dux Bawariorum, et Ida comitissa cum milicia Bulgariam intrauerit.<sup>p</sup>
- XXXV <sup>r</sup>Quod in prelio pontis Rudolfus obierit, et quod dux Bulgarorum se dediderit.<sup>r</sup>
- XXXVI <sup>t</sup>Bulgarorum duce placato, Wilhelmus Constantinopolim rediens ab imperatore donis sublimatus est.<sup>t</sup>
- XXXVII <sup>u</sup>Exercitu Wilhelmi Stanconam urbem ueniente, Turci fontes et cisternas obstruunt.<sup>u</sup>
- XXXVIII Wilhelmus et Welfo cum <sup>v</sup>ducibus Turcorum ante urbem Reclei preliantur, et Christiani fugam incunt.<sup>v</sup>
- XXXIX De fuga <sup>w</sup>Aluernensis<sup>w</sup> episcopi et ducis Welfonis, et de interitu Ide comitisse.<sup>w</sup>
- XL <sup>x</sup>Quomodo Wilhelmum per montana fugientem Tancradus Antiochie princeps receperit.<sup>x</sup>
- XLI <sup>y</sup>Quomodo principes bello dispersi collecto exercitu Antiochie conuenerint.<sup>y</sup>
- XLII <sup>z</sup>Reimundus precibus principum a Tancrado uinculis absoluitur, et expugnate urbi Tortose preficitur.<sup>z</sup>
- XLIII Welfo <sup>a</sup>dux Ierosolimis<sup>a</sup> adorato sepulchro Domini, <sup>b</sup>Cyprum reuersus obiit.<sup>b</sup>
- XLIV <sup>c</sup>Quomodo principes deuicta urbe Tortosa cum Baldwino rege Palmas in<sup>d</sup> Ioppe celebrauerint.<sup>c</sup>
- XLV Principes, <sup>e</sup>Pascha Ierosolime<sup>e</sup> celebrato,<sup>e</sup> inter imperatorem et regem pacem componunt.
- XLVI Fama uolat <sup>g</sup>in populo<sup>g</sup> imperatoris consilio Langobardos fuisse<sup>h</sup> occisos.
- XLVII Baldwinus imperatori munera mittit, se <sup>i</sup>de perfidia<sup>i</sup> excusanti.
- XLVIII<sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup>Imperator regi Baldwino dona dirigens, Rome de perfidia sua apud papam incusatur.<sup>l</sup><sup>k</sup>

<sup>m</sup>Finunt capitula.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>p</sup> <sup>p</sup> Wilhelmus princeps, Welfo dux, Ida comitissa Bulgariam intrant. *A* <sup>q</sup> Welfo  
*EN* <sup>r</sup> <sup>r</sup> Rodulfus in ponte occubuit, dux Bulgarie se dedit. *A* <sup>s</sup> <sup>s</sup> Wilhelmus  
 Constantinopolim ueniens donis sublimatus est. *A* <sup>t</sup> <sup>t</sup> Wilhelmo Stanconam ueniente  
 Turci fontes obstruunt. *A* <sup>u</sup> <sup>u</sup> Turcis pugnant, Christiani fugiunt. *A* <sup>v</sup> <sup>v</sup> ducum  
 et Ide comitisse interitu. *A* <sup>w</sup> <sup>w</sup> Auernensi *E* <sup>x</sup> <sup>x</sup> Wilhelum fugientem Tancradus  
 Antiochie recipit. *A* <sup>y</sup> <sup>y</sup> Principes collecto exercitu Antiochiam ueniunt. *A*  
<sup>z</sup> <sup>z</sup> Reimundus a Tancrado soluitur et Tortose preficitur. *A* <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> *om.* *A*; dux  
 Ierosolimi *E* <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> In Cipro moritur. *A* <sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup> Principes deuicta Tortosa cum Baldewino  
 rege Palmas celebrant. *A* <sup>d</sup> <sup>d</sup> *om.* *H* <sup>e</sup> <sup>e</sup> *om.* *A* <sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> Ierosolimis *H* <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> *om.* *A*  
<sup>h</sup> *om.* *A* <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup> *om.* *A* <sup>j</sup> <sup>j</sup> XLVII *E* <sup>k</sup> <sup>k</sup> Imperator Baldewino dona mittens apud  
 papam accusatur. *A* <sup>l</sup> <sup>l</sup> *E* adds XLVIII after incusatur. <sup>m</sup> <sup>m</sup> *om.* *ACEN*

"Incipiunt capitula libri noni."<sup>a</sup>

- I <sup>b</sup>Quod quidam de Christianis principibus ad propria repedauerint,<sup>c</sup> quibusdam in Ierusalem cum rege remanentibus.<sup>b</sup>
- II De incenso a Babyloniis templo sancti Georgii, <sup>d</sup>et de fuga Rûberti episcopi urbis Ramnes.<sup>e d</sup>
- III Rex Baldwinus contra Babylonios <sup>f</sup>miliciam congregat.
- IV <sup>g</sup>Rex Baldwinus contra Babylonios <sup>f</sup>congregatur, quibusdam ex suis optimatibus in bello occumbentibus.<sup>g</sup>
- V<sup>h</sup> De obsidione urbis Ramnes, <sup>i</sup>et de fuga uel saluatione regis Baldwini.<sup>i</sup>
- VI <sup>j</sup>Vbi Sarraceni, expugnata turre urbis Ramnes, quosdam Christianorum principum<sup>k</sup> interficiunt, Cunradum captiuantes stabularium.<sup>j</sup>
- VII <sup>l</sup>Quomodo ciues Ierusalem propter fugam Baldwini regis conterriti consolationem receperint.<sup>l</sup>
- VIII <sup>m</sup>Vbi, Cunrado stabulario carcerato, Babylonii Iafeth<sup>n</sup> ciuitatem et Baldwini regis obsidione<sup>o</sup> terruerunt.<sup>l m</sup>
- IX <sup>q</sup>Baldwinus rex, nauigio applicans Iafeth, cum gaudio suscipitur a ciuibus.<sup>q</sup>
- X <sup>r</sup>Sarraceni Baldwinum regem regressum paululum declinantes, ad obsidionem urbis<sup>s</sup> Iafeth denuo reuertuntur.<sup>r</sup>
- XII<sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup>Qualiter Baldwinus rex cum Sarracenis dimicans CCCta<sup>v</sup> ex eis milia prostrauerit.<sup>u</sup>
- XIII <sup>w</sup>Quomodo Baldwinus cum triumpho Ierusalem redierit, et post primam suorum interfectionem auxilia Christianorum principum per legatos impetrauerit.<sup>w</sup>
- XIV <sup>x</sup>Quod Baldwinus rex aduenientibus principibus necessaria subministrans,<sup>y</sup> eis pro Daiberto patriarcha intercedentibus annuerit.<sup>x</sup>
- XV <sup>z</sup>Qualiter Baldwinus rex cum principibus ab eo susceptis Ascalonam obsidens ammiraldum Babyloniorum<sup>a</sup> bello<sup>b</sup> extinxerit.<sup>z</sup>

**Book ix**    <sup>a a</sup> om. AN; Capitula libri noni C; Incipiunt capitula VIII H    <sup>b b</sup> Quidam principes ad propria redierunt, quidam remanserunt. A    <sup>c</sup> repedauerunt N    <sup>d d</sup> om. A  
<sup>e</sup> Ramnes EN    <sup>f f</sup> om. E    <sup>g g</sup> Rex contra eosdem congregatur. A    <sup>h</sup> III E, which continues—1 to XLIII    <sup>i i</sup> om. A    <sup>j j</sup> Sarraceni expugnata turre una quosdam occidunt. A  
<sup>k</sup> om. E    <sup>l l</sup> Ciues Ierusalem fuga regis territi consolantur. A    <sup>m m</sup> Babylonii Iafeth ciuitatem obsident. A    <sup>n</sup> Iafeth E; Iphat N    <sup>o</sup> obsidionem N    <sup>p</sup> terruerint H  
<sup>q q</sup> Baldwinus rex nauigio ueniens Iafeth excipitur. A    <sup>r r</sup> Sarraceni denuo ad obsidionem Iaphet redeunt. A    <sup>s</sup> om. EH    <sup>t</sup> All MSS om. ch. no. and title for XI. Reinecke supplied XI  
De classe Christianorum    <sup>u u</sup> Rex cum Sarracenis dimicans triumphauit. A    <sup>v</sup> om. E  
<sup>w w</sup> Rex cum triumpho Ierusalem repedauit. A    <sup>x x</sup> Rex aduenientibus principibus pro Daiberto patriarcha annuit. A    <sup>y</sup> subministras E    <sup>z z</sup> Rex Ascalonam obsidens amiraldum eius extinxit. A    <sup>a</sup> E adds ducem after Babyloniorum    <sup>b</sup> belello E

- XVI 'De reinuestitura<sup>d</sup> Daiberti patriarche, et de concilio<sup>e</sup> super ipso Ierosolimis habito.<sup>f</sup>
- XVII <sup>f</sup>De depositione patriarche prefati, et de ordinatione Euermeri in locum eius subrogati.<sup>f</sup>
- XVIII <sup>g</sup>Qualiter principibus cum centum sexaginta milibus Christianorum in sua de Ierusalem renaugantibus<sup>h</sup> trecente ex ipsis naues partim hostibus partim fluctibus interierint.<sup>g</sup>
- XIX 'Qualiter tercio regni sui anno<sup>i</sup> rex Baldwinus urbem Accaron obsederit,<sup>j</sup> sed minime deuicerit.<sup>k</sup>
- XX 'Quod Reinoldo<sup>m</sup> sagittario<sup>n</sup> regis in bello pereunte, ipse rex<sup>o</sup> ab obsidione urbis Accaron recesserit.<sup>l</sup>
- XXI <sup>p</sup>Baldwinus rex uenationi aliquantulum uacans cum decem sociis sexaginta Sarracenos aggreditur.<sup>p</sup>
- XXII <sup>q</sup>Baldwinus rex a quodam Sarraceno latenter inter frutecta uulneratur et Ierusalem reportatus curatur.<sup>q</sup>
- XXIII 'Qualiter a Babylonii<sup>r</sup> obsessa urbe Iafeth quingenti Christiani nauigio appulsi contra Sarracenos preualuerint.<sup>r</sup>
- XXIV 'De altera nauis<sup>s</sup> Christianorum "que naufragans" penitus ab hostibus consumpta est.<sup>v</sup>
- XXV <sup>w</sup>Quomodo Sarraceni adueniente Baldwino rege obsidionem urbis Iafeth dimiserint, et agros suos excoluerint.<sup>w</sup>
- XXVI <sup>x</sup>Quod ciuitas Gibeloth a Pisanis expugnata Reimundo comiti subiugata sit.<sup>x</sup>
- XXVII <sup>y</sup>Pisani regis precibus euocati, cum eo pariter Accaron urbem obsidione uexauerunt.<sup>z</sup>
- XXVIII <sup>a</sup>Ammiraldus urbis Accaron consulens ciuibus suis Baldwino regi urbem tradere cernit.<sup>b</sup> Rex et patriarcha de obsessis et dextris petenetibus consiliantur.<sup>a</sup>
- XXIX <sup>d</sup>Qualiter Pisani Sarracenos urbe egredientes iniuste occiderint.<sup>d</sup>
- XXX 'De quingentis Arabitis qui Ioppitas<sup>f</sup> bello aggressi Ottonem iugulauerunt.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>e e</sup> De reinuestitura Daiberti, et concilio super ipso habito. *A* <sup>d</sup> inuestitura *H*  
<sup>e</sup> concilio *EN* <sup>f f</sup> De depositione Daiberti et ordinatione Euermeri. *A*  
<sup>g g</sup> Principibus in sua redeuntibus naues trecente et fluctibus et hostibus perierunt. *A*  
<sup>h</sup> nauigantibus *N* <sup>i i</sup> om. *A* <sup>j</sup> obsedit *AN* <sup>k k</sup> om. *A* <sup>l l</sup> Rex ab obsidione urbis recessit. *A* <sup>m</sup> Reimoldo *EN* <sup>n</sup> sagittani *E* <sup>o</sup> *E* adds Balduwinus after rex  
<sup>p p</sup> Rex cum decem sociis sexaginta Sarracenos aggreditur. *A* <sup>q q</sup> Rex a quodam Sarraceno latenter uulneratur. *A* <sup>r r</sup> om. *A* <sup>s</sup> preualuerunt *A* <sup>t t</sup> Altera nauis *A* <sup>u u</sup> om. *A* <sup>v</sup> sit *H* <sup>w w</sup> Sarraceni obsidionem Iaphet dimiserunt. *A*  
<sup>x x</sup> Gibiloth a Pisanis expugnatur. *A* <sup>y y</sup> Rex cum Pisanis Accaron obsidet. *A*  
<sup>z z</sup> uexauerunt *EH* <sup>a a</sup> Ammiraldus eius regi urbem reddere decernit. *XXIX* Rex et patriarcha de eodem consiliantur. *A* <sup>b</sup> decernit *EH* <sup>c</sup> All MSS have *XXIX* here, but no division in the text (cf. *XI* above) <sup>d d</sup> Pisani Sarracenos iniuste occidunt. *A*  
<sup>e e</sup> Arabite Iopitas aggressi Ottonem peremerunt. *A* <sup>f</sup> Iopitas *C*; Ioppinas *E*  
<sup>g</sup> iugulauerunt *H*

- XXXI <sup>h</sup>De sexaginta Arabitis urbem Cesaream depredantibus quos rex Baldwinus superauit.<sup>h</sup>
- XXXII <sup>i</sup>Quod Reimundus<sup>j</sup> contra Tripolam nouum presidium extruxerit, in quo moriens sepultus sit.<sup>i</sup>
- XXXIII <sup>k</sup>Vbi Alexis imperator pro redemptione Boemundi copiosam promisit pecuniam Donimanno.<sup>k</sup>
- XXXIV <sup>l</sup>Solimannus propter pecuniam ab imperatore promissam<sup>l</sup> Donimannum bello fatigat.
- XXXV <sup>m</sup>Vbi Boemundus de omnibus his consilium dedit Donimanno.<sup>m</sup>
- XXXVI <sup>n</sup>Donimannus accepto amicorum consilio Boemundum sub pecunia pristina restituit libertati.<sup>n</sup>
- XXXVII<sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup>Solimannus propter redemptionem Boemundi inimicas Donimanno litteras mittit.<sup>p</sup>
- XXXVIII <sup>q</sup>Vbi Boemundo Antiochiam reuerso,<sup>q</sup> Turci Rohas<sup>r</sup> urbem<sup>r</sup> obsidere<sup>r</sup> conantur.
- XXXIX Baldwinus comes, Boemundus et<sup>v</sup> Tancradus, <sup>v</sup>peccata sua confitentes, exercitum congregant et contra Turcos acies ordinant.<sup>v</sup>
- XL <sup>w</sup>De decollatione octodecim clericorum et de captiuitate Baldwinini comitis principis Rohas.<sup>w</sup>
- XLI<sup>x</sup> Boemundus et Tancradus, <sup>y</sup>captiuato Baldwino,<sup>y</sup> fugiunt, et Tancradus <sup>z</sup>in locum Baldwinini<sup>z</sup> preficitur.
- XLII Turci<sup>a</sup> Rohas<sup>b</sup> urbem obsidione cingunt, quibus Tancradus pro uiribus<sup>b</sup> resultat.
- XLIII<sup>c</sup> Tancradus <sup>d</sup>litteras mittit Boemundo pro redemptione Rohas, ad quem ille cum trecentis properat.<sup>d</sup>
- XLIV Tancradus <sup>e</sup>nondum ueniente Boemundo ante solis ortum castra Turcorum <sup>f</sup>cum omnibus suis<sup>f</sup> in fugam conuertit.
- XLV<sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup>Vbi, Boemundo Turcis fugientibus obuiam facto, nobilissima matrona a sociis Tancradi capta est.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>h h</sup> Rex Baldewinus Arabitas predantes superauit. *A* <sup>i i</sup> Reimundus presidium extruens, moriens in eo sepultus est. *A* <sup>j j</sup> Reinmundus *E* <sup>k k</sup> Imperator Alexis Donimanno pecuniam promittit pro Boemundo. *A* <sup>l l</sup> Volimannus pro pecunia promissa *A* <sup>m m</sup> Boemundus de omnibus consilium dat Donimanno. *A* <sup>n n</sup> Donimannus Boemundum restituit libertati. *A* <sup>o</sup> *This and rest of titles unnumbered in A* <sup>p p</sup> Volimannus eadem causa Donimanno amara scribit. *A* <sup>q q</sup> *om. A* <sup>r r</sup> Rhoas *E* <sup>s s</sup> *om. AE* <sup>t t</sup> obsidem *H* <sup>u u</sup> *om. A* <sup>v v</sup> contra eos pugnant. *A* <sup>w w</sup> Baldewinus princeps Rohas ibidem captus est. *A* <sup>x x</sup> *This and rest of titles unnumbered in N* <sup>y y</sup> *om. A* <sup>z z</sup> Rohas *A* <sup>a a</sup> Turcis *E* <sup>b b</sup> obsident, Tancradus *A* <sup>c c</sup> XLIII *om. C; subsequent numbers -1* <sup>d d</sup> scribit Boemundo pro Rohas. *A* <sup>e e</sup> ante solis occasum Turcos *A* <sup>f f</sup> *om. E* <sup>g g</sup> XLV *om. H; subsequent numbers -1* <sup>h h</sup> Nobilissima matrona Turcorum a Tancrado capitur. *A*

- XLVI <sup>i</sup>Qualiter Turcorum principes et rex Baldwinus pro matrona interpellauerint Boemundum et Tancradum, et quid responderint illi.<sup>i</sup>
- XLVII <sup>j</sup>Quomodo Boemundo contra regem Grecorum Italiam profecto Tancradus Turcos bello deuicerit.<sup>j</sup>
- XLVIII <sup>k</sup>De preparatione belli inter Baldwinum regem et ammiraldum Babyloniorum.<sup>k</sup>
- XLIX <sup>l</sup>Quod aduocato patriarcha Ierusalem rex Baldwinus in Domino confortatus de Babyloniis triumphauerit.<sup>l</sup>
- L De<sup>m</sup> septem milibus gentilium cesis, "et de Willelmo comite."<sup>n</sup>
- LI <sup>o</sup>Quomodo Baldwinus<sup>p</sup> rex<sup>q</sup> deuictis Babyloniis sata Ascalonia<sup>r</sup> succenderit, bestiis siluarum clamore exercitus perterritis.<sup>o</sup>
- LII <sup>s</sup>De Arnulfo nobilissimo iuvene in montibus interempto, cuius caput Ascalonite<sup>t</sup> cum litteris regi<sup>u</sup> Baldwino remiserunt.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>w</sup>Expliciunt capitula.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Incipiunt capitula libri<sup>b</sup> decimi.<sup>a</sup>

- I<sup>c</sup> <sup>d</sup>Qualiter anno septimo regni Baldwini regis gens multa Ierosolimam nauigans conductum eiusdem regis poposcerit.<sup>c d</sup>
- II <sup>f</sup>Rex cum gaudio peregrinos suscipiens cum suis consulitur<sup>g</sup> qualiter eorum auxilio contra Sarracenos utatur.<sup>f</sup>
- III <sup>h</sup>Rex suorum usus consilio ad obsidendam Sidonem Anglos in Iafeth iubet expectare.<sup>h</sup>
- IV <sup>i</sup>Vbi, rege machinas preparante, Sidonite copiosam regi pecuniam ne obsiderentur promiserunt.<sup>i</sup>
- V <sup>j</sup>Quod Hugone comite regionem Suet depredante<sup>k</sup> Sarraceni predam sociis eius excusserunt.<sup>j</sup>
- VI <sup>l</sup>Qualiter in eadem cede Hugo sagittatus exhalauerit,<sup>m</sup> et de obitu fratris eius.<sup>l</sup>
- VII <sup>n</sup>Quomodo rex pecuniam a Sidonitis<sup>o</sup> perceperit,<sup>p</sup> et Anglicum exercitum ad propria remiserit.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>i i</sup> Rex Baldewinus et Turci pro matrona Tancradum et Boemundum rogant. *A*  
<sup>j j</sup> Boemundo Italiam profecto, Tancradus Turcos uicit. *A* <sup>k k</sup> Rex Baldewinus et  
 Babylonicus ammiraldus bellum parant. *A* <sup>l l</sup> Rex Baldewinus de Babiloniis  
 triumphat. *A* <sup>m</sup> Re *A* <sup>n n</sup> om. *A* <sup>o o</sup> Baldewinus rex sata Ascalone incendit. *A*  
<sup>p</sup> Baldewinum *E* <sup>q</sup> om. *E* <sup>r</sup> Aschalonie *EH* <sup>s s</sup> De Arnolfo iuvene  
 interempto. *A* <sup>t</sup> Ascalonie *E* <sup>u</sup> gegi *E* <sup>v</sup> remiserint *E* <sup>w w</sup> om. *AEN*

**Book x** <sup>a a</sup> om. *N* <sup>b b</sup> om. *H* <sup>c</sup> No ch. nos. in *H* <sup>d d</sup> Gens multa Ierusalem  
 nauigans conductum regis petit. *A* <sup>e</sup> petierit *H* <sup>f f</sup> Rex peregrinos suscipit et de  
 eorum auxilio suos consulit. *A* <sup>g</sup> consulit *H* <sup>h h</sup> Rex ad obsidendam Sidonem  
 Anglos iubet expectare. *A* <sup>i i</sup> Sidonite regi pecuniam promittunt ne obsidantur. *A*  
<sup>j j</sup> Sarraceni predam a Hugone excusserunt. *A* <sup>k</sup> depredande *E* <sup>l l</sup> In eadem cede  
 Hugo sagittatus exalauit. *A* <sup>m</sup> exhalauerit *E* <sup>n n</sup> Rex pecuniam a Sidoniis accepit,  
 et exercitum remisit. *A* <sup>o</sup> Sinoditis *E* <sup>p</sup> pepercerit *N*

- VIII <sup>9</sup>Rex pecunia Sidoniorum subleuatus Tabariam<sup>f</sup> rediit, et Geruasium loco Hugonis restituit.<sup>g</sup>
- IX Rege Tabariam demorante, Ascalonite quingentos Christianorum iuxta flumen Ramnes peremerunt.<sup>f</sup>
- X Vbi Ascalonitis Ramnes expugnantibus Rotgerus cum militibus obuiauuit in pugnam.<sup>f</sup>
- XI De insidiis Ascalonitarum et de uirtute Rotgeri <sup>u</sup>et militum eius in prelio.<sup>u</sup>
- XII <sup>v</sup>De Gerhardo<sup>w</sup> equite cuius instinctu fuga peruenit ad urbem Iafeth Christianus exercitus.<sup>v</sup>
- XIII Sarraceni <sup>x</sup>Rotgerum fugientem insecuti quadraginta Christianos ante urbem necauerunt.<sup>x</sup>
- XIV <sup>y</sup>Quomodo Sarraceni castellum Arnolfi<sup>z</sup> obsidione diruerint, prepositum ipsius arcis captiuantes.<sup>y</sup>
- XV <sup>a</sup>Vbi Sarraceni uictoria potiti cum octo<sup>b</sup> galidis nauibus unam nauim dromonem Christianorum in portu<sup>c</sup> Iafeth inuaserunt.<sup>a</sup>
- XVI <sup>d</sup>Quod rex istorum malorum fama excitatus cum sex milibus de Tabaria contra Ascalonitas profectus sit.<sup>d</sup>
- XVII Quod rex suorum consiliis sine bello Ierusalem redierit, et Rorgius<sup>f</sup> de Cayphas obierit.<sup>e</sup>
- XVIII De quodam principe <sup>u</sup>urbis Femie occiso<sup>h</sup> per socium suum Botherum,<sup>i</sup> quem ciues sui persecuntur.<sup>e</sup>
- XIX<sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup>Bothero auxilium Brodoan<sup>l</sup> principis implorante Tancradus a ciuibus inuitatus<sup>m</sup> non tamen intromissus est.<sup>k</sup>
- XX Tancradus <sup>n</sup>ad tempus recedens post Pascha urbem Femiam obsidione uallauit.<sup>n</sup>
- XXI Quomodo Tancrado Femiam expugnante, duo filii principis occisi auxilium illi dederint contra Botherum.<sup>o</sup>
- XXII <sup>p</sup>Vbi a Christianis urbe circumuallata, Botherus cum ciuibus suis se tradidit manibus Tancradi.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>9 9</sup> Rex Geruasium loco Hugonis Tabarie prefecit. *A* <sup>r</sup> Tarabiam *E*  
<sup>1 1</sup> Ascalonite quingentos Christianorum iuxta Ramnes peremerunt. *A*  
<sup>1 1</sup> Ascalonitis Ramnes oppugnantibus Rotgerus occurrit. *A* <sup>u u</sup> om. *A*  
<sup>u u</sup> Fuga peruenit ad Iaphet Christianus exercitus. *A* <sup>w</sup> Gerbardo *E*; Gerardo *HN*  
<sup>z z</sup> quadraginta Christianos ante Iaphet peremerunt. *A* <sup>y y</sup> Sarraceni castellum Arnulfi diruerunt. *A* <sup>z</sup> Alnolfi *E* <sup>a a</sup> Ibi Sarraceni dromonem Christianorum inuaserunt. *A* <sup>b</sup> om. *E* <sup>c</sup> potu *E* <sup>d d</sup> Rex hac fama excitatus contra eosdem profectus est. *A* <sup>e e</sup> Rex suorum consilio sine bello Ierusalem rediit. *A* <sup>f</sup> Torgus *E*; Rorgus *HN* <sup>g g</sup> occiso per socium suum. *A* <sup>h</sup> occisum *N* <sup>i</sup> Brotherum *C*; Botherrum *E*; Botheum *N* <sup>j</sup> XX *N*, who numbers subsequent chs. + 1  
<sup>k k</sup> Tancradus contra Brodoan inuitatus uenit. *A* <sup>l</sup> Brodohan *C* <sup>m</sup> om. *E*  
<sup>n n</sup> post Pascha urbem Femiam obsedit. *A* <sup>o o</sup> Quo filii principis occisi Tancrado auxiliabantur. *A* Quomodo Tancrado urbem Femiam expugnante, duo filii principis occisi in auxilium illi dederint contra Botherum. *E* <sup>p p</sup> Lotharus cum ciuibus Tancrado se tradidit. *A* Vbi Christianis urbe circumuallata, Botherus cum ciuibus se tradiderit in manibus Tancradi. *E*

- XXIII <sup>a</sup>Vbi filii principis occisi Tancradum rogant ut Botherus occidatur.<sup>a</sup>
- XXIV <sup>a</sup>Quomodo Tancrado uictore Antiochiam reuerso, filii principis occisi<sup>c</sup> persecuti sint<sup>c</sup> amicos Botheri.<sup>c</sup>
- XXV <sup>a</sup>Qualiter rex Baldwinus exercitum Turcorum contra se uenientium cum sex<sup>v</sup> armatis explorauerit.<sup>a</sup>
- XXVI <sup>a</sup>De sex Turcis <sup>a</sup>a rege Baldwino honorificatis, quorum instinctu tria milia Turcorum in fuga uersa sunt.<sup>m</sup>
- XXVII <sup>a</sup>Rex Turcis<sup>x</sup> fuga<sup>e</sup> dispersis conuocato exercitu Ierosolimam tendit, et in capite ieiunii morem cineris impleuit.<sup>y</sup>
- XXVIII<sup>a</sup> <sup>b</sup>Quomodo rex contra tria<sup>c</sup> milia Turcorum properans conductum habuerit sacerdotis Christianorum Syrorum.<sup>b</sup>
- XXIX <sup>d</sup>Quomodo sacerdos Syrorum in castra ueniens Turcorum suasionibus suis omnes fugere compulerit.<sup>d</sup>
- XXX<sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup>De Arabitis in caueis montium absconditis, quos rex igne et fumo exire coegit.<sup>f</sup>
- XXXI <sup>g</sup>Rex adepta uictoria preda onustus Ierusalem<sup>h</sup> reuertitur, et loca regni sui uisitans consolatur.<sup>g</sup>
- XXXII <sup>i</sup>Quomodo Ascalonitis<sup>j</sup> Ioppen obsidentibus ciues urbis <sup>k</sup>a rege consolati<sup>k</sup> contra eos portis egressi preualuerunt.<sup>i</sup>
- XXXIII <sup>m</sup>Vbi Ascalonitas contra Christianos presidium <sup>n</sup>edificare uolentes<sup>n</sup> rex Baldwinus in fugam coegit.<sup>m</sup>
- XXXIV <sup>p</sup>Christianis prede intentis et ab hostibus pene preuentis, rex affuit auxilio<sup>q</sup> hostibus plurimum spoliatis.<sup>p</sup>
- XXXV Ascalonite ante Ierusalem <sup>r</sup>assultus facientes ad<sup>r</sup> quinque corruerunt.<sup>s</sup>
- XXXVI <sup>t</sup>Quod rex Baldwinus negociatores Babylonie circa Iordanem inuaserit et expoliauerit.<sup>t</sup>
- XXXVII <sup>u</sup>Vbi Baldwino comite per Gozelinum de captiuitate redempto, Tancradus inimicus eius<sup>v</sup> factus est.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>a a</sup> Filii principis occisi Botheri rogant perimi. *A* <sup>c c</sup> Idem amicos persequuntur Botheri. *A* <sup>s</sup> *om.* *H* <sup>t</sup> sunt *H* <sup>u u</sup> Rex Baldewinus Turcos explorauit. *A* <sup>v</sup> vii *E* <sup>w w</sup> Rex sex Turcos honorificans per eos alios fugauit. *A* <sup>x x</sup> *om.* *E* <sup>y y</sup> Rex Ierusalem rediit Turcis dispersis. *A* <sup>z</sup> *E* adds in before fuga <sup>a</sup> XXXVII *E* (see omission above), so -1 to end <sup>b b</sup> Rex contra tria milia Turcorum properat. *A* <sup>c</sup> *om.* *E* <sup>d d</sup> Sacerdos Syrorum suasionem Turcos fuge compulit. *A* <sup>e</sup> XX *A*; remains -10 to end <sup>f f</sup> Rex et fumo et igne Ascalonitas de caueis eiecit. *A* <sup>g g</sup> Rex preda onustus Ierusalem rediit. *A* <sup>h</sup> *E* adds onustus after Ierusalem <sup>i i</sup> Iopite obsessi contra Ascalonitas preualuerunt. *A* <sup>j</sup> Ascalonitis *E* <sup>k k</sup> *om.* *E* <sup>l</sup> preualuerunt *H* <sup>m m</sup> Rex Baldewinus Ascalonitas in fugam uertit. *A* <sup>n n</sup> edificantes *N* <sup>o</sup> *N* adds XXXV before rex and numbers +2 after <sup>p p</sup> Rex auxilio uenit Christianis prope oppressis. *A* <sup>q</sup> presidio *E* <sup>r r</sup> *om.* *A* <sup>s</sup> corruerunt *E* <sup>t t</sup> Rex negociatores Babilonios expoliauit. *A* <sup>u u</sup> Baldewinus redemptus et Tancradus inimici fiunt. *A* <sup>v</sup> *om.* *E*

- XXXVIII <sup>w</sup>Baldwinus comes a Tancrado uictus obsidetur, sed Gozelini industria et Geigremich Turcorum principis instancia liberatur.<sup>w</sup>
- XXXIX <sup>x</sup>Qualiter Heinricus Romanorum imperator Cunradum<sup>y</sup> stabularium suum per regem Grecorum receperit.<sup>x</sup>
- XL <sup>z</sup>Quod<sup>a</sup> Boemundus de Italia cum exercitu reuersus Dirachiam<sup>b</sup> Grecorum urbem obsederit.<sup>c z</sup>
- XLI <sup>d</sup>Qualiter Cunrado Italiam commorante Boemundus menia Dirachie urbis inpugnauerit.<sup>d</sup>
- XLII <sup>e</sup>Quomodo regi Grecorum aduenienti Boemundus in bello occurrerit, Dirachiam amplius inpugnans.<sup>e</sup>
- XLIII <sup>f</sup>De trecentis militibus Boemundi occisis a Turcopolis.<sup>f</sup>
- XLIV <sup>g</sup>Vbi principes Italie donis Grecorum corrupti Boemundum ab obsidione diuertunt.<sup>g</sup>
- XLV <sup>h</sup>Reconciliatio<sup>i</sup> Boemundi cum rege Grecorum, et data per ipsum licentia Ierusalem tendentibus.<sup>h</sup>
- XLVI <sup>j</sup>Baldwinus rex contractis undique<sup>k</sup> copiis Sydonem obsidet.<sup>j</sup>
- XLVII <sup>l</sup>De nobilissima matrona gentilium quam Baldwinus rex per milites suos cepit cum quatuor milibus camelorum.<sup>l</sup>
- <sup>m</sup>XLVIII De duabus turribus Sydonis <sup>n</sup>quarum altera diuino nutu subuersa est.<sup>m n</sup>
- XLIX <sup>o</sup>Quod Christiani nauale certamen inierint contra Babylonios in auxilium Sidonis<sup>p</sup> missos.<sup>o</sup>
- L <sup>q</sup>Rex cum Babyloniis dimicans uictoriam obtinuit, plurimis sociorum occisis.<sup>q</sup>
- LI <sup>r</sup>Rex propter Turcos tentoria sua incendens et ab obsidione recedens, uenationi paulisper indulgit.<sup>r</sup>
- LII<sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup>Populus Christianorum de reditu regis leticia perfunditur.<sup>t</sup>
- LIII <sup>u</sup>Requisitio Turcorum a Sidonitis de promissione pecuniarum taxatarum.<sup>u</sup>
- LIV <sup>v</sup>De quatuor milibus Turcorum quos Geruasius princeps Tabarie cum octoginta loricatis insecutus est.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>w w</sup> Baldewinus a Tancrado uictus obsidetur. *A* <sup>x x</sup> Henricus imperator Cunradum stabularium recipit. *A* <sup>y</sup> Conradum *EN*; Cūnradum *H*

<sup>z z</sup> Boemundus Drachiam urbem obsidet. *A* <sup>a</sup> Qualiter *E* <sup>b</sup> Dirachium *E*

<sup>c</sup> obsiderit *N* <sup>d d</sup> Boemundus menia Drachie oppugnauit. *A* <sup>e e</sup> Boemundus regi Grecorum in bello occurrit. *A* <sup>f f</sup> Trecenti milites Boemundi occiduntur. *A*

<sup>g g</sup> Boemundus ab obsidione auertitur. *A* <sup>h h</sup> Reconciliato Boemundi cum rege. *A*

<sup>i</sup> Reconciliato *C*; Reconcilitio *H* <sup>j j</sup> Baldwinus rex Sidonem obsedit. *A* <sup>k</sup> om. *H*

<sup>l l</sup> Rex nobilem matronam gentilem cepit. *A* <sup>m m</sup> om. *N*, who numbers next chapter L and so on <sup>n n</sup> subuersis *A* <sup>o o</sup> Christiani cum Babiloniis mari dimicant. *A*

<sup>p</sup> Sidoniis *E* <sup>q q</sup> Rex cum eis dimicans triumphauit. *A* <sup>r r</sup> Rex uenationi indulget. *A* <sup>s</sup> *E* omits LII and subsequent numbers. <sup>t t</sup> Populus de reditu regis letatur. *A* <sup>u u</sup> Turci a Sidoniis promissa requirunt. *A* <sup>v v</sup> Geruasius princeps Tabarie Turcos insequitur. *A*

- LV <sup>u</sup>Geruasius suis in bello cesis uiuus capitur, rege Baldwino multum merente.<sup>xw</sup>
- LVI <sup>y</sup>Legatio Turcorum ad regem Baldwinum pro Geruasio et pro ciuitatibus Ptolomaida et Caypha.<sup>y</sup>
- LVII <sup>z</sup>Damasceni non impetratis a rege ciuitatibus Geruasium medio urbis illudentes interficiunt.<sup>z</sup>
- LVIII <sup>a</sup>Qualiter Euemerus<sup>b</sup> patriarcha a Romana synodo litteras apostolici pro restitutione sua detulerit regi.<sup>a</sup>
- LIX Rege suam sententiam confirmante, Euemerus deponitur, <sup>c</sup>Gibelone<sup>d</sup> sedem illius obtinente.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>e</sup>Finiunt capitula.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Incipiunt capitula libri undecimi.<sup>a</sup>

- I<sup>b</sup> <sup>c</sup>Quod<sup>d</sup> Wilhelmus comes de Sartangis rege Damascenorum deuicto presidium Arcas<sup>e</sup> obsederit.<sup>f</sup>
- II <sup>g</sup>Quod idem presidium fame superatum Wilhelmus obtinuerit.<sup>g</sup>
- III <sup>h</sup>Qualiter Bertrannus cum Pisanis Amiroth urbem Grecorum occupauerit.<sup>h</sup>
- IV <sup>i</sup>Quomodo Bertrannus a rege Grecorum euocatus homo illius factus et ab eo <sup>j</sup>remuneratus sit.<sup>j</sup>
- V <sup>k</sup>Tancradus a Bertranno inuitatus ad colloquium illius festinauit.<sup>k</sup>
- VI <sup>l</sup>Postulatio Bertranni pro restitutione partis Antiochie, et responsio Tancradi.<sup>l</sup>
- VII <sup>m</sup>Tancradus Bertranno indignatus monet eum quantocius ab Antiochia discedere.<sup>m</sup>
- VIII <sup>n</sup>Quomodo Bertrannus pro terra patris sui Wilhelmum interpellauerit, et quomodo Tancradus Wilhelmum adiuuerit.<sup>n</sup>
- IX <sup>o</sup>Legatio Bertranni ad Baldwinum regem contra prefatos principes, et quod Tripolim obsederit.<sup>o</sup>
- X <sup>p</sup>Quod rex Baldwinus Wilhelmum et Tancradum apud Tripolim sibi occurrere mandarit.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>xw</sup> Geruasius suis cesis uiuus capitur. *A* <sup>x</sup> merente *E* <sup>yy</sup> Legatio Turcorum ad regem per Geruasio. *A* <sup>zz</sup> Damasceni Geruasium interficiunt. *A* <sup>aa</sup> Euemerus patriarcha litteras a synodo detulit. *A* <sup>b</sup> Ermerus *N* <sup>cc</sup> om. *A* <sup>d</sup> Gybilone *N* <sup>ee</sup> om. *AEN*

Book xi <sup>aa</sup> om. *A*; Capitula libri undecimi *C*; Incipiunt capitula undecimi *H*  
<sup>b</sup> Chapter titles are not numbered in *H* <sup>cc</sup> Willelhelmus comes presidium Archas obsedit. *A* <sup>d</sup> Quid *E* <sup>e</sup> Archas *HN* <sup>f</sup> obsedit *N* <sup>gg</sup> Idem presidium Willelhelmus fame obtinuit. *A* <sup>hh</sup> Bertramms Amiroth urbem Grecorum occupauit. *A* <sup>ii</sup> Bertramms regi Grecorum est reconciliatus. *A* <sup>jj</sup> remiserasus est *E* <sup>kk</sup> Bertramms et Tancradus colloquio conuenerunt. *A* <sup>ll</sup> Bertramni postulatio pro parte Antiochie. *A* <sup>mm</sup> Bertramni et Tancradi fit dissensio. *A* <sup>nn</sup> Bertramms Willelhelmum pro terra patris sui interpellat. *A* <sup>oo</sup> Bertramni precatio ad regem Baldewinum. *A* <sup>pp</sup> Rex Willelhelmum et Tancradum ad Tripolim euocat. *A* <sup>q</sup> mandauerit *E*

- XI 'Vbi rex Tripolim adueniens' Bertrannum suscepit in hominum.<sup>f</sup>
- XII 'Qualiter apud Tripolim rex quatuor principes pacificauerit.'<sup>f</sup>
- XIII "Quod Tripolite" post reconciliationem principum se manibus regis dederint.<sup>uu</sup>
- XIV<sup>x</sup> De quingentis Babiloniis <sup>y</sup>subterraneo specu absconditis, et a muliere detectis.<sup>y</sup>
- XV Vbi<sup>z</sup> Wilhelmus comes<sup>a</sup> ab armigero suo occiditur, <sup>b</sup>et dux Baurim<sup>c</sup> a rege obsidetur.<sup>b</sup>
- XVI <sup>d</sup>Legatio Baldwini comitis ad Baldwinum regem quod Edissa urbs consilio Tancradi fuerit obsessa.<sup>d</sup>
- XVII 'Rege Baldwino Baurim fortiter expugnante, ciues ultro se dedunt.'<sup>fe</sup>
- XVIII <sup>g</sup>Rex capta urbe Baurim Ierusalem proficiscitur, et pro liberatione Roas principes hortatur.<sup>g</sup>
- XIX <sup>h</sup>Vbi exhortante rege Bertrannus cum reliquis ad urbem Rohas profectus est.<sup>hh</sup>
- XX <sup>i</sup>Quomodo rege adueniente Turci Rohas dimiserint, et quomodo Baldwinus comes Tancradum incusauerit.<sup>i</sup>
- XXI <sup>k</sup>Legatio Baldwini regis post Tancradum, et collatio utrorumque habita in urbe Rohas.<sup>k</sup>
- XXII 'Allocutio regis ad Tancradum de reconciliationis gratia cum principibus.'<sup>i</sup>
- XXIII <sup>m</sup>Vbi rex principibus pacificatis Turcos effugauit Christianos omnes in circuitu reconcilians.<sup>m</sup>
- XXIV "Rex et Tancradus flumen Eufraten enauigant quinque milibus Christianorum ex <sup>o</sup>altera parte<sup>o</sup> ab hostibus occisis."
- XXV<sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup>Quod rex Baldwinus<sup>r</sup> comitem de bello fugientem sanum in Rohas reduxerit.<sup>q</sup>
- XXVI<sup>s</sup> 'De Magno rege Norwege<sup>u</sup> qui uenit adorare in<sup>v</sup> Ierusalem.'<sup>s</sup>
- XXVII De Babiloniis contra Baurim nauigantibus, <sup>w</sup>et de nauibus Christianorum cum eis decertantium.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>f f</sup> Rex *A*      <sup>f</sup> hominum *E*; hominem *H*      <sup>f f</sup> Rex apud Tripolim quatuor principes pacificat. *A*      <sup>u u</sup> Regis manibus Tripolite se dedunt. *A*      <sup>v</sup> Tripole *E*  
<sup>u</sup> dederint *N*      <sup>x</sup> From this point *A* omits ch. nos.      <sup>y y</sup> subterrato specu absconditis *A*  
<sup>z</sup> om. *A*      <sup>a</sup> om. *AE*      <sup>b b</sup> om. *A*      <sup>c</sup> Barrym *N*      <sup>d d</sup> Legatio Baldewini comitis ad regem. *A*      <sup>e e</sup> Rex Baurim expugnat. *A*      <sup>f</sup> dederunt *N*      <sup>g g</sup> Rex capta urbe Ierusalem proficiscitur. *A*      <sup>h h</sup> Bertrannus cum reliquis Roas proficiscitur. *A*      <sup>i</sup> om. *N*  
<sup>i i</sup> Rege adueniente Turci Rohas dimiserunt. *A*      <sup>k k</sup> Regis et Tancradi collatio in urbe Rohas. *A*      <sup>l l</sup> Regis allocutio pro reconciliandis principibus. *A*      <sup>m m</sup> Rex principibus pacificatis Turcos fugauit. *A*      <sup>n n</sup> Rex et Tancradus Eufraten enauigant. *A*  
<sup>o o</sup> altis *N*      <sup>p</sup> XV *N*      <sup>q q</sup> Rex Baldewinum de bello fugientem reducit. *A*  
<sup>r</sup> Baldewinus *E*      <sup>s</sup> XVI *N*      <sup>t t</sup> De Magno rege Nortwege. *A*      <sup>u</sup> Norweige *C*  
<sup>v</sup> om. *H*      <sup>w w</sup> om. *A*

- XXVIII <sup>x</sup>Qualiter Ascalonite Ierusalem debellantes a Christianis superati sint.<sup>y x</sup>
- XXIX <sup>e</sup>Vbi naualis exercitus Babyloniorum Ptolomaidam inpugnat, rege ciuibus succurrente.<sup>e</sup>
- XXX <sup>a</sup>Vbi rex Baldwinus regem Magnum Ierosolimam<sup>b</sup> gloriose perduxit.<sup>c a</sup>
- XXXI <sup>d</sup>Qualiter hi duo reges Sydonem obsederint, Babylonii in sua redeuntibus.<sup>e d</sup>
- XXXII <sup>f</sup>Rex Baldwinus et sui Sydonios coronantes machinas plures applicuerunt.<sup>f</sup>
- XXXIII <sup>g</sup>Sydonii obscura cauatione machinam regis incendere moliuntur, et ab ipso callide preueniuntur.<sup>g</sup>
- XXXIV <sup>h</sup>Sydonii post longam obsidionem regi Baldwino se dedentes,<sup>i</sup> ad quinque milia urbe<sup>j</sup> egressi sunt.<sup>h</sup>
- XXXV <sup>k</sup>Quomodo ammiraldus Ascalonis occulte Ierusalem descenderit.<sup>l k</sup>
- XXXVI Legatio Baldwini comitis ad regem <sup>m</sup>Baldwinum de aduentu Turcorum et fama Babylonis regis Ascalonam descendens.<sup>m</sup>
- XXXVII <sup>n</sup>Rege Baldwino Ascalonam redeunte, rex Babylonius a ciuibus intromissus Christianos ibi repertos occidit.<sup>o n</sup>
- XXXVIII <sup>p</sup>Qualiter ducenta<sup>q</sup> milia<sup>r</sup> Turcorum Turbaisel obsidentes et Antiochiam tendentes Gozelinus comes insecutus sit.<sup>p</sup>
- XXXIX <sup>t</sup>De centum milibus<sup>r</sup> Turcorum qui filium principis Alapie Brodoan nequiter obsidem datum iugulauerunt.<sup>t</sup>
- XL <sup>u</sup>Congregatio Baldwini regis et Christianorum principum facta Antiochie contra Turcos.<sup>u</sup>
- XLI<sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup>Quod sedecim milia<sup>x</sup> Christianorum contra Turcos acies direxerint, multa fame periclitati.<sup>w</sup>
- XLII <sup>y</sup>Quod sepius utrimque ordinatis aciebus, Turci fugam inierint.<sup>z y</sup>
- XLIII <sup>a</sup>Vbi Tancradus post discessionem Turcorum presidium Cerez<sup>b</sup> multis diebus obsedit.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>x x</sup> Ascalonite pugnantes a Christianis superant. *A* <sup>y</sup> sunt *H* <sup>e e</sup> Naualis exercitus Babilonie Ptolomaidam inpugnat. *A* <sup>a a</sup> Rex Baldewinus regem Magnum Ierusalem perducit. *A* <sup>b</sup> Ierusalem *C* <sup>c</sup> perducit *E* <sup>d d</sup> Duo hi reges Sidonem obsederunt. *A* <sup>e</sup> reuersis *H* <sup>f f</sup> Rex et sui Sidoniis machinas applicuerunt. *A* <sup>g g</sup> Regis machinam Sidonii incendere conantur. *A* <sup>h h</sup> Sidonii se dantes regi urbe egrediuntur. *A* <sup>i</sup> reddentes *N* <sup>j</sup> urbem *N* <sup>k k</sup> Ammiraldus Ascalonis Ierusalem descendit. *A* <sup>l</sup> descendere *E*; uenerit *H* <sup>m m</sup> *om.* *A* <sup>n n</sup> Rex Babilonis Ascalone immissus Christianos occidit. *A* <sup>o</sup> occiderit *N* <sup>p p</sup> Turci Turbaysel obsident. *A* <sup>q</sup> ducenti *N* <sup>r</sup> *om.* *E* <sup>s s</sup> Turci filium Brodoan iugulauerunt. *A* <sup>t</sup> *om.* *E* <sup>u u</sup> Congregatio regis et ceterorum contra Turcos. *A* <sup>v</sup> XLII *C*; subsequent nos. +1 <sup>w w</sup> Christiani contra Turcos acies direxerunt. *A* <sup>x</sup> *om.* *N* <sup>y y</sup> Aciebus ordinatis Turci fugerunt. *A* <sup>z</sup> inierunt *E* <sup>a a</sup> Tancradus presidium Cerez multis diebus obsidet. *A* <sup>b</sup> *E* adds tandem after Cerez

- XLIV 'Vbi Tancradus urbe Cerez tandem multis artibus<sup>d</sup> deuicta regionem illius totam obtinuit.<sup>e</sup>
- XLV 'Qualiter Tancradus aliud presidium nomine Vetule obsederit, ammiraldo quodam sibi confederato.<sup>e</sup>
- XLVI Ammiraldus<sup>f</sup> idem cum Tancrado Vetule obsidione cingens, ciuibus urbem irrumpentibus uix fuga elapsus est.<sup>f</sup>
- XLVII <sup>g</sup>Quod Tancradus obsidione longa urbem Vetule et omnem circa regionem obtinuerit.<sup>g</sup>
- XLVIII De obitu Boemundi comitis.<sup>h</sup>
- 'Expliciunt capitula.<sup>i</sup>

'Incipiunt capitula libri duodecimi<sup>a</sup>

- I<sup>b</sup> 'Qualiter rex Baldwinus super obsidione Tyri consilium cum suis inierit.<sup>e</sup>
- II <sup>d</sup>Quod Tyrii contra regem cum principe Damascenorum fedus pepigerint.<sup>e d</sup>
- III <sup>f</sup>De Reinfrido milite Christiano<sup>g</sup> cuius conductu nobiles Tyr-  
iorum<sup>h</sup> a rege captiuati sunt.<sup>f</sup>
- IV 'Quomodo princeps Damascenorum Tyriis subuenerit, et qua-  
liter eosdem rex obsederit.<sup>i</sup>
- V <sup>j</sup>Quod rege urbem uallante, Tyrii portis<sup>k</sup> egressi sed mox a rege repressi quosdam secum intrantes occiderint.<sup>j</sup>
- VI <sup>l</sup>Tyrii duas machinas Christianorum pice ac<sup>m</sup> sulphure mir-  
abiliter combusserunt.<sup>n l</sup>
- VII 'Legatio Tyrriorum ad principem Damascenorum et reuersio  
regis in Ierusalem post aduentum eorum.<sup>o</sup>
- VIII <sup>p</sup>Qualiter rex Baldwinus Idumeos mercatores spoliauerit<sup>q</sup> et  
quod Tancradus Antiochie princeps obierit.<sup>p</sup>
- IX De aduentu Turcorum contra Ierusalem, 'et quod rex econ-  
trario milicia adunauerit.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>e e</sup> Tancradus urbem Cerez deuicit. *A* <sup>d</sup> diebus *E*; *om.* *N* <sup>e e</sup> Tancradus aliud  
presidium Vetulam obsedit. *A* <sup>f f</sup> quidam de obsidione uix euasit. *A*  
<sup>g g</sup> Tancradus Vetulam obtinuit. *A* <sup>h</sup> *om.* *A*; ducis *H* <sup>i i</sup> *om.* *AEN*

Book xii <sup>a a</sup> *om.* *AN*; Capitula duodecimi *C*; Incipiunt capitula duodecimi *H*  
<sup>b</sup> *AH* have no ch. nos. <sup>c c</sup> Rex Baldewinus consilium de obsidione Tyri habuit. *A*  
<sup>d d</sup> Tirii cum principe Damasci fedus inierunt. *A* <sup>e</sup> repigerint *E* <sup>f f</sup> Nobiles  
Tyrriorum a rege capti sunt consilio Reinfridi. *A* <sup>g</sup> Christianorum *N* <sup>h</sup> Tirorum *E*  
<sup>i i</sup> Princeps Damascenorum Tyriis subuenit. *A* <sup>j j</sup> Tyrii ab urbe egressi sed a rege  
repressi quosdam occiderunt. *A* <sup>k</sup> portas *N* <sup>l l</sup> Tyrii machinas Christianorum  
combusserunt. *A* <sup>m</sup> et *HN* <sup>n</sup> consumpserunt *E*; combusserint *H* <sup>o o</sup> Reuersio  
regis in Ierusalem Damascenis uenientibus. *A* <sup>p p</sup> Rex Idumeos spoliauit. Tancradus  
obiit. *A* <sup>q</sup> exspoliauerit *N* <sup>r r</sup> *om.* *A*

- X 'De quingentis<sup>r</sup> peregrinis Christianorum<sup>u</sup> propter quos rex attriuit in pugna ducentos Turcorum.<sup>r</sup>
- XI Rex cum Turcis congregiens fuga dilabatur, <sup>v</sup>quibusdam suorum in bello cadentibus.<sup>z</sup>
- XII <sup>w</sup>Rex sedecim milibus congregatis, in secundo congressu<sup>x</sup> Turcos a Iordane potenter effugauit.<sup>y w</sup>
- XIII <sup>z</sup>Qualiter coniunx<sup>a</sup> ducis Sicilie ad thalamum regis Baldwini cum magno<sup>b</sup> apparatu properauerit.<sup>c z</sup>
- XIV <sup>d</sup>Cum quali<sup>e</sup> gloria rex eandem matronam sibi copulauerit militibus ab ea largiter remuneratis.<sup>f d</sup>
- XV <sup>g</sup>Vbi post reditum Christianorum Turci deuastantes<sup>h</sup> terram Grecorum urbem Stamyrram subuerterunt.<sup>ig</sup>
- XVI De septem<sup>j</sup> milibus<sup>k</sup> Christianorum <sup>l</sup>qui mare transeuntes omnes naufragio perierunt.<sup>ml</sup>
- XVII <sup>n</sup>Quod milites regis Baldwini nauali prelio contra Babylonios gloriose decertauerint.<sup>n</sup>
- XVIII <sup>o</sup>Quomodo princeps Damascenorum fraudibus occiderit alium principem Turcorum.<sup>o</sup>
- XIX <sup>p</sup>De copioso apparatu gentilium uersus Antiochiam, quem Baldwinus rex<sup>q</sup> disperdidit per suorum<sup>r</sup> miliciam.<sup>p</sup>
- XX <sup>t</sup>Vbi, Baldwino rege Ierosolimam redeunte,<sup>t</sup> Turci readunati per Rūtgerum omnes sunt exuperati.<sup>u t</sup>
- XXI <sup>v</sup>Quod Baldwinus rex cum manu parua profectus sit in montem Syna.<sup>v</sup>
- XXII<sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup>Rex Baldwinus suorum monitionibus<sup>y</sup> a monte Syna Ierusalem reuertitur prouidus.<sup>x</sup>
- XXIII <sup>z</sup>Quomodo rex Baldwinus Ptolomaide aggrauatus per multas elemosinas de infirmitate sit alleuiatus.<sup>z</sup>
- XXIV <sup>a</sup>Qualiter eundem regem patriarcha corripuerit, et quod ipse<sup>b</sup> illicitas nuptias repudiauerit.<sup>c a</sup>

<sup>r s</sup> De quingentis peregrinis Christianorum. *A* <sup>x</sup> *E* <sup>u</sup> Christianis *C*  
<sup>v v</sup> *om.* *A* <sup>w w</sup> Rex secundo congregiens Turcos fugauit. *A* <sup>x</sup> *om.* *E*  
<sup>y</sup> afugauit *E* <sup>z z</sup> Rex coniugem ducis Sicilie sibi nuptiis copulauit. *A* <sup>a</sup> coniux *EN*  
<sup>b</sup> magna *N* <sup>c</sup> properauit *N* <sup>d d</sup> Cum quali gloria rex eandem sibi sociauit. *A*  
<sup>e</sup> quasi *N* <sup>f</sup> remunerans *E* <sup>g g</sup> Turci urbem Stamyrram subuerterunt. *A*  
<sup>h</sup> deuastantes *E* <sup>i</sup> subuerterint *HN* <sup>j</sup> *om.* *H* <sup>k</sup> *om.* *EN* <sup>l l</sup> naufragio  
 pereuntibus *A* <sup>m</sup> perierint *H* <sup>n n</sup> Regis milites cum Babiloniis mari dimicauerunt.  
*A* <sup>o o</sup> Princeps Damasci fraudibus alium principem Turcorum occidit. *A* <sup>p p</sup> De  
 Turcis congregatis uersus Antiochiam quos rex disperdidit. *A* <sup>q</sup> *om.* *E* <sup>r</sup> suam  
*HN* <sup>s s</sup> Idem Turci per Rotgerum sunt superati. *A* <sup>t</sup> *om.* *E* <sup>u</sup> superati *EN*  
<sup>v v</sup> Rex Baldewinus cum paucis montem Sina adiit. *A* <sup>w</sup> XXII *om.* *E*, which numbers  
 wrongly (-1) to end <sup>x x</sup> Rex a monte Sina reuertitur. *A* <sup>y</sup> premonitionibus *N*  
<sup>z z</sup> Rex infirmitate grauatus elemosinis alleuiatur. *A* <sup>a a</sup> Regem patriarcha pro nuptiis  
 corripuit. *A* <sup>b</sup> ipsas *HN* <sup>c</sup> repudiauerit *E*

- XXV <sup>d</sup>Rex Baldwinus postquam conualuit<sup>e</sup> cum parua manu urbem Babyloniorum Faramiam terre coequauit.<sup>f d</sup>
- XXVI Rex <sup>e</sup>dum redire disposuit usque ad mortem<sup>g</sup> grauiter<sup>h</sup> egrotauit.<sup>i</sup>
- XXVII <sup>j</sup>Consolatio et iussio regis ad milites habita de morte et sepultura sua.<sup>j</sup>
- XXVIII Inquisitio militum quis <sup>k</sup>post eum debeat sumere coronam, et corporis ipsius<sup>l</sup> reportatio in Ierusalem.<sup>k</sup>
- XXIX Quod<sup>m</sup> regali sepulchro regem condierint,<sup>n o</sup> et quod statim dominus patriarcha infirmatus obierit.<sup>o</sup>
- XXX <sup>p</sup>Quomodo sepulto rege Baldwino, nepos illius Baldwinus de Burg <sup>q</sup>ab omnibus<sup>q</sup> in regem sit electus et unctus, Germundo nouo patriarcha consecrato.<sup>p</sup>
- XXXI <sup>r</sup>De quatuor milibus Idumeorum pastorum quos in die sancto Pasche Christiani milites dum insecuntur passim occiduntur.<sup>r</sup>
- XXXII Rex secundus Baldwinus in ultionem inimicorum miliciam congregat, <sup>s</sup>quem Idumei pecunia placant.<sup>s</sup>
- XXXIII <sup>t</sup>De septingentis<sup>t</sup> Christianis peregrinis qui post uisitationem dominici sepulchri in redeundo occisi sunt a nequissimis Sarracenis.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>v</sup>Expliciunt capitula.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>d d</sup> Rex urbem Faramiam subuertit. *A*      <sup>e</sup> ualuit *H*      <sup>f</sup> coequauerit *N*  
<sup>g g</sup> rediens *A*      <sup>h</sup> om. *HN*      <sup>i</sup> egrotare cepit *N*      <sup>j j</sup> Regis peticio de morte et sepultura sua. *A*      <sup>k k</sup> pro eo regnare debeat. *A*      <sup>l</sup> illius *E*; eius *N*      <sup>m</sup> Quomodo *E*  
<sup>n</sup> condiderint *A*; condierunt *N*      <sup>o o</sup> om. *A*      <sup>p p</sup> Rege sepulto Baldewinus de Burch eligitur. *A*      <sup>q q</sup> om. *C*      <sup>r r</sup> De pastoribus Idumeis quos Christiani insecuntur. *A*  
<sup>s s</sup> om. *A*      <sup>t t</sup> De Christianis occisis post uisitationem dominici sepulchri. *A*  
<sup>v</sup> quingentis *N*      <sup>v v</sup> om. *AEN*; Finiunt capitula *N*

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