

History of the Expedition to Jerusalem

by

Fulcher of Chartres.

(Translation from the Latin.)

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Sister Frances Rita Ryan

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P R E F A C E .

1. It is a joy to the living and even profitable to the dead when the deeds of brave men, and especially of those fighting for God, are read from writings or, committed to memory, are recited with prudence in the midst of the faithful. For those who live in the world, on hearing the pious purposes of the faithful who have gone before them, and how, rejecting the honor of the world, and leaving their parents, their wives, and their goods of what kind soever they have clung to God and followed Him according to the counsel of the Gospel, ¹ are themselves animated by His inspiration and excited to love Him most ardently. It is beneficial to those who are dead in the Lord, since hearing their good and pious deeds, the faithful for this bless their souls, and in charity apply alms for them, together with prayers, whether these dead were known to them or not.

2. For this reason, moved by the repeated requests of former comrades, I have related in a careful and orderly fashion the illustrious deeds of the Franks in honor of the Saviour, when by the command of God they in arms made

1. Math. 19, 29. Mark 8,34; 10,29. Luke 9, 23.

a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. I have recounted in a homely style, but nevertheless truly what I deemed worthy to be committed to memory and I have told it as well as I was able and just as I saw it myself. 3. Although I do not dare to put this work of the Franks that I have mentioned on an equality with the distinguished achievements of the people of Israel, or of the Maccabees¹ or of many other peoples whom God has honored by such frequent and such wonderful miracles, still I consider it not far inferior to these works since in connection with it miracles were often seen worked by God, These I have taken care to report in writing. In what way, indeed, do these (Franks) differ from the Israelites and the Maccabees these whom we have seen in the land of the latter, often right with us, or far away from us, for the love of Christ dismembered, crucified, flayed, shot with arrows, butchered, or killed by other kinds of martyrdom and yet overcome neither by threats or blandishments? Besides, if the butchers' sword had not been absent, many of us for the love of Christ would not have refused to perish. 4. Oh how many thousands of martyrs on this expedition died a happy death! But who is so hard of heart that he can hear these deeds of God and not break forth in praises of God moved by deepest piety? Who will not wonder how we, a few people, in the midst of the lands of

1.

Judas Machabaeus was the mediaeval type of true patriot. So Pope Urban II exhorts the Christian warriors at the Council of Claremont by an appeal to the "Machabaeus." Crusade of Richard I by Archer. page 137.

our enemies, were able not alone to resist but even to live. Who has ever heard such things? On the one side of us Egypt and Ethiopia; on another Arabia, Chaldea, and Syria; Parthia and Mesopotamia, Assyria and Media; on another side Persia and Scythia.¹ A great sea separated us from Christendom and had given^{us}₁ over into the hands of destroyers, if God had so willed. But His arm mercifully defended us. "Blessed indeed is the nation whose God is the Lord".² 5. The history which follows shall make known how this work was begun and how, in order to fulfill the journey, all the people of the West freely devoted their hearts and their hands.

1. Among the Saracens the districts were named by the chief city in each. This would be unintelligible to Westerners for whom Fulcher is writing; therefore he used the ancient names.

2. Psalms 32,12.

Beginneth the First Book on the deeds
of the Franks, pilgrims to Jerusalem.

I.

Concerning the council held at Clermont.

In the year of our Lord 1095, in the reign of so-called¹ Emperor Henry in Germany and of King Philip in France, throughout Europe evils of all kinds waxed strong because of vacillating faith. Pope Urban II then ruled in the city of Rome. He was a man admirable in life and habits who always prudently and earnestly endeavored to raise the states of Holy Church higher and higher. He saw, moreover, the faith of Christendom greatly degraded by all, by the clergy as well as by the laity; and peace totally disregarded, for the princes of the land were incessantly at variance, quarreling now with these, now with those; people stole goods of the land from one another and many captives taken unjustly and most barbarously cast into foul prisons, ransomed for excessive sums or tormented there by three evils, namely starvation, thirst or cold and by unseen death allowed to perish; holy places violated; monasteries and villas destroyed by fire not a little human suffering; the divine and the human held in derision.

1. Henry IV had received the imperial insignia from the anti pope Clement III whom he had himself conducted into Italy. Fulcher, whose sympathy was with the Hildebrandine party, did not wish to call emperor one who was so crowned and who was also excommunicated by the rightful pope.

3. When he heard, too, that interior parts of Romania¹ were held and the Christians oppressed by the Turks were subject to destructive and savage attacks, moved by compassionate pity and the prompting of the love of God, he crossed the Alps and came into Gaul and had a council assembled at Clermont in Auvergne. This council, well proclaimed by embassies in all directions, consisted of three hundred and ten representatives, bishops or abbots carrying the crozier. When they were assembled on the day appointed for the council, in an eloquent address, full of sweetness Urban made known the object of the meeting. For under the plaintive voice of the afflicted church, he bewailed in a long discourse the great disturbances which, as has been mentioned above, agitated the world where faith had been undermined. 5. Then as a suppliant, he exhorted all to resume the integrity of their faith, and in good earnest, to apply themselves diligently to withstand the deceits of the devil,² and to try to raise the status of Holy Church, most unmercifully crippled by the wicked, to its pristine honor.

II.

The decree of Urban in the Council.

"Dearest brethren", he said, "I, Urban, invested by the permission of God with the papal tiara, and spiritual ruler

1. According to Fulcher, Romania included that region of Asia Minor extending west from the Euphrates as far as Nicomedia. See below IX- 4.

2. Ephes. 6, 11.

over the whole world have come here in this great crisis to you, servants of God, as a messenger of divine admonition. I wish that those whom I have believed to be good and faithful dispensers of the ministry of God should be found free from shameful dissimulation.¹ 2. For if there be in you any disposition or crookedness contrary to God's law because you have lost the moderation of reason and justice, I shall earnestly endeavor to correct it at once with the divine assistance. For the Lord has made you stewards over his family that you provide it with pleasant-tasting meat in season. You will be blessed indeed if the Lord of the stewardship shall find you faithful.² 3. You are also called shepherds; see that you do not the work of hirelings.³ Be true shepherds and have your crooks always in your hands. Sleep not, but defend everywhere the flock committed to your care. 4. For if through your carelessness or neglect, the wolf carries off a sheep, doubtless you will not only lose the reward prepared for you by our Lord, but you also, after having first been tortured by the strokes of the lictor, shall be savagely hurled into the abode of the damned.⁴ 5. In the words of the gospel,⁵ "You are the salt of the earth! 'But', it is asked, 'if you fail, wherewith shall it be salted?' Oh, what a salting! Indeed you must

1. I Corinthians 4, 1 - 2.

2. Math. 24, 45-46.

3. John 10, 12.

4. Math. 25, 41.

5. Math. 5, 13. Mark. 9, 49. Luke 14, 34.

strive by the salt of your wisdom to correct this foolish people over eager for the pleasures of the world, lest corrupted by crimes at the time that the Lord wishes to speak to it, He will find it insipid and rank. 6. For if He shall discover, because of your slothful performance of duty, any worms in them, that is to say any sins, he shall in contempt order them to be cast forthwith into the abyss of uncleanness; and because you will be unable to make good to him such a loss, he will surely banish you, condemned by his judgment, from the presence of His love. 7. But one that salteth ought to be prudent, foresighted, learned, peaceful, watchful, respectable, pious, just, equitable, pure. For how can the unlearned make others learned, the immodest make others modest, the unclean make others clean? How can he make peace who hates it? If anyone has soiled hands, how can he cleanse the spots from one contaminated? For it is written, 'If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the pit.'¹

8. Accordingly, first correct yourselves so that then, without reproach, you can correct those under your care. If you, indeed, wish to be the friends of God,² do generously what you see is pleasing to Him.

1. Luke 7,39

2. John 15,14.

9. See to it that the affairs of Holy Church especially are maintained in their rights and that simoniacal heresy in no way take root among you. Take care lest purchasers and venders alike, struck by the lash of the Lord,¹ be disgracefully driven thru narrow ways into utter confusion. 10. Keep the church in all its orders free entirely from the secular power; have given to God faithfully one-tenth of the fruits of the earth; neither selling them nor withholding them.

11. Whoever lays violent hands on a bishop, let him be considered excommunicated. Whoever shall have seized monks or priests or nuns and their servants or pilgrims or traders and despoiled them, let him be accursed. Let thieves and burners of houses and their accomplices be excommunicated from the church and accursed. 12. Therefore we must consider especially, as Gregory² says, how great will be his punishment who steals from another if he who, from his own possessions, does not distribute in alms, incurs the damnation of hell. For so it happened to the rich man in the Gospel who was punished, not for stealing anything from another, but, because, having received wealth, he used it badly.³

1. Math. 21,12. Mark 11,15. Luke 19,45. John 2,14.
 2. Homilies Bk. II 40, 3. Gregory the Great.
 3. Luke 16, 19,-31.

13. By these evils, therefore, as I have said, dearest brethren, you have seen the world disordered for a long time and to such a degree that in some places in your provinces- as has been reported to us, and perhaps due to your weakness in administering justice one scarcely dares to travel for fear of being kidnapped by thieves at night, or highwaymen by day, by force or by craft, at home or out of doors. 14. Wherefore, it is well to enforce anew the Truce,¹ commonly so-called, which was long ago established by our holy ancestors, and which I most earnestly entreat each one of you to have observed in his diocese. But if any one, led by pride or ambition, infringes this injunction voluntarily, let him be anathema in virtue of the authority of God and by the sanction of the decrees of this council.

III.

His exhortation about a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

When these and many other things were well disposed of all those present, priests and people alike, giving thanks to God welcomed the advice of the Lord Pope Urban and assured him with a promise of fidelity that these decrees of his would be kept well. But the pope added at once that

1. The wording of the Truce proclaimed at Clermont has not been preserved. It was modeled on the Truce of God for the Diocese of Cologne issued on April 20, 1083. A translation of this is given in Trans. and Reprints Vol. I No. 2.

another trouble not less but still more grievous than that already spoken of and even the very worst, was besetting Christianity from another part of the world. 2. He said, "Since, Oh sons of God, you have promised the Lord to maintain peace more earnestly than heretofore in your midst and faithfully to sustain the rights of Holy Church, there still remains for you, who are newly aroused by this divine correction, a work very necessary in which you can show the strength of your good will in a certain further duty, God's concern and your own. For you must hasten to carry aid to your brethren dwelling in the East needing your help, which often they have asked. 3. For the Turks, a Persian people, have attacked them, as many of you already know, and have advanced as far into the Roman territory as that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Arm of St. George,¹ and by seizing more and more of the lands of the Christians, already often have conquered them in battle, have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and have devastated the kingdom of God. If you allow them to continue much longer, they will subject the ^{God's} faithful ~~to God~~ more widely. 4. Wherefore, I exhort with earnest prayer, not I but God exhorts, that, as heralds of Christ, you urge men, by frequent exhortation,

1. This term was used by the Latins for the Hellespont. St. George is the patron of this region.

men of all ranks, horsemen as well as foot-soldiers; rich as well as poor, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the lands of your brethren and to aid the Christians in time.

5. I speak to those present; I proclaim it to the absent; moreover, Christ commands. And if those who set out thither, on the way by land or crossing the sea, or fighting the pagans should lose their lives, their sins shall be remitted.

This I grant to all who go, thru the power vested in me by

God. 6. Oh, what a disgrace if a race so despised, base, and the instrument of demons should so overcome a people endowed with faith in the all-powerful God, and resplendent with the name of Christ! O, what reproaches will be charged against you by the Lord Himself if you have not helped those who are counted like yourselves, of the Christian faith!

7. Let those who have been accustomed to make private war against the faithful, carry on to a successful issue a war against infidels which ought to have been begun before now.

8. Now let those be soldiers of Christ who have for a long time been robbers. Let those who once fought against brothers and relatives, now as they ought, fight against barbarians. Let those who have been hirelings at low wages, now labor for an eternal reward. Let those who have been wearing themselves out to the detriment of body and soul, now labor for a double glory. On the one hand will be the sad and poor, on the other the joyous and wealthy; here the

enemies of the Lord; there His friends, 9. Let no obstacle stand in the way of those going but after their affairs are settled and money for the expense is collected, when the winter has ended and spring has come, let them zealously undertake the journey under the guidance of the Lord.

IV.

Concerning the bishop of Puy and subsequent events.

1. After this speech those present were very enthusiastic in the cause and, thinking that nothing could be more laudable than such an undertaking, many at once offered to go and *diligently* exhort the absent. Among these was the bishop of Puy, Adhemar, by name, who later, acting as the pope's vicegerent, prudently and wisely led the whole army of God and vigorously inspired them to accomplish the undertaking. 2. So when those things which have been mentioned were determined upon in the council, and unanimously approved of, and after the papal blessing was given, they withdrew to their homes to make known to those who had not been present at the council what had been done. When what had been done was proclaimed throughout the provinces, they agreed under oath that the peace which was called the Truce¹, should be kept mutually by all. 3. Finally, then, many representatives of every class, after confession, vowed that they were going with a pure intention whither they were ordered to go.

1. See II, 14 note.

4. Oh how proper and how pleasing to us all to see those crosses either of silk or woven with gold or beautiful from whatever kind of cloth, which these pilgrims by order of Pope Urban, once they had made the vow to go, sewed on the shoulders of their mantles or cassocks or tunics. It was indeed fitting that soldiers of God who prepared to fight for His honor should be signed and fortified by this saving emblem of victory; and since they thus marked themselves with this symbol under the acknowledgement of faith, finally they very truly obtained the cross of which they carried the symbol. They adopted the sign that they might follow the reality of the sign.

5. It is evident that a good intention brings about the achievement of a good work and that good work earns the soul's salvation. For if it is good to intend well, it is still better to accomplish a good work which has been planned. Therefore the best thing one can do is to provide for the salvation of his soul by a worthy action. Let each one then plan good deeds which by still more worthy action he will fulfill so that he shall at length receive the never ending reward, which he has earned.

6. So Urban, a man prudent and revered, instigated a work by which later the whole universe prospered. For he restored peace and reestablished the rights of the church in their pristine condition. And also made an effort to drive out the pagans from the Christian lands with a lively determination. And

since he endeavored in every way to glorify everything which was God's almost all voluntarily submitted themselves to his paternal direction.

V.

Concerning the dissention of Pope Urban and Guibert'.

But the devil, who always seeks man's destruction and goes about like a lion seeking whom he may devour,¹ stirred up a certain rival to Urban to the confusion of the people. Incited by the stimulus of pride and supported by the boldness of the aforesaid emperor of the Bavarians,² while still Urban's predecessor, Gregory, that is Hildebrand, was the legitimate pope, Guibert attempted to usurp the papal office, causing Gregory himself to be cast out from St. Peter's. 2. And because he acted thus preversely, the better people did not wish to recognize him. After the death of Hildebrand, Urban, lawfully elected, was consecrated by the cardinal bishops and the greater and holier part of the people submitted in obedience to him. 3. Guibert, however, urged on by the support of the said emperor and by the instigation of the Roman citizens, for some time kept Urban an exile from the church of

1. I St. Peter. 5,8.

2. Fulcher does not wish to call Henry the German or the Roman emperor. Henry had strongest support in South Germany; hence the name Bavarian emperor.

St. Peter; but Urban, while he was banished from the church, went about thru the country, reconciling to God the people who had gone somewhat astray. 4. Guibert, moreover, puffed up by the primacy of the church showed himself indulgent to sinners and exercised the office of pope, altho unjustly, amongst his adherents and he denounced as ridiculous the acts of Urban. 5. But Urban, in the year in which the Franks first passed through Rome on their way to Jerusalem, obtained the complete papal power everywhere, with the help of a certain most noble matron Matilda, by name, who then had great influence in the Roman Empire. 6. Guibert was then in Germany. So there were two popes; and many did not know which to obey, or from which counsel should be taken, or who should remedy the ills of Christianity. Some favored the one; some the other. 7. Accordingly it was clear to the intelligence of men that Urban was the better; for he is rightly considered better who controls his passions just as if they were enemies. 8. Guibert was the Archbishop of the city of Ravenna. He was very rich and revelled in honor and wealth. It was a wonder that such riches did not satisfy him. Ought he to be considered by all an exemplar of right living who, a lover of pomp, boldly presumes to usurp the sceptre of Almighty God? Truly, this office must not be seized by force, but accepted with fear and humility. 9. What wonder that the whole world was a prey to disturbance and confusion?

For when the Roman church, which is the source of correction for all Christianity, is troubled by any disorder, the sorrow is communicated from the nerves of the head, to the members subject to it and these suffer sympathetically. This church, indeed, our mother, as it were, at whose bosom we were nourished, instructed by whose doctrine we had been strengthened, by whose counsel we were admonished, was by this proud Guibert greatly afflicted. For when the head is thus struck the members at once are sick. If the head be sick the other members suffer. II. When the head was thus sick, in the enfeebled members the pain was engendered; for in all parts of Europe peace, goodness, faith, within the church and without, as well by the high as by the low, was boldly trampled under foot. It was necessary that an end be put to these evils, and, in accordance with the plan suggested by Pope Urban, that they turn against the pagans the strength formerly used in prosecuting battles among themselves. 12. Now then, I must turn to the history about those going to Jerusalem, and make known to those who do not know about the pilgrims who went to Jerusalem, what happened to them on the way and how, little by little by the grace of God, the undertaking and their labor gloriously succeeded. I, Fulcher of Chartres, went with the other pilgrims and have, for the benefit of posterity, carefully and diligently stored all this in my memory, just as I witnessed it.

VI.

The time of departure and names of Crusade leaders.

1. In the year of 1096 and in the month of March following the council, which, as has been said, Pope Urban held in November at Auvergne, some, who had been more speedy in their preparation than others began to set out on the holy journey. Others followed in April or May, in June or in July, or even in August or September or October as they were able to secure the means to defray the expenses.

2. That year peace and good crops of grain and grapes flourished everywhere, by the disposition of God, lest those who with their crosses and in accordance with his precept chose to follow him, should fail on the way for want of food.

3. It is fitting to keep in mind the names of the leaders of the Crusades. Hugh the Great, brother of the king of France, was the first hero to cross the sea. He landed with his force at Durazzo,¹ a city in Bulgaria: but imprudently venturing with too small an army was there captured by the inhabitants and taken to the emperor of Constantinople where he was kept for a long time, not altogether free. 4. After him,² Bohemond of Apulia, son of Robert Guiscard of Norman extraction, journeyed with his army over the same route;

1. Hugh the Great had been cast on the shore of Epirus in a tempest. He was honorably received by the governor of Durazzo but was taken to Constantinople to be kept by the emperor as a hostage to protect himself against the Latins.

2. Order of departure of the Crusaders; Hugh the Great, Godfrey, Bohemond, Raymond, Robert of Normandy.

next Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, passed with a great force through Hungary. 5. Raymond, count of Provence with Goths and Gascons and also with Adhemar, bishop of Puy, crossed thru Dalmatia. 7. Peter the Hermit, gathering to himself a crowd of footmen, but few horsemen, first passed through Hungary; afterwards Walter the Penniless was satrap of this horde, who together with many of his good soldiers was killed by the Turks between the cities of Nicomedia and Nicea. 8. Then in the month of October, Robert, count of Normandy, and son of William, king of England, started out, after having gathered a large army of Normans and English and Britains. With him went Stephen, Count of Blois, his brother-in-law, and Robert count of Flanders, together with many other nobles. 9. Therefore, since such a multitude came from all Western countries, little by little, and day by day, the army increased to such a very great number that, when finally convened it formed an infinite host from many regions and of many languages. They, however, did not unite into a single army until we arrived at Nicaea. 10. What further shall I say? The islands of the sea and all the regions of the earth were shaken under foot so that it would seem that the prophesy

1. Raymond, count of Toulouse, Count of St. Gilles, Duke of Narbonne and Marquis of Provence was the most powerful lord in southern France. Adhemar of Puy accompanied him.

of David, was fulfilled who said in the psalm,¹ "All the nations thou hast made shall come and adore before thee, oh Lord;" and that which later those arriving justly said,² "We will adore in the place where His feet have stood." Of this journey, moreover, we have read much more in the prophets which it would be tedious to repeat. 11. Oh what grief, what sighs, what weeping! What lamentations among friends, when the husband left his wife so dear to him, and his children and all his possessions, his father, his mother, his brothers, or his relations. 12. But in spite of such tears which those who remained shed for departing friends, and in their very presence, still in no wise were the crusaders by this weakened, but for love of God they left all that they possessed, firmly convinced that they would receive that hundred-fold which the Lord has promised to those that love him.³ 13. Then husband advised wife of the time of his return assuring her that if he lived, by God's grace, he would return to her. He commended her to the Lord; he kissed her tenderly and, weeping, he promised to return. She, though, fearing that she would never see him more, was unable to stand and fell senseless to the ground, and wept for her love, whom though living, she had lost as though already dead. He, though,

1. Psalms 85, 9.

2. Psalms 131, 7.

3. Math. 19, 29. Mark 10, 30. Luke 18, 29-30

like one who had no pity - though he had - and as if not moved by the tears of his wife nor the grief of any friends - and still in his heart he was moved - set out, keeping his purpose firm. 14. Sadness was the lot of those who remained, those who left were glad. What then can we add further? "This is the Lord's doings and it is marvelous in our eyes." ¹

VII.

The journey of the count of Normandy and what happened at Rome.

Then, we West Franks traversed Gaul and travelling thru Italy came to Lucca - a far-famed city. We met near there Pope Urban, with whom Robert the Norman, and Stephen, Count of Blois and others also of us who wished to, talked. Having received his blessing, we joyfully advanced to Rome. 2. And when we had entered the church of St. Peter, we found before the altar the supporters of Guibert, that pseudo-pope, who unbecomingly - sword in hand - seized the offerings placed on the altar. Others, too, on the roof of St. Peter's itself ran about and threw stones down where we were prostrate praying. For when they saw any one of those faithful to Urban, they straightway wished to kill him. 3. In one tower of the church were adherents of Pope Urban who were guarding it well in faithfulness to him and as far as they could were resisting his adversaries. We grieved much to see such an outrage

1. Psalms 117, 23 Math. 21, 42.

committed in that place; but we could do nothing except to desire that it be avenged by God. Waiting no longer, many who had come thus far with us, at once with disgraceful cowardice returned to their homes. We, however, travelling through the center of Campagna, reached Bari, a rich seaport town. There we addressed our supplications to God in the church of St. Nicholas. Then coming to port, we decided to cross at once. But because we lacked seamen and because fortune might play us false and because, furthermore, it was winter time which exposed us to dangers, Robert Count of Normandy was obliged to withdraw into Calabria and there spent the whole winter season. Robert, count of Flanders, however, with his followers crossed over. Then many of the crusaders abandoned by their leaders fearing future wants, sold their weapons there and taking up again their pilgrim's staves, they ignominiously returned to their homes. This desertion debased them before God and man and it redounded to their shame.

VIII.

The drowning of the Crusaders and the miracle
divinely performed.

1. Then in the month of March 1097, as soon as spring had returned, the Norman count and Count Stephen of Blois with his followers, for he likewise was awaiting an opportune time, returned again to the coast. When the fleet was ready on the ninth of April, which then happened to be the feast of Easter,

they embarked at the port of Brindisi. 2. Oh how incomprehensible and unsearchable are the judgments of God! For among all these ships we saw one which suddenly was split thru the middle and from no apparent cause. Then about four hundred of both sexes were drowned, concerning whom joyous praises at once went up to God. 3. For when those standing around had collected as many as possible of the bodies, already dead, they found, on the shoulders of some, signs of the cross. For since, while living, they had worn the cross on their clothes, it was the will of God that that same victorious sign of faith should remain on the skin of those prematurely cut off by death while in His service. So it was justly worthy of such a miracle to show to those witnessing it, that those dead, had, by the mercy of God, already received everlasting peace; so that in very truth, that is evidently fulfilled which is written, "But the just man if he be prevented with death shall be in rest." 4. Of the rest of our companions already struggling with death, few survived. Their horses and their mules were swallowed up by the waves, much money also was lost; at the sight of this disaster we were much afraid, so much so that many weak hearted, who had not yet embarked, returned to their homes, giving up the journey and saying that never again would they trust

1. Wisdom 4, 7. Acts 3,20.

themselves so to the treacherous sea. 5. As for us, however, we trusted implicitly in Almighty God, and launched out upon the sea with flags flying aloft and many trumpets sounding and a gentle breeze blowing. For three days because the wind failed us we were detained in the midst of the billows. On the fourth day we reached land about ten miles from the city of Durazzo. Our fleet anchored tho at two ports. Then joyfully we again resumed the dry land and passed beyond the above mentioned city. 6. So we passed by the regions of Bulgaria, over mountain steeps and desert places. Then we all came to the rapid river, called by the natives, the River of the Demon, and appropriately so. For in this river, we saw many people who hoped to wade across step by step, perish suddenly engulfed by the strong force of the torrent, and none of those looking on were able to save them. Wherefore, moved by compassion, we shed many tears and had our knights with their mighty battle steeds brought aid to the footmen many of them there would have lost their lives in the same manner. Then near the bank we pitched our tents, and there we spent one night. Great mountains, uninhabited, were about us on all sides. 7. Hardly had the morning dawned when the war trumpets sounded and we resuming our way descended the mountain, called Bagulatus. Afterwards passing by the mountain and the towns Lucretia, Botella, Bonfinat, and Stella, we came to the river called Bardarius. And what could not usually be done except by boat, with

the help of God, we rejoicing did; we crossed on foot. The day following we camped before the city of Thessalonica, a city rich in goods of all kinds. 8. After a four days delay here we travelled thru Macedonia, thru the valley of Philippe and thru Chrysolpolis and Christopolis, Praetoria, Messinopole, Maera, Traianopole, Neapolis, ~~Panadox~~,¹ Rodosta and Heraclea, Balumbrian and Naturam; and we arrived at Constantinople. Pitching our tents before this city, we rested fourteen days. 9. We could not enter that city, for the emperor, fearing that possibly we would do some damage to him, did not wish to let us. So it was necessary that we buy our daily supplies outside the walls. These, by the order of the emperor, the citizens brought to us. We were not allowed to enter the city many at a time. Only five or six per hour were permitted; thus, while some were leaving, others then were entering to pray in the churches.

IX.

From Constantinople to Nicea.

1. Oh what a great and beautiful city is Constantinople! How many churches and palaces it contains, fashioned with wonderful skill! How many wonderful things may be seen even in the streets or courts! It would be too tedious to

1. The knowledge of geography at this time among the people of the West was very meager, indefinite and unsystematic; hence the differences in names of places, uncertainty as to distances, locations etc.

enumerate what wealth there is there of every kind, of gold, of silver, of every kind of robes and of holy relics. There traders at all times bring by boat all the necessities of man. They have, I judge, about twenty thousand eunuchs constantly living there. Then, after we were sufficiently rested, our leaders, ¹ after taking counsel, made under oath a treaty with the emperor at his own instigation. This treaty Bohemond and Duke Godfrey who had preceded us, had already made. But Count Raymond then refused to subscribe to it. The Count of Flanders, tho, like the rest took the oath? 3. For it was essential that all establish friendship with the emperor, since without his counsel and aid, we would not be able to make the journey easily, nor would those who were to follow us in the same way. The emperor himself, from his treasury and his wardrobe, supplied them with as much as they wished, and he gave them horses and money of which they were much in need for completing such a journey. 4. When this had been accomplished, we crossed the sea which is called the arm of St. George. We hastened then to the city of Nicaea. Since the middle of May, Lord Bohemond and Duke Godfrey and Count Raymond and the Count of Flanders already had been beseiging

1. Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois.
2. Godfrey's oath as given Anna Comnena X 9. "whatever cities, lands, and strongholds he should capture which had formerly been part of the Roman Empire were to be given over to a person sent along to receive them." In return the emperor promised to supply the Crusaders with arms and supplies.

this city. It was in possession then of Turks, from the East, a valiant race of very expert archers. These, indeed had crossed the Euphrates river from Persia fifty years before and had subjected to themselves the whole Roman land as far as the city of Nicomedia. 5. Oh, how many heads, severed, and bones of the dead lying upon the plains near the sea we then found beyond Nicomedia. These People inexperienced in the use of the arrow, the Turks had annihilated. Moved by pity at this sight, we shed many tears.

X.

The seige of Nicea and its recovery.

When they, who were already beseiging Nicea had heard, as has been said, that our leaders had arrived, namely the Count of Normandy and Stephen of Blois, gladly they came out to meet them and us and escorted (us) to the place before the city on the southern side where we pitched our tents. 2. Once already the Turks had prepared to unite, hoping to drive the besiegers from the city if they could, or at least to better fortify the city with their soldiers. But they were fiercely repulsed by us, and, about two hundred of them were killed. When, moreover, they saw the Franks so spirited and so strong in brave warfare, they retreated in haste into the interior awaiting an opportune time for attacking. 3. It was in the first week in June that we, the last, came to the seige. 4. Then, from the many, one army was made,

which those who were skillful in numbers estimated to be 600,000 strong. Of these 100,000 were armed for battle with leathern corslets and helmets.¹ Besides the army were those unarmed namely clerks, monks, women and children. What further then? If all who departed from their homes, undertaking the pious journey had been present there, without doubt there would have been six million soldiers. But from Rome, from Apulia, from Hungary or from Dalmatia, some, unwilling to undergo the hardships, returned to their homes; in many different places thousands were killed; and some who went with us fell sick and died. Many grave yards were to be seen along the roads, on the plains, in the places where our pilgrims were buried. 6. Be it known that, while for a long time we beseiged the city of Nicea food to be bought was brought to us, with the consent of the emperor, in sea-vessels. Then our leaders ordered machines of war to be made, rams, scrapers, wooden towers, and slings. Arrows were shot from the bows; destructive stones were hurled. Our enemy fired at us, and we at them, each doing his best in these encounters. With our machines we often assailed the city, but because a strong wall obstructed us, we had to give up the attack. Struck by arrows or stones, often Turks and often Franks perished. 7. Truly, you would have grieved and sobbed in pity for when they slew in any way one of our men before the wall, they let down iron hooks by means of

 1. The footsoldiers always outnumbered the knights, there being from two to seven times as many.

ropes and took the body up. They snatched it and none of us dared or was able to wrest it from them. After stripping the corpse, they threw the body outside. 8. Then with the aid of oxen and ropes we dragged some small boats from Civetot over the land to Nicea, and launched them in the lake to guard the approach to the city lest it be supplied with provisions. 9. But while we had wearied the city with seige for five weeks and had often terrified the Turks with our attacks, a council had meantime been held and, thru ambassadors to the emperor, the inhabitants secretly surrendered to him the city which was already hard pressed by our force and skill. 10. Then the Turks admitted into it the Greek mercenaries sent thither by the emperor. They took possession of the city with all the money in it in the name of the emperor, and just as he had commanded. Wherefore after all this money was taken, the emperor ordered gifts to be presented to our leaders, gifts of gold and silver and raiment; and to the footsoldiers he distributed brass coins which they call Tartarons. On the day of the seige and the surrender of Nicea the month of June had reached the solstice.

XI.

The deadly encounter of the Christians with
the Turks.

1. When, therefore, our leaders had received permission from the emperor to depart, we withdrew from Nicaea on the

twenty-ninth of June and advancing we came into the interior parts of Romania. But when we had been on the way two days, it was reported to us that the Turks had laid snares for us and expected to join battle with us in the plains thru which they thought we were going to pass. 2. We were ^{not} frightened at this news. But when that night our scouts saw many of them a long way off, they at once notified us of it. Therefore on that night we had our tents protected on all sides by guards. But early in the morning, which was July first, we took up our arms; at the signal of the horn we divided into wings, with tribunes and centurians leading the cohorts and centuries: and with flags flying, we went out against the enemy in good order. 3. Then at the second hour of the day, behold their scouts approached our guards. When we had heard this, we pitched our tents near a certain marsh and took off our pack saddles in order that we would be better able to fight. 4. When this was done, the emir and chief of the Turks, Soliman, who held in his possession the city of Nicaea and Romania, had gathered together about him the Turks and pagan Persians who after a journey of thirty days, at his command, had come to his aid. There were present with him many chiefs and leaders such as Admircoradigum, Miriathos, and many others. Altogether they numbered 360,000 fighters, all on horses and armed with bows as was their custom. We, on the other hand, had both footmen and horsemen. But at that time Duke

Godfrey and Count Raymond and Hugh the Great had been two days absent from us. They had, for some unknown reason, taken a branch road and withdrawn themselves from us with a large number of our men. Therefore an irreparable loss resulted as well from the number of our soldiers who were killed as from our failure to kill or capture the Turks. And because those absent received our messengers late, therefore they were late in coming to our aid. 6. The Turks crept up, howling and strenuously shooting a shower of arrows. We, stunned and almost dead and many wounded, immediately fled. And it was no wonder, for to us all such warfare was new. 7. Already from another part of the marsh, a dense column of them rushed madly up to our tents and entering, snatched our possessions and killed our people. Then, by the disposition of God, the advance guard of Hugh the Great and Count Raymond and Duke Godfrey came from the rear upon this unfortunate scene. When we had been driven up to our tents, those of the enemy who were there fled from our tents thinking that we had returned to attack them. But what they took for bravery and courage they should have thought great fear. 8. What further shall I say? We, indeed, were all huddled together like sheep shut in a pen, trembling and frightened, surrounded on all sides by enemies so that we were unable to advance in any direction. It was clear to us that this befell us as a punishment for our sins. For

whomsoever luxury defiles, those indeed avarice or some other vice corrupts. The cry of the pagan men, women, and children who rushed upon us, was great, penetrating to the sky. Now there was no hope of life left to us. We then, confessed that we were debtors and sinners and humbly begged mercy from God. There were present there the bishop of Puy, our director, and four other prelates. Many priests were there vested in white who humbly besought God that he would destroy the power of our enemy and shed upon us the gifts of his mercy. Weeping they sang and singing they wept. Then many fearing that death was near ran to the priests, and confessed their sins to them. 10. Our leaders, Count Robert of Normandy, and Stephen, Count of Blois, and Robert Count of Flanders, and Bohemond also, resisted them as far as they were able and often they tried to assail them. They also, were strongly attacked by the Turks.

XII.

The flight of the Turks and the victory of the Christians.

But the Lord, no doubt appeased by our supplications, (for He gives victory not to the splendor of nobility nor to brilliancy of arms but to the pure of heart and to him who in need is piously fortified by divine strength) little by little, restored to us our strength and weakened the Turks more and more. For we saw our allies hastening to our aid from

behind. Praising God, we regained our courage and, forming into troops and cohorts, pressed forward to resist them. 2. Oh, how many of our men coming slowly after us that day they killed! From the very first hour of the day until the sixth, as I have said, difficulties checked us, but then, little by little we recovered and we were reinforced by our allies and manifestly Divine Grace was with us. As if by sudden impulse all the Turks turned their backs on us in flight. 3. We, tho, followed them thru the mountains and valleys, calling after them loudly. We did not cease pursuing them until our advance guard had come up to their tents. There some of our men packed their horses and camels with possessions and even with the tents which the Turks in their fright had left there. Others followed the fleeing Turks even until night. But because our horses were famished and tired, we kept a few of theirs. 4. It was a great miracle of God that during the following day and the third, the pagans did not halt in their flight altho no one, unless God, followed them further. 5. Made glad by such a victory, we all gave thanks to God because He did not will that our journey be unsuccessful but that it prosper more gloriously than ordinarily for the honor of His own Christianity. Wherefore from the East to West the renown shall resound forever. 6. Then, indeed, we continued our journey quietly; one day suffering such extreme thirst that many men and women died from its torments. Whole troops of Turks, fleeing before us,

sought refuge dispersed throughout Romania.

XIII.

The want of the Christians.

Then we came to the Antioch, which they call the lesser, in the province of Pisidia, and thence to Iconium. In these regions we very often were in need of bread and other foods. For we found Romania, a land which is good and very rich in all products, barbarously devastated and ravished by the Turks. But still often you would see this multitude of people well refreshed by whatever little we found at intervals on this journey thru barren regions. This happened by the aid of God who from five loaves and two fishes¹ fed the five thousand. Wherefore we were glad and rejoicing we declared that these were gifts of the mercy of God. 3. Truly one would not know whether to laugh or to cry from pity when many of our men without pack-mules, because many of theirs had already perished, loaded sheep, goats, hogs, and dogs with their supplies such as clothing and food and whatever luggage was necessary for pilgrims. The skin of those animals was worn by the weight of the baggage. And knights with their armor sometimes even mounted oxen. 4. But who ever heard such a mixture of language in one army? There were there Franks, Flemish, Frisians, Gauls, Allobroges, Lotharingians, Alemannians, Bavarians, Normans, English, Scots, Aquitanians, Italians,

1. John 6, 1-13.

Dacians, Apulians, Iberians, Britons, Greeks and Armenians. If a Briton or Teuton questioned me, I would not know how to answer either. 5. But though we spoke diverse languages, we were, however, brothers in the love of God and seemed to be nearest kin. For if one lost any of his possessions, whoever found it kept it carefully a long time, until, by inquiry, he found the loser and returned it to him. This was indeed the proper way, for those who in a proper spirit went on a holy pilgrimage.

XIV.

The deeds and bravery of Count Baldwin, brother of Godfrey, and the recapture of the city of Edessa which is called Roda.

When we had reached the city of Heraclea, we beheld a certain prodigy in the sky which appeared shining in brilliant whiteness in the shape of a sword with the point towards the East. We did not know what it portended for the future; but we left the present and future to the Lord. Then we arrived at a certain flourishing town which is called Marisium and there for three days we rested. But when we had traversed a days journey from there and were now not more than three days from Syrian Antioch, I, Fulcher, withdrew from the main army and with Count Baldwin, brother of Duke Godfrey, turned towards the region of the province which is to the left. 3. Baldwin was indeed a great

soldier, who before this had left the army, and with those whom he had with him, with great boldness had taken the city called Tarsus of Cilicia from Tancred who, with the consent of the Turks, had already sent his men in. Leaving guards in it, he returned to the army.¹ 4. So trusting in God and in his own strength, he collected a few soldiers and set out towards the Euphrates, and there took many towns as much by force as by strategy. In the number of those which he took was a very rich one called Turbezel. The Armenians who dwelt there gave it up peacefully to him; and many others were subjected to him. 5. When his fame had circulated far and wide, the Emir of the city of Edessa sent a delegation to him. Edessa was a most celebrated city and most fruitful in the products of the earth. This city is in Syrian Mesopotamia about twenty miles beyond the above mentioned Euphrates and about a hundred or a few more miles² from Antioch. Baldwin was asked by the Duke to go there and to agree that they should be mutual friends as long as they both should live, that they would be like father and son. And if by chance the Duke of Edessa himself should die, Baldwin, just as if he were his own son, should immediately come into possession of all his land. Since he had no son or daughter, and since

1. In September 1097, Baldwin and Tancred departed at Heraclea from the main body of the crusaders and went southeast into Cilicia. Baldwin disputed with Tancred the possession of Tarsus and compelled him to renounce his claim to it. They were bitter enemies ever after.

2. Edessa was more nearly two hundred miles from Antioch.

he was unable to defend himself against the Turks, this Greek wished that he and his land should be defended by this Baldwin who he had heard was, like his soldiers, a most brave fighter. As soon as Baldwin had heard this offer and had been persuaded of its truth by the deputies from Edessa under oath, he, with a small force of about eighty soldiers set out and crossed the Euphrates. After we had crossed this river, we went on very hastily all night and, very much afraid, we passed through the Saracen camps leaving them on either side of us.

8. When the Turks who were in the fortified town of Samosata had heard this, they put snares for us in the way through which they thought we would go; but when the following night, a certain Armenian most hospitably entertained us in his castle, he told us that we had better guard ourselves from these snares of the enemy. Wherefore for two days we lurked in this place.

9. But being wearied by such delay, on the third day, the Turks rushed down in a sudden onslaught from the place of hiding and hastened with flags flying before the stronghold in which we were; and the booty which they found there in the pastures they seized before our eyes. We went out against them; but because we were too few, we were unable to contend with them. They shot arrows, but wounded none of us. However, they left in camp one of their allies killed with a lance, His horse was kept by the one who unhorsed him. Then the pagans left; but we stayed there.

11. The following day we resumed our journey. When we were passing before the Armenian camp, it was wonderful to see how when they heard that we were going to defend them from the Turks, under

whose yoke they had for so long been oppressed, they advanced humbly and for the love of God to meet us. They carried crosses and banners and they kissed our robes and our feet. At length we reached Edessa where the aforesaid Duke of the city and his wife, together with the citizens, gladly received us; and what had been promised to Baldwin they fulfilled at once. After we had delayed there for fifteen days, the citizens wickedly plotted to kill their prince because they hated him, and to set up Baldwin as ruler over the land in his place. This was suggested; and it was done. Baldwin and his men were much grieved that they were not able to obtain mercy for him¹.

14. As soon as Baldwin had accepted as a gift from the citizens the place of this ~~worthless~~ one, who had been ^{wickedly} murdered, he began a war against the Turks who were in the country. Often he conquered either killing or taking them prisoners. However, it happened also that many of our men were killed by the Turks.

15. I, Fulcher of Chartres, was chaplain for the same Baldwin. I shall now resume, from where I left off, the narrative about the army of God.

XV.

The arrival of the Franks at Antioch and the vicissitudes of the siege.

1. In the month of October, the Franks came to Antioch in Syria, a city which Seleu^sus, son of Antiochus, built across the river which they called Fernus or Orontes. He made this

1. Mathew of Edessa, 37 accuses Baldwin of having been accessory to the murder of Thoros. The other chroniclers do not reinforce this and Hagenmeyer discredits it.

the capital of Syria; and it was first called Reblata. The tents were ordered pitched before the city, between the wall and the first milestone from it. Here afterwards battles were often fought disastrous to both sides. When the Turks rushed out from that city, they killed many of our men; but however, the tables turned, and they also grieved to find themselves beaten. 2. Antioch is certainly a very extensive city, well fortified and strongly situated. This city could never be captured by enemies outside the walls provided the inhabitants were supplied with food and wished to defend it. There is in Antioch a much renowned church dedicated to the honor of St. Peter the Apostle where he, raised to the episcopate, sat as bishop when he received from the Lord Jesus the primacy of the church, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven. 3. There is another, too, circular in form and built in honor of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, besides many other well built churches. These had for a long time been under the control of the Turks,¹ but God, foreseeing all, kept them intact for us, so that one day in them he would be honored by ourselves. 4. Antioch, I think, is about thirteen miles from that point of the sea where the Fernus River flows into it and through the mouth of this river ships bearing all kinds of goods come clear

1. Under Omar, the second caliph, the Moslems took Jerusalem in 634.

up to Antioch from distant lands. So, supplied by sea as well as by land, in many ways the city abounds in riches. 5. Our leaders, when they realized how hard it was going to be to take the city, swore to one another that they would continue the seige until, God willing, they would be able to take it by force or by strategy. 6. They found some boats in the aforesaid river. These they took and fashioned for themselves a pontoon bridge by means of which they crossed to carry out their plans tho previously they had been unable to ford it. 7. But the Turks, when they saw that they were beset by such a multitude of Christians, feared that they could not possibly escape them. After they had taken rede together, Aoxionus, leader and emir of Antioch sent his son, Sanxado to the Sultan, that is the emperor of the Persians, asking that he should hasten at once to them, since they hoped for help from no one else except Mohamet, their patron. Sanxado, being dispatched thither, performed the mission as soon as possible. 8. Those who remained in the city guarded it, waiting for the assistance which they were soliciting; and they concocted many destructive schemes against the Franks. The Franks, for their part, resisted the stratagems of the enemy as well as they could. 9. On a certain day it happened, that seven hundred Turks were killed by them and those who had prepared snares for the Franks were by snares overcome. For the power of God was manifest there. All of our men returned safe except one, who was wounded by them. 10. Oh! how many Christians who were

in the city, Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, the Turks in rage killed and from stone catapults and slings hurled their heads, in the sight of the Franks, outside the walls. This grieved our men very much. The Turks hated these Christians for they were afraid that somehow they would protect the Franks against their attack. 11. After the Franks had for some time besieged the city of Antioch and scoured the country round in search of food for themselves and were unable to find even bread to buy, they suffered great hunger. For this reason all were very much dejected and many secretly planned to withdraw from the siege and to flee by land or by sea. 12. But they had no money on which to live. They were even obliged to seek their sustenance far away and in great fear, by separating themselves forty or fifty miles from the siege, and there in the mountains many of them were killed by the Turks in ambush. 13. We felt that misfortunes had befallen the Franks because of their sins, and for this reason they were not able to take the city for so long a time. Luxury and avarice and pride and plunder had indeed vitiated them. 14. Then, having again consulted together, they expelled the women from the army, the married as well as the unmarried, lest perhaps tainted by the evils of dissoluteness they would be displeasing to God. These women then sought hospitality for themselves in neighboring towns. 15. The rich as well as the poor were wretched because of starvation as well as of the slaughter, which daily occurred. Had not God, like

a good pastor, held his sheep together, without doubt they would all have fled thence at once in spite of the fact that they had sworn to gain the city. Many tho, because of need of food, sought for many days in neighboring towns what was necessary for life; and they did not afterward return to the army but abandoned the siege entirely. 16. At that time we saw a red phenomenon in the sky, and we felt a great quake of the earth, which renewed in us all our fears. Many saw besides a certain white figure in the shape of a cross moving in a direct line towards the East.

XVI.

The extreme need of the Christians and the flight of the
Count of Blois.

Then, in 1098, after the region around Antioch had been absolutely devastated by a multitude of our men, old and young were more and more tortured by unendurable hunger. 2. Then the starving people devoured the stalks of bean plants still growing in the fields, and herbs of all kinds not seasoned with salt, thistles, even, which because of lack of fuel were not well cooked and, therefore, cut the tongues of those eating them. They ate horses, asses, camels, dogs, and even mice. The poorer people ate even the hides of animals, and the grains of corn found in dung. They, for the love of God, suffered cold, heat, and heavy rains. Their tents were already old, and rotten and torn by continuous rains. Wherefore many

of our men had no cover but the sky. 4. Just as gold is thrice tried in the fire and seven times purged,¹ so I believe, the elect were tried by God and by such suffering were cleansed of their sins. For, though the sword of the assassin did not fail to do its deadly work, suffering long agony they had gladly run the full course of martyrdom. Perhaps they took consolation from the example of Holy Job,² who, purging his soul by torments of the body, always kept God in mind. When they fought against the pagans they labored for God. 5. Although God, who creates all, orders all that He has created, and sustains what He has ordered, rules fitly and is able to destroy or repair whatever He wishes, I feel that at the cost of suffering to the Christians He wills that the pagans be destroyed who have so many times severely harmed whatever was God's tho with His permission and as the people deserved. The Christians, indeed, He allows to be slain for their greater salvation, the Turks however, for the damnation of their souls. But those of them destined to salvation, it pleased God to have baptized by our priests, "and whom he predestined, them he also called and also glorified -"³

6. What then? There were some of ours, as you have heard above, who withdrew from such a troublesome siege; some because of want; some because of cowardice, some through

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1. Psalms 11,7.
 2. Tobias 2, 12.
 3. Ep. to Romans 8, 30.

fear of death, first the poor, then the rich. Then Stephen,¹ Count of Blois, left the army before Antioch and returned by sea to France. We all grieved on this account, because he was a man most superior and powerful in arms. The city of Antioch was taken by the Franks on the day following his departure. If he had persevered, he would have greatly rejoiced with the rest. His departure was a deed disgraceful to him. A good beginning does not profit one, if he does not end well. In things regarding God I shall be brief lest I might go astray; for in these things I must be careful not to falsify. 8. From this month of October, as was said, through the following winter and even in Spring until the month of June came, the siege of the city continued. Very often the Turks and the Franks made assaults and fought battles with one another. They conquered and were conquered. We, though, triumphed more often than did they. Once it happened that many Turks in fleeing fell into the River Orontes and were wretchedly drowned in it. On this side and across the river both nations often fought with each other. 9. Our princes constructed many forts before the city. Rallying from these forts on numerous occasions our men boldly attacked the Turks and as a result often deprived their animals of their pastures. Not only did the Armenians outside

1. Stephen, son-in-law of Wm. the Conqueror, had been chosen by the Crusaders as their leader. He gave as an excuse for his defection a physical infirmity, which defection added to the discouragement of the besiegers of Antioch. Later he returned and was killed at Ramla. cf. II, XVI ; XIX .

of the district bring us no help but they themselves often came out to injure our people.

XVII.

The surrender of the city of Antioch.

When, however, God appeased, no doubt, by their prayers, was pleased to end the labor of his people, who daily poured forth to Him beseeching supplications, in his pity He granted that, thru the treachery of these same Turks, the city should be secretly given up and restored to the Christians. This then was the treachery; though in one sense it was not treachery. 2. Our Lord appeared to a certain Turk, predestined by His grace, and said to him. "Arise, you who sleep. I command you to return Antioch to the Christians." Altho wondering at it, he kept this vision a secret. 3. Again the Lord appeared to him; "Return the city to the Franks, " he said. "I who command you to do this am Christ". Wondering therefore what he should do, he went to his lord, the Emir of Antioch, and related the vision to him. And the Emir answered him, "Do you wish, foolish man, to obey a ghost?" Turning away, the Turk said nothing further. 4. Again the Lord appeared to him saying, "Why do you not do what I have commanded you? Do not hesitate, for I who command this, am the Lord of all." Now, no longer doubting, he made an arrangement with our men by which, thanks to his plan, they should take the city. 5. This agreement made, he gave his

son as a hostage to Lord Bohemond to whom this proposition had first been made and whom he first influenced. On a certain night, by means of ladders made of rope, he admitted twenty of our men, over the wall, and without delay, the gate was opened. The Franks indeed were prepared and they entered the city at once. Forty of our soldiers had already entered by means of ropes, These killed sixty Turks whom they found there guarding the citadels. Then all the Franks shouted together in a high voice, "It is the will of God; it is the will of God". For this was our usual expression when we were about to accomplish any good enterprise. 6. Hearing this, the Turks were all madly frightened, When morning dawned, the Franks began to attack the city at once. When the Turks at first noticed the red flag of Bohemond, now waving aloft and the tumult raging all around and the horns of the Franks sounding from the top of the wall and the Franks running abroad through the streets with bared swords and savagely killing the people, they were stupified and began to run here and there. As many as could betook themselves in flight to a citadel situated on a lofty cliff. 7. Our common people confiscated without distinction everything that they found in the streets and houses, but the knights kept to the proper business of seeking out and killing the Turks. 8. Then the Emir of Antioch, Aoxianus by name, while trying to get away, was beheaded by an Armenian peasant, who brought his severed head at once to the Franks.

XVIII.

The discovery of the lance.

But it happened that after the city had been taken, a certain man found a lance, discovered when the earth was dug up under the church of the Blessed Apostle Peter. He preserved it as the one with which Longinus,¹ as the Scripture says, pierced Christ in the right side. He said that this had been revealed to him by the blessed Apostle Andrew. 2. And when thus it had been discovered and he himself had told it to the Bishop of Puy and Count Raymond, the Bishop discredited it, but the Count hoped that it was true. 3. And when they had heard this, the whole people, exulting, glorified God and for almost a hundred days the lance was held in great veneration and was carried gloriously by count Raymond, who guarded it. It then happened that many of the priests and laity doubted that this really was the holy lance believing it to be another found to no honest purpose by this doltish man. 4. Wherefore after three days of fasting and prayers had been decided upon and accomplished by all, they lighted a heap of wood in the middle of the camp before the city Archas, in the eighth month after the capture of Antioch; the bishops made the official benediction² over the same fire;

1. John 19,34. "One of the soldiers opened the side of Christ".
 2. In Trans. and Reprints Vol. IV. No. 4. Raymond of St. Gilles detailed description of the ordeal of Peter Bartholmew is translated.

and the finder of the lance, to prove his honesty, very quickly ran clear thru the midst of the burning flame as he himself had demanded. Having passed through, they saw this man emerge from the flames as if guilty, with his skin burned and they knew that internally he was fatally injured. This was confirmed when the twelfth day, seared by the guilt of his conscience he died. 5. Because they had all venerated this lance thru love and respect for God, now that this was condemned by the ordeal, they were much grieved and those were made incredulous who before had believed in the lance. But Count Raymond kept it for a long time afterwards.

XIX.

The siege of the Christians in Antioch by the Turks.

And when, as has been related, Antioch had been captured, the following day a countless number of Turks set up a siege all around the same city. For as soon as the Sultan, the king of the Persians, had received word that the Franks were besieging Antioch, immediately he collected a great number together and sent his army against the Franks. Corbagoth was the leader and satrap of this army. 2. He remained three weeks before the city of Edessa, which was then in Lord Baldwin's possession, but accomplishing nothing there, he hastened to Antioch to the rescue of prince Aoxianus. 3. Seeing these things, the Franks were again no less desolate than usual,

because their punishment was doubled because of their sins. For as soon as they had entered the city many of them had associated with women outside the faith. 4. Then about sixty thousand Turks entered the city by means of a towering citadel on the side of a high cliff; and they by frequent and vigorous attacks pressed us together. But their stay was not long; struck with a great terror, they went out of the city to besiege it from the outside. The Franks, walled in, remained there, more anxious than can be imagined.

XX.

The visions appearing within the city.

In the meantime the Lord, not unmindful, appeared to many of them, which fact they often related, and comforting them, He promised the people that presently they would rejoice in victory. Then the Lord appeared to a certain priest, who was fleeing because of fear of death and said to him, "Where brother, are you going?" "I am fleeing," he said, "Lest unluckily I shall perish."

Thus many fled, lest they perish by a terrible death.

To whom the Savior answered, "Flee not, but hasten back and tell the others that I shall be with them in battle. For, appeased by the prayers of my mother, I shall be merciful to the Franks. But because they have sinned, they have almost perished. Let their hope in me be constant, and I shall make them triumph over the Turks. Let them repent

and they shall be saved. I am the Lord who speaks to you'

The priest turned back at once, and reported what he had heard. 2. Then many wished to descend at night from the wall by ropes and to escape - fearing to die of want or by the sword. Before one of those who were descending his brother, already dead, appeared and said to him "Whither are you fleeing? Stay; fear not for God will be with you in your struggle; and your companions in this journey who have already gone before you in death will fight with you against the Turks." The other, astonished at the words of the dead man, ceased to flee and told the rest what he had heard. 3. But when it pleased the Lord to end the labors of those who were not able to bear such troubles any longer, having no longer anything to eat for which reason they, as well as their horses, were very weak, they agreed to keep a three days fast with prayers and almsgiving in order that by these penances and prayers they might propitiate God in their behalf.

XXI.

The war declared on the Turks by the Franks.

Meantime after having taken counsel the Franks advised the Turks, thru a certain Peter the Hermit that unless they left undisturbed to them the land which had belonged to the Christians from time immemorial, the following day without doubt war would be made upon them. If the Turks preferred

it, the combat might be between five or ten or twenty or even a hundred chosen soldiers from each side¹ lest all fighting at once as in other battles, a great number should die; and the side whose men overcame their opponents should receive the city and the rule without hindrance or controversy.

2. This was the demand, but it was not conceded by the Turks who, trusting in their great number and their strength, thought that they would be able to overcome and destroy us.

3. They indeed are estimated to have been about 300,000 horse as well as foot soldiers. They knew well that ours were foot-soldiers, inefficient and unprovided.

4. Then Peter, the ambassador, returned and the answer of the enemy was given. When they had heard it, the Franks prepared themselves to fight without hesitation, placing their confidence in God.

5. The leaders of the Turks were many, whom they called emirs. They were Corlogath, Maleducat, Amisoliman and many others too numerous to mention,

XXII.

The arrangement of the battle.

The leaders of the Franks were Hugh the Great, Robert Count of Normandy, Robert, Count of Flanders, Duke Godfrey, Count Raymond, Bohemond, besides many other lesser nobles. May the Lord grant his blessing to the soul of Adhemar, Bishop

1. This proposal of trial by combat is mentioned also by Raymond, Albert, Cafarus, and Raoul de Caen.

of Puy, who, truly an apostolic man himself, always kindly comforted the people and strengthened them in God. 2. O devotion to duty! On the preceding night, Adhemar himself had by proclamation ordered that each horseman of the army of God should, as though in charity, from his supply of corn apportion food to his steed lest on the following day the horses, weak with hunger, should fall in the hour of battle beneath their riders. It was done as commanded. 3. So all prepared, they thus came to battle from the whole city at daybreak on the twenty-eighth of June, 1098. They were conveniently divided into squadrons and phalanxes. Amongst them were the priests vested in white, who, weeping for the whole people, besought God, and poured out many prayers from their devout souls. 4. Then a certain Turk named Amirdalis, a most upright soldier, when he saw our men advancing against them with flags flying, was greatly surprised. And when he had seen the banners of our princes, which he recognized individually proceeding in order, he knew that there would be a battle at once. 5. He had lived at Antioch and had become acquainted with the characteristics of the Franks. Hastening at once to Corbogath he told them what he had heard, saying to him, "What, are you playing chess? The Franks have come!" To whom the satrap replied, "Have they come to fight?" Amirdalis answered - "I don't know, but wait a little while." 6. When he had

looked a second time and saw the flage of our leaders borne before them on the other side and that the lines were divided regularly, following after he returned to Corbagath and said to him, "Behold the Franks!" "What do you think?" he answered. He said, "I expect war, but wait yet a little while. I know whose banners those are which I see." 7. Then looking more closely, he recognized the Banner of the Bishop of Puy at the head of the third troop. Waiting no longer he said to Carbogath, "Now the Franks have come; flee or fight well, for I see the banner of the great Pope coming. Tremble lest to-day you be overcome by those whom you thought entirely overcome. 8. Carbogath said "I shall send to the Franks and what they demanded of me yesterday I shall grant to-day". Amirdalis said, "You speak too late". Still he asked it, but what he asked he did not obtain. Amirdalis at once withdrawing from him, spurred on his horse. He was planning to flee, but he advised all his allies to fight bravely and to speed their arrows.

XXIII

The battle, the victory of the Christians and flight of the Turks.

Hugh the Great and Robert, Count of Normandy, and the other Robert, Count of Flanders, made up the first line for the attacks. In the second line followed Duke Godfrey with Alemanni and Lotharingians. Following these came the Bishop of Puy and the army of Count Raymond, made up of

Gascons and inhabitants of Provence. Count Raymond himself remained in the city to guard it. Bohemund skillfully brought up the rear. 2. The Turks, moreover, when they saw that they were pierced by a fierce attack of the whole army of the Franks, began to dash forward here and there, as was their custom, and to shoot arrows. But, struck by a heaven-sent fear, they fled in disorder as if the whole world had rushed upon them. The Franks, as fast as they could, pursued those who were fleeing. 3. But because they had few horses and those were weak from hunger, they did not take as many prisoners as they ought; but the tents of the Turks all remained in the camps. In these tents they found also things of many kinds namely, gold, silver, robes, garments, kitchen utensils, and many other things which the Turks in their disordered flight across the fields and in their great fear had left or cast aside, for example horses, camels, mules, excellent helmets, bows and arrows with quivers. 4. Carbagath fled, swift as a deer, he who had oft proudly boasted that he would kill the Franks. But why did he flee who had such a large army, well provided with horses? Because he undertook to contend against God; but the Lord, looking from afar on his pomp, destroyed entirely his strength. 5. Those who had good and swift horses, escaped, while the stragglers were captured by the Franks. However, many of these and especially the foot-soldiers of the Saracens were taken. On the other hand, but few of ours were killed. The women found

in the tents, the Franks violated not but slaughtered most barbarously. 6. Then all in an exulting voice blessed and glorified God, who, in His mercy, had delivered from such cruel enemies those who in such extreme danger put their trust in Him, And though the Christians had nearly met defeat He conquered and dispersed with His might their foes, enriched with the possessions of whom the Christians then returned to the city. 7. When the ancient city of Antioch was captured, 1100 less two were the years since the Lord was born of a Virgin. Twice nine times had Phoebus risen under the sign of Gemini. 8. Then Adhemar the Bishop died August first. May his soul rest in eternal peace. Amen. And Hugh the Great left for Constantinople with the consent of the other leaders, to return from thence to France.

XXIV.

Concerning these things, this illustrious band of leaders of the whole army addressed the following letter to the Roman Pontiff.

"To the venerable pontiff, Pope Urban, from Bohemond, and Raymond, Count of St. Gilles; Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine; Robert, Count of Normandy; Robert, Count of Flanders, and Eustachius, Count of Boulogne, greetings! and as from sons to a spiritual father, true submission in Christ.

We all wish and desire that you know that Antioch has been captured by us through the great mercy of God and through

His very manifest assistance, and that the Turks, who have done much harm to the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ have been captured and killed; that we, crusaders of Christ, vindicated the insult to the Most High, that we who first besieged the Turks were afterwards besieged by them, reinforced from Chorasán, and Jerusalem and Damascus and many other places; and, by the mercy of Jesus Christ, we have been delivered. After the capture of Nicaea, as you have heard, we overcame the great multitude of Turks which met us on July 4, in the valley of Doryleum, and routed the great Soliman, and stripped him of all his lands and possessions. Having annexed and subdued all Romania, we advanced to the siege of Antioch. We endured many hardships in the siege of this city especially from attacks of the neighboring Turks and of the pagans rushing in upon us so frequently and in such numbers that we might very truly be said to be besieged by those whom we were besieging in Antioch. Finally all the battles were won, and the Christian faith was exalted by their successful issue, and in the following way, I, Bohemund, made an agreement with a certain Turk who surrendered the city to me. A little before day, I attached ladders to the wall and thus on the third day before the nones of June we took for Christ the city which had resisted before. We killed the tyrant of the city Cassianus, together with many thousands of his followers, and we kept their wives and children and

families, besides gold and silver and all their possessions.

5. However, we were not able to take the citadel of Antioch long since fortified by the Turks. But when we were ready on the next day to attack it, we saw scurrying through the plains an infinite number of Turks whom we had thought were about to attack us and whom we waited for for many days outside the city. They attacked us on the third day, and more than a hundred thousand of them entered the aforesaid citadel and they hoped to rush in through the door of this citadel to the part of the city which was built below it and which was common to us and to them. 6. But we, stationed on another height opposite this citadel guarded the passes between the two armies and leading down into the city, lest the Turks in great numbers should rush in upon us. We contended by day and by night, within and outside the wall. Finally we compelled the enemy to return to their camps, through the gates of the citadel which led down into the city. 7. When therefore they saw they could do no harm in that part, they surrounded us on all sides that none of our allies would be able to get away or to come to us. On this account we were all so dejected and afflicted that, dying from hunger and many other wants, many of our people slaughtered and ate their horses and asses also famished. 8. But, meanwhile, the most kind mercy of Almighty God came to us and watched over us, and we found the holy lance by which the side of Our Saviour was pierced by the hands of Longinus.¹ The Blessed Apostle Andrew revealed it

1. cf. XVIII 1. no. 1.

to a certain servant of God, showing him the place where the lance lay in the church of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. Comforted by this discovery and many other divine revelations, we were so strengthened that we who before had been dejected and timid now most bravely and promptly cheered each other on to battle. 9. Therefore after having been besieged three weeks and four days, on the eve of the feast of St. Peter and Paul, trusting in God and confessing all our sins, we went out from the gates of the city in battle array. We were so few that they thought we would not fight against them, but would flee. 10. However, when we were all prepared and foot-soldiers as well as horse were drawn up in good order, We boldly advanced with the holy lance, to where their greatest strength, and valiance was, and compelled them to flee from the first position of the battle. They, however, as was their wont, began to disperse in all directions. By occupying hills and roads, wherever they could, they hoped to hem us in. Thus then they thought they would kill us all. But we, had been trained in many battles against shrewdness and trickery. Besides, the grace and mercy of God aided so efficaciously that although we were few in comparison with them, we confined them all together, and the right hand of God fighting with us, we forced them to flee and to abandon their camps together with all that was in them. 11. After having overcome them and pursued them for a whole day, and having killed many of

them, we returned to Antioch filled with joy. The emir who was in the aforementioned citadel with a thousand men, surrendered it to Bohemond and at his hands they submitted themselves unanimously to the Christian faith. Thus our Lord Jesus Christ gave over the whole of Antioch to the Roman religion and faith. 12. And, since something sad always happens in the midst of joys, the Bishop of Puy, whom you had sent us as your vicar, died on the Kalends of August after the battle was ended, in which he had conducted himself honorably and after the city was pacified. 13. Now then we, your sons bereaved of the father confided to us, beg of you, our spiritual father, that you who have begun this crusade and by your sermons have induced us all to leave our lands and whatever was in them and advised us to follow Christ and by carrying the cross to exalt His holy name, we implore you, in order to accomplish what you have instigated, to come to our aid and to persuade whomsoever you can to come. It is here that the name of Christian originated. For after the blessed Peter was enthroned in the chair which we see daily, they who formerly were called Galileans here first and principally were called Christians. What, therefore, in the world would seem more proper than that you, who are the father and the head of the Christian religion, should come to the chief and the capital city of the Christian name and complete on your part the war, which is your own?

14. For we have subdued the Turks and the pagans; but the heretics, Greeks and Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites we have not been able to overcome. Therefore, we beg and implore of you, our dearest father, that you, the head and father of the Christians, come to the place of your predecessor and that you, who are the vicar of St. Peter, sit on his Cathedral throne and have us as your obedient sons in carrying out all things rightly and that you eradicate and exterminate by your authority and our power all heresies by whomsoever they are originated. And thus you will finish with us the journey of Jesus Christ undertaken by us and proclaimed by you; and you will open to us the gates of the one and the other Jerusalem¹ and will free the Sepulchre of our Lord and exalt the name of Jesus Christ above all names. For if you come to us and finish with us the journey which was inaugurated by you, the whole world will be obedient to you. May He Himself grant you to do this, who liveth and reigneth God, forever and ever. Amen.

XXV.

The invasion of the other cities. The siege carried on at Fort Archas and the journey of the Franks. Their entrance into Jerusalem.

After our men and horses had been refreshed by rest and food for four months at Antioch, they, who had been worn out by great labor during many days, recovered their former strength.

1. St. John describes the heavenly Jerusalem in Apocalypse XXI.

One part of the army, after taking counsel, went into interior Syria desiring to postpone the advance to Jerusalem. Of this division, Bohemond and Count Raymond were leaders. The other leaders still delayed in the neighborhood of Antioch.

2. But these two with their men seized the two cities Bara and Mara in an attack showing great bravery. The former city was very quickly captured and the citizens were slaughtered to a man. Everything found in it was confiscated and advance was at once made upon the other city. Our men suffered great want, for the siege lasted twenty days. I shudder to say that many of our men terribly tormented by the madness of hunger tore the flesh from the bodies of the Saracens lying there already dead. This they were cooking and eating. Without giving it time to cook well, they devoured it savagely. So that the besiegers suffered more than the besieged. 3. Meanwhile, having made such machines as they could and moved them up to the wall, by an assault of great boldness, God permitting, the Franks got over the summit of the wall. On that day and the following they killed all the Saracens from the greatest to the least and confiscated all their property. 4. When this city was thus leveled, Bohemond returned to Antioch and then he expelled from it the men whom Count Raymond had placed there as guards of his portion. Afterwards he possessed this city together with the whole province. For he said that through his ingenuity and planning

it had been acquired. 5. But Count Raymond joining to himself Tancred kept on the way begun. Robert, Count of Normandy, on the day following the departure from the city of Mara, which they had taken, joined the same army. 6. But in the year 1099 A.D. they came to the camp called Archas, situated at the foot of Mt. Libanus, and built by Aracaeus the son of Chanaan¹ who is said to be grandson of Noah, But because it is most difficult to take, for almost five weeks our men besieged it and accomplished nothing. 7. Duke Godfrey and Robert, Count of Flanders followed not much behind this army. They were besieging the camp, Gibellum, when they received from the army a message to hasten to them. Immediately they abandoned Gibellum, and departed in haste for the purpose of fighting as they had been requested. Having arrived, they camped with us around the city, but the battle for which they had come, they did not have. 8. In this siege of Archas, Anselm of Ribemont, a valiant knight, was struck by a stone and killed. 9. Then, when they had advised together, they unanimously decided that if they delayed there for sometime and were unable to take that camp, irremediable harm would result from it to everyone. They said that it would be worth while^{to} give up the siege and to continue on the route which they knew was devoid of

1. Gen. 10,17.

traffic and while there was still time to go to Jerusalem during the harvest season; and if they should thus go they would be able to live on the already ripe crops, and to arrive at the much longed for destination under His guidance and with such a reward as is prepared for them by God. This was recommended and it was done. 10. Therefore, after they had collected the tents they set out and passed by the city of Tripolis. This past they marched on to the neighborhood of fort Gibellulum. It was the month of April, and already our men lived on the harvests. Going on further and halting near the city of Berytus, they came upon another city which in history we read is called Sidon. It is in the Phoenician land and was built by Sidon, son of Chanaan, from whom the people of Sidon are descended. From there was Sarepta of the land of Sidon.¹ Then they went to Tyre, a very rich city, from whence was Apollonius of whom we read. Of these two cities the Evangelist² says, "Into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon!" At present though the inhabitants call the former city Sagitta and the other Sur.³ In Hebrew it is Soor.⁴ 11. Then they came to a camp called Ziph, six miles from Ptolemais; thence they proceeded to Ptolemais, formerly called Akkon, which however, some of our people through mistake thought was Acharon. But Acharon is a Philistine city near Ascalon

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1. Gen. 10,15.
 2. Math. 15, 21; Mark 7, 24.
 3. Tyre was Sur cf. II, XLVI.
 4. Josue 19, 29.

between Jamnia and Azotus. Akkon, that is Ptolemais, has Mt. Carmel on the south. Advancing near this mountain, they left to the right a city called Caypha. But we later took the way that leads past Dora, thence past Caesarea of Palestine, which city in olden times was called by another name, Tower of Straton. In this city Herod Agrippa, grandfather of that Herod in whose reign Christ was born, died miserably, consumed by vermin.¹ 12. Then leaving the sea and the city of Arsuf on their right hand our men² passed thru the city called Ramatha or Arimathia, from which the Saracen inhabitants had fled on the day before the Franks had come there. They found much grain there, which they loaded on their mules and took to Jerusalem. 13. After delaying there for four days, and appointing a bishop of the basilica of St. George and stationing guards in the fortress of the city, the Franks then directed their way towards Jerusalem. That day they marched as far as Emmaus, near which is Modin, the city of the Machabees. 14. The very next night one hundred of the best soldiers mounted their horses and passing at daybreak near Jerusalem, hastened on to Bethlehem. Tancred³ was one of them and Baldwin another. When the Christians who dwelt there, that is the Greeks and Syrians, found out that the Franks had arrived,

1. Acts. 12, 19-24.

2. Fulcher who came later with Baldwin's army did not take the same route as the main body of the crusaders had taken.

3. Not Baldwin, the brother of Duke Godfrey, but probably Baldwin du Bourg.

they were completely overcome with joy. At first, though, they did not know what people they were, thinking that they were Turks or Arabs. 15. But as soon as they beheld them clearly at closer distance, and were sure that they were Franks they, full of joy, immediately took up their crosses and banners and went out to meet them, weeping and singing hymns. They were weeping because they feared that so few people would easily and at any time be killed by such a number of pagans as they knew were in the country; singing, because they were congratulating themselves upon the arrival of those whom they had for a long time desired to come, those who they thought would restore the Christian faith, for a long time suffering from the wicked, to its pristine and rightful dignity.

16. Our men, after devout supplication had been made to God in the church of the Blessed Virgin, and after they had visited the place where Christ was born and had given the kiss of peace to the Syrians, returned in haste to the Holy City, Jerusalem. 17. However, the rest of our army leaving to the left Gibeon where Josue commanded the sun and the moon to stand still, which place is fifty stades distant from Jerusalem, then approached the city. When the advance standard bearers had raised and shown their banners to the citizens the enemy from within the city came out against them, but those who thus speedily came out, more speedily were driven back into the city at once. 2. June was already glowing with the warmth of its seventh sun when the Franks surrounded Jerusalem by siege.

XXVI.

The situation of Jerusalem.

The city of Jerusalem is located in a mountainous region devoid of rivers, of trees and of pools, except only the Pool of Siloam, a bow-shot distant from the city. This little pool sometimes has plenty of water, but sometimes, though, it becomes a little thread of water. It is situated in the valley at the foot of Mt. Sion in the bed of the brook Kedron, which during the winter flows thru the center of the valley of Jehosophat. 2. But in the city there are many reservoirs which furnish sufficient water supply. These are supplied by the winter rain. Outside the city, too, we found many at which men and beasts satisfied their thirst. 3. It is conceded that this city is laid out so well that no one can find fault with it either because of its littleness or of its disproportionate magnitude. On the side, from wall to wall it is four times as wide as a bow can send an arrow. In the west it has the tower of David joined on either side by the broad wall of the city; Mt. Sion on the south, a little more than an arrow's cast; to the east Mt. Olivet about a mile distant from the city. 4. The aforesaid Tower of David is solid masonry from the bottom even to the middle and constructed of square stones, large, and sealed with molten lead. If well supplied with food, fifteen or twenty men alone could defend this tower from

any attack. 5. In the same city is the Holy Temple built in a round form in the very place where Solomon formerly had built the other magnificent one. For although in no way can this new temple be compared with the structure of the old one, although it served as a model for it, this, nevertheless is constructed of wonderful workmanship and of most splendid form. 6. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is likewise round. It never was covered, but always let in the light from above thru an opening which is never closed, fashioned artfully under the direction of a skillful architect. 7. I cannot; I dare not; nor do I know how to enumerate the many things which are held in it, even indeed up to the present or in the past lest I deceive in some measure those reading this or hearing it. For inside the temple, when we first entered it, and for almost fifteen years afterwards, was a certain natural rock in which they claimed that the ark of the covenant of God with the urn and tables of Moses¹ was confined, and that Josias, King of Judah, ordered it to be placed there saying, "never shall you remove it from this place"² For it prefigured the future captivity. 8. But this contradicts what we read in descriptions of Jeremias, in the second book of Machabees, that he himself had hid it in Arabia³ saying

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1. 2 Paralipom. (2 Chronica) 35,3.
 2. 2 Ep. to Hebrews 9,4.
 3. II Mach. 2, 4-9; Deut 34, 1.

that it should be unknown until many peoples should be gathered. Jeremias was contemporary with king Josias; who, however, died before the prophet was slain and departed this life. 9. They said that the angel of the Lord stood above the aforesaid cave and destroyed the people because of an enumeration of the people secretly made by David and displeas-
¹ing to God. Moreover this rock because it disfigured the Temple of God was afterwards covered up and paved with marble and now above it there is placed an altar and there the priests have fitted up a choir. All the Saracens held this holy temple in great veneration, here, according to their rule and more freely than anywhere else they made their supplications which, however, were wasted in adoration of a false god named Mohamet. They allowed no Christian to enter the temple. 10. Another temple, which is called the Temple of Solomon, is great and wonderful; but it is not the same one that Solomon built. This indeed, because of our want could not be maintained in the condition in which we found it. Wherefore it is already in large part destroyed. 11. In all quarters of the city were gutters through which, in time of rain, all the filth was drained. 12. The Emperor Aelius Hadrian decorated this city magnificently and fittingly adorned the streets and highways with pavements.

 1. II Kings 24.

In his name Jerusalem is called Aelia. These things and many others of the same kind make this a renowned and glorious city.

XXVII.

The siege of the city of Jerusalem.

When the Franks had seen the city and had realized that to capture it was a grave undertaking, our leaders ordered wooden scaling ladders to be made. By moving these and setting them up against the wall, and climbing on them to the summit of the wall, with the help of God they intended to enter the city with a fierce attack. 2. These ladders were made and on the seventh day after their arrival the leaders gave the order and, with trumpets sounding, in early morning they assailed the city on all sides in a splendid attack. And when their attack had continued to the sixth hour of the day and they were not able to enter by the ladders which they had placed against the wall because they were too few, disheartened they gave up the assault. 3. Then, on taking counsel, they ordered siege machines to be made by engineers and moving them up to the wall, with the aid of God, they obtained the object of their endeavors. Thus was it accomplished. 4. Meantime though they did not suffer from lack of bread or of meat, yet because the place was dry and unwatered and was without rivers, our men as well as their mules suffered for lack of water to drink. Wherefore, because necessity demanded it, they brought water daily to the siege from four or five miles away, laboriously carrying it in the skins of animals.

5. When the machines were ready, namely battering rams and hurling machines, they prepared to attack the city a second time. Amongst these contrivances they put together a tower made of short wood because there was not much material in those places. The parts of this tower, according to the order given, they transported at night, to one extremity of the city. In the morning very quickly they set it up not far from the wall and provided it with slings and other implements. When it was set up and well protected on the outside by hides, gradually they forced it nearer to the wall. 6. Then, the knights, few it is true, but brave, at the sound of the trumpet, mounted upon it. The Saracens, nevertheless, defended themselves bravely against them; and they hurled with their slinging machines burning torches which had been soaked with oil and fat, against this tower and against the soldiers who were on it. Therefore many on both sides fighting thus met death. 7. On the side where Count Raymond and his men were, namely on Mt. Sion, with the help of his machines, a great attack was made. However, from the opposite quarter where were Duke Godfrey and Count of Normandy and Robert of Flanders an even greater assault was made against the wall. Such was the work of that day. 8. On the next day at the sound of the trumpet, they began this same labor so strenuously that in one place they made a breach in the wall by beating it with a battering ram. The Saracens suspended two beams before the battlements of the wall and these were held there by ropes,

in order that they might be an effective obstacle to those attacking them and hurling stones at them; however, what they had done for an aid to themselves, afterwards, by divine providence, worked to their detriment. For when the aforesaid tower was moved up to the wall, and the ropes to which the beams were attached were severed with knives the Franks fitted themselves a bridge which they skillfully threw from the tower to the top of the great wall. Already one citadel on the stone wall was in flames. Upon it, our machines had hurled flaming fire brands, whence, when the fire had gradually fed through the substance of the wood, smoke and flame began to gush forth so that not even one of the guards of the city could remain there any longer. 10. Straightway therefore, the Franks gloriously entered the city at noon, on the day known as dies Veneris (or Friday) the day on which Christ redeemed the whole world upon the cross. Amid the sound of trumpets and great commotion they advanced boldly crying, "God help us!" They raised a flag in the top of the wall; and all the pagans were terrified; their former bravery gave place to rapid flight through the narrow streets of the quarter. Those who fled swiftly were pursued more swiftly. 11. Count Raymond, who with his men was attacking from another quarter of the city, did not yet know all this until they saw the Saracens leap down from the top of the wall. At this sight most joyfully they rushed as quickly as possible into the city and with others they did not cease to follow and

to kill the wicked enemies. 12. Some as well Arabs as Ethiopians, fleeing, hid themselves in the Tower of David; others, indeed, took refuge in the temples of the Lord and of Solomon. But the attack upon them went on no less in the courts of these temples. There was no place the Saracens could escape our fighters. 13. From the top of the temple of Solomon, which they had ascended in flight, many of them were shot with arrows and fell down off the roof dead. In this very temple almost ten thousand Saracens were beheaded. If you had been there, your feet would have been soaked in the blood of slain, even to the ankles. What more shall I say? Not one of them was left alive; they spared not even the women and children.

XXVIII.

The spoils that the Christians took.

It was astonishing to see how our knights, and even our poorest footsoldiers having discovered a trick of the Saracens, opened the bowels of those already dead, in order that they might extract from their intestines the byzants which they, while alive, had gulped down their detestable throats. For the same reason a few days after, they made a great heap of the dead bodies and burned them, down to ashes, hoping more easily to find in the ashes the above mentioned gold.

2. Tancred hastily entering the temple of the Lord stole much gold and silver and precious stones. Making this good, he restored to the holy place either the objects themselves

or their equivalent, although no divine service was conducted therein, since the Saracens practiced their idolatry with superstitious rites and did not even allow a Christian to enter it. 3. With drawn swords our people rushed through the city; and they did not spare anyone even those begging mercy.¹ The crowd of infidels fell just as rotten apples fall from shaken branches and acorns fall from swaying oaks.

XXIX.

The stay of the Christians in the city.

1. After such great slaughter they entered the houses of the citizens and took whatever they found in them. This was done in such a way that whoever first entered a house, whether he was rich or poor, received no injury from any one else. He held and owned the house, even though it was a palace, and whatever he found in it as if he were taking what really belonged to him. They agreed amongst themselves to this right of possession. In this way many poor people were made rich.

2. Then, overjoyed, all clergy and laity, came and visited the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord and His glorious Temple. In a high sounding voice of exultation they sang a new canticle.² to God in the place they had so longed to reach. Then they made their offerings and humble supplications. 3. O day so ardently desired! O time of all times most memorable! O

1. At this time of exultation over the capture of the city, the barbarous instincts of the Franks were manifested.

2. Psalms 32, 3; 95, 1; 143, 9.

deed before all other deeds! Desired, indeed, since in the deep longing of the heart it was always desired by all faithful believers in the Catholic faith that the place in which the Creator of the whole world, God made Man, in His great pity for mankind, had by His birth, death, and resurrection paid the price of redemption, should be restored to its pristine dignity by those believing and trusting in Him. They desired that this place which for a long time had been contaminated by the superstition of pagans, should be cleansed from the contagion of these inhabitants. 4. And it is a time truly memorable, and justly so, because in this place everything that our Lord Jesus Christ did and taught on earth, as a man living amongst men, is recalled and renewed in the memory of true believers. And this work which the same Lord has chosen to accomplish through His people, His chosen and dear adopted sons appointed for this mission, shall resound and continue memorable in the tongues of all nations even to the end of time.

XXX.

The king and the patriarch chosen; the finding
of the Holy Cross.

It was in the eleventh hundredth year less one after the birth of our Lord, and when for the fifteenth time June had been touched by the light of Phoebus that the Franks in their might captured Jerusalem. Godfrey was at once ruler

of the country. All the people of the holy army chose him, because of his nobility of character, his military skill, and patient conduct, no less than for the elegance of his manners, to be the defender and ruler over the Holy City. 2. Then, too, canons were stationed in the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre; and in His Temple, too, these were to serve. Moreover they decided that a patriarch should not be chosen there until they had inquired from the pope at Rome whom he wished to have chosen. 3. Meantime Turks and Arabs and about fifty black Ethiopians who had taken refuge in the tower of David begged of Count Raymond, who was quartered near that citadel, that on condition that they leave their money, they be allowed to depart alive. He conceded this, and they withdrew to Ascalon. 4. At this time it was pleasing to God that a part of the cross of Christ be found. This particle hidden in a secret place by holy men long ago, was now, God Willing, revealed by a certain Syrian, who with the knowledge of his father had hidden and preserved it. This piece, fashioned into the form of a cross, and contained in a golden and silver ark, they all carried aloft to the Holy Sepulchre, and, thence to the Temple at the same time singing triumphantly and giving thanks to God who through all this time had preserved for Himself and us this, His treasure and ours.

XXXI.

The coming and destruction of the pagans and the
victory of the Christians.

Moreover, the king of Babylon and the leader of his soldiers, Lavedalius by name, when they had heard that the Franks were approaching their lands to subject to themselves the Babylonian kingdom, gathered by edict a multitude of Turks and Arabs and Ethiopians and hastened to go to fight against them. Then, after they had heard through messengers that Jerusalem had been so valorously captured, the aforesaid leader being 1 indignant, hastened from Babylon either to begin battle with them or to besiege them shut up in the same city. 2. When this was announced to the Franks, having resolved upon great boldness, they directed their armies in the direction of Ascalon against these tyrants. They took with them the wood of the saving cross already mentioned above. 3. And when scouring around not far from Ascalon the Franks awaited battle, they found there not a little booty of oxen, and camels, sheep and goats. At sunset they collected this booty near their tents. Our leaders decreed by strict proclamation that on the morrow, when they thought there would be battle, these should not be driven with them so that the soldiers, unencumbered by baggage, should be in better condition to fight. 4. The next morning the spies whom they had sent out, reported that the pagans were advancing. When this was known, at once the tribunes and centurians after forming their troops into wings and wedges arranged them in best way for battle and boldly they advanced against the Saracens, their flags flying. 5. You might have seen these animals mentioned

above marching along, at the right and at the left side of our lines as if by command of the leaders altho they were driven by no one. Many of the pagans, seeing them with our men, concluded that the whole array was the army of the Franks. 6. The pagans, however, an innumerable multitude, just as they approached our divisions resembled a stag extending the branches of his horns. They divided their forward line into two branches by the loosening and spreading out of the Arabs who were marching in the van; and thus they managed to encircle our rear. There Duke Godfrey then going back with his line of knights in close array urged on the rear line. As to the other leaders they advanced, some with the first line, and some with the second line. 7. But when on both sides they had advanced until the one enemy was a stone throw or a little more from the other, then our footsoldiers bent their bows and shot arrows at them. Most fitly lances followed immediately upon the arrows, while our cavalry as if they had all mutually agreed under oath, made a fierce attack upon them; and those horses of the infidels which were not swift were overthrown on top of their riders and slain. There, in the space of a few hours, many bodies paled and became lifeless. 8. Then many of them, fearing, ascended to the tops of the trees. Even these were shot with arrows and, mortally wounded, fell wretchedly to the earth. An effective assault was made upon them and Saracens were overwhelmed on all sides. Those who escaped, when the Franks rushed past

their tents, were pursued as far as the walls of Ascalon, a city 720 stades from Jerusalem. 9. Lavedalius, their leader, who hitherto had despised the Franks, now, in the very first encounter turned his back in rapid flight and unwillingly abandoned to them his tent pitched with the others and stored with money. Thither the Franks returned, rejoicing in victory, and, reunited, gave thanks to God. 10. Then they entered the tents of the Turks, and found in them much wealth—gold, silver, rich robes, clothing, and precious stones which are called by these twelve names;¹ jasper, sapphire, chalcedony, emerald, sardonyx, sardius, shrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysoprasus, jacinth, and amethyst. They found also many dishes and many utensils, caps trimmed in gold, valuable rings, wonderful swords, grain, flour, and much else. 11. Our men spent that night in these tents and remaining awake they guarded themselves well. They were expecting that the battle would be renewed on the following day by the Saracens; but these, however, overcome by great fear, had all fled the same night. When this was discovered the next morning by spies the Franks, with grateful voices, blessed God and glorified Him who had permitted so many thousands of infidels to be dispersed by the small army of Christians. "Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us to be a prey to their teeth."²

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1. Apocalypse 21, 19 - 21.

2. Psalm 123, 6.

"Blessed be the nation whose God is the Lord"¹. 12. Had not these very Babylonians threatened, saying, "Let us go and take Jerusalem with the Franks shut up in it. After killing them all let us tear down that Sepulchre so sacred to them, and throw the stones of the building outside the walls and no mention will ever be made of it again." But, by divine mercy these threats came to nought; and the Franks loaded the very horses and camels of the Saracens with the money. Not being able to carry to the Holy City all the tents, javelins, and bows and arrows lying in the fields they burned them; then, rejoicing they returned to Jerusalem.

XXXII.

The return of the leaders to their country.

After these things were accomplished, some wished to return to their native lands. So as soon as they had bathed in the waters of the Jordan and had collected palm branches in the so-called garden of Abram near Jericho, Robert, Count of Normandy and Robert, Count of Flanders, set out by ship for Constantinople; from there, they returned to France to their possessions. Raymond, however, returned to Daodiccia in

1. Psalms 32, 12.

Syria; he left his wife there and went to Constantinople, intending to return to Laodicia. Duke Godfrey, keeping with him Tancred and many others; ruled the principality of Jerusalem, which he received with the consent of all.

XXXIII.

Bohemond and Baldwin and their Pilgrimage.

Lord Bohemond, was then ruling in Antioch, a man wise and strong, while Baldwin, a brother of the aforesaid Godfrey, ruled Edessa and the neighboring lands across the Euphrates river. When these two had heard that Jerusalem had been taken by those who had set out as their companions they were made most joyful and humbly gave thanks to God.

2. But if they, who outdid them in speed of marching, had done well and successfully, these two with their followers, although they followed them later, were nevertheless to be sharers of the glory. 3. For it was necessary that the land and states taken with such difficulty from the Turks should be carefully guarded. These if left unguarded, might be recovered in a renewed attack by the Turks, who were now driven back to Persia. In this case great harm would befall all the Franks, going to Jerusalem as well as returning. Perhaps divine providence, knowing that Bohemond and Baldwin would be more useful to the army in what remained to be done than in what was already done, had delayed them. 4. Oh how many times, in the meantime, this same Baldwin was wearied in

making war against the Turks in the lands of Mesopotamia! To tell how many of their heads he cut off there would be impossible. Often it happened that he with his few men fought a great multitude of them and with the help of God rejoiced in triumph. 5. But when Bohemond, through legates, had advised Baldwin that they both should, with their men, complete the not yet finished journey to Jerusalem, Baldwin, arranging satisfactorily all his affairs, prepared to go. 6. But now, hearing that the Turks had invaded one section of his country he suspended the execution of his project and without taking time to assemble his little army, with a few men he went against the enemy. On a certain day when the Turks were unconcerned in their tents, thinking that Baldwin had already commenced his journey, all at once they saw the white flag which he carried; and struck with fear they took to flight. And he after following them a little way with his few men, returned to complete what he had just planned. 7. Setting out and passing to the left of Antioch he came to Laodicia, where he bought provisions for the journey and reloaded the pack animals and set out. It was the month of November. After we had passed by Gibellum, we overtook Bohemond camped in his tents before the city Valenium. 8. There was with him a certain Archbishop of Pisa, Faibertus, by name, who with some Tuscans and Italians had come by ship to the port of Laodicia, and there waited to go with us. The bishop of Apulia was there too. With Lord Bohemond there was a third

bishop. Of those thus assembled in friendship, we estimated the number to be twenty five thousand of both sexes, foot-soldiers as well as horsemen. When we had reached the interior states of the Saracens, we were unable to obtain from the wicked inhabitants of the region any bread or food of any kind. There was no one who would give or sell, and as our provisions were being more and more used up, it happened that many were cruelly tortured by hunger. Horses, too, and mules for lack of food, suffered doubly. They traveled, but they ate not. 10. But in those cultivated fields through which we passed on the advance, there were certain ripe plants, which the people called "cannamelles" very much like reeds. The name is composed of the words "canna" and "mel" whence, I think, it is so called because from these it is skillfully made. We, almost famished, chewed these all day long for the flavor of the honey, which, however, helped but little. 11. Thus especially for the love of God we endured this and many other ills, such as hunger, cold, and heavy rains. Many, starving, ate horses, mules, and camels. Besides the excessive cold, we were tormented very often by rain showers; and the heat of the sun was not sufficient to enable us to have our wet clothes thoroughly dried when another rain would harass us for four or five days. 12. Then I saw many who had no tents die from exposure to the cold rain. I, Fulcher of Chartres, who was with them, saw, on a certain day, many persons of

both sexes, and very many beasts die from the very cold rain. It would be long to tell and tedious to listen to all the details of their sufferings; for no trouble, or sorrow escaped the people of God. 13. Often many Franks were killed by the Saracens lurking along the way in narrow paths or where they went searching for food. You might have seen mounted knights of noble birth, become simple foot-soldiers after having lost, in one way or another, their horses. You might have seen also because of lack of mules, goats stolen from the Saracens, and the sheep, greatly fatigued under the load of baggage placed upon them, and which by its weight skinned their backs. 14. Twice on the way, and no oftener, we had bread and grain bought at exorbitant prices from the people of Tripoli and Caesarea. From this it is manifest that one can scarcely get any great good without great labor. It was indeed for us a great good to arrive at length at Jerusalem. 15. When we arrived there, our long fatigue was forgotten. When we viewed the much longed for Holy of Holies, we were filled with joy indescribable. Oh how often we recalled to mind that prophecy of David which says, "We shall adore in the place where His feet have stood!"¹ We beheld that prophecy well fulfilled in us, altho it likewise pertains to many others. "Thither indeed did we go up, the tribes, the tribes of the Lord to confess his name".² in his holy place. 16. On the day of our entrance into Jerusalem, the retrograding sun having fulfilled its

1. Psalms 131, 7.

2. Psalms 121, 4.

winter descent, resumed its ascending course. 17. After we had visited the Lord's Sepulchre and His glorious Temple and many other sacred places, on the fourth day we went to Bethlehem in order that we, about to celebrate the anniversary of the nativity of our Lord, might that very night be watchers in the stable where the Holy Mother Mary laid Jesus, and there assist in the devotions. 18. All that night we filled with appropriate devotions; and in the third hour, after three masses had been celebrated, we returned to Jerusalem. 19. Oh what a stench there then was around the wall of the city inside and outside from the dead bodies of the Saracens massacred by our colleagues on the capture of the city, wherever they had hunted them down. 20. But after we and our beasts had been refreshed for some time with a much needed rest, and after the Duke and other leaders had chosen Daimbert mentioned above as patriarch in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, we got new supplies of provisions and, loading our mules, we went down again to the river Jordan. Some of the army, the last to arrive, chose to remain in Jerusalem: others that had come first preferred to go with us; but Duke Godfrey continued to rule the territory of Jerusalem well. 22. On the third of the Ides of August those sickly days, Urban, pontiff of Rome, passed away.

XXXIV.

The return of Lord Bohemond and Count Baldwin to their
own.

On January first, 1100 A.D. we all took palm branches cut in Jericho to carry them as was customary. On the second day we commenced our return journey. 2. Our leaders wished to cross through the city of Tiberius on the sea of Galilee. This sea, formed from a union of fresh waters, is eighteen miles long and five wide. We went from there to Caesaere Philippi which in the Syrian tongue is called Paneas, and which is situated at the foot of Mount Libanus. There gush forth two springs which give rise to the river Jordan. This Jordan divides in two the sea of Galilee and then merges into the Dead Sea. The Lake of Genesareth is according to Josephus, forty-stades wide and one hundred long. The river then, flowing in one channel spreads out into a sea which is called Dead because nothing living flourishes in it. This sea which is called Lake Asphaltites is believed to be bottomless and to have buried in its depth, the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.¹ 4. I conjectured quite carefully with regard to these springs following St. Jerome, whom I read in his exposition upon the prophet Amos, that Dan was located in that part of Judea where Paneas now is; for the tribe of Dan built there a city which they called by the name of their father, Dan. For this reason I think the one spring was called Dan and the other Jor which was adjacent to it. 5. Then we came to a very strong city which they called Balbec, built by Solomon and surrounded by high walls and called by him Thadamar. This is situated a two days

1. Genesis 18,20; 19, 24-22.

march from upper Syria, about six days journey from great Babylon, and about one days march from the Euphrates. The Greeks called this place Palmyra. Here springs and wells abound; but water was never found in the lower land. 6. Then about four hundred soldiers of the Turks of Damascus came out to meet us.

Because they thought we were unarmed and greatly exhausted because of our labors, they supposed that we were also discouraged. If Lord Baldwin had not on that day cautiously and carefully guarded the rear, they perhaps, would have killed many of us. For our bows and arrows were spoiled in a rainstorm because in that region they were fastened together with glue. Bohemond was leading the first division of our army. So, with the help of God, the pagans got no advantage of us. 7. Then we camped before the aforementioned town. On the very next day approaching nearer to the sea we passed over to the cities of Tortosa and Laodicia. There at Laodicia we found Count Raymond whom we had left there. Because food was scarce we could buy no supplies on which we could live. Therefore we hastened without stopping until we arrived at Edessa.

XXXV.

The capture of Lord Bohemond.

1. Bohemond arrived first at Antioch where he was gladly received by his friends and where he ruled as before for six months. 2. But in the following month of July, when he assailed the city of Miletus (a city which its prince Gabriel by name

was about to surrender to him for already a meeting had been held; and through ambassadors an agreement of mutual friendship had been made.) an emir, Danisman by name with a large band of Turks met Bohemond and tried to cut off his advance.

3. And not far from the aforesaid city, this wicked people leaped upon him from all sides, where they were hidden in ambush. We, not daring to fight because we were few, fled in confusion and were dispersed. The Turks killed many and took all their money. They seized even Bohemond and led him into captivity. 4. This misfortune was reported by those who escaped and our people were greatly depressed. However, Baldwin, Prince of the city of Edessa, collecting as many Franks as he could from among the people of Edessa and Antioch, did not hesitate to seek the enemy wherever he heard that they were. 5. Bohemond cut a lock of hair from his head, and begged Baldwin by this token, for the love of God to aid him with immediate relief. When Danisman had heard this he feared their vengeance and he did not dare to delay longer before the city of Melitus which he had surrounded in seige; but fleeing a little ahead of us, he managed to return to his own country. We were much disappointed, for we, who would gladly have met them in battle, followed them for three days beyond the aforesaid city. 6. So after we had returned, this Gabriel returned the city of Melitus to Baldwin. Having made friends with them and set up his guards, Baldwin went back to the city of Edessa, and the people in Antioch,

bereft of their leader, returned home.

XXXVI.

The death of King Godfrey.

Just as Baldwin, himself was enjoying his success, behold a messenger from Jerusalem announced to him that Duke Godfrey, his brother, had died at Jerusalem on the eighteenth of July. 2. At the beginning of the year after the city was captured, to you, Duke Godfrey as a crown of merit, did the Lord grant this rule, but having enjoyed it for only a short time, as nature's gift, you fell. At the time that the rising sun had entered the sign of the glowing lion, you, rejoicing, have mounted to the skies conducted by the archangel Michael.

THE END
OF
BOOK ONE.

Beginneth the Second Book on the deeds
of Baldwin, the first King.

I.

How Baldwin came to rule Jerusalem.

When, therefore, it was announced to Lord Baldwin, that all the people of Jerusalem wished him to be substituted as prince and heir in the kingdom, the grieving much for his dead brother yet rejoicing more in the inheritance, after he had taken advice, he gave the land which he held to a certain Count Baldwin, his cousin. Then, after he had gathered together his little army, numbering about two hundred knights and seven hundred footmen, he began the journey to Jerusalem on October second. 2. Some wondered that, with such a small number, he dared to advance upon the territory of such a great number of enemies. Many of our company, because they were fearful and timid, withdrew secretly from our company and without our knowledge. 3. Moreover, when the Turks and Saracens had found out that we were thus making the journey, they collected as many of their men as they could and came out in arms against us where they thought they could harm us most. 4. Then we went through Antioch, from there through Laodicia, Gibellum, Maraclea and Tortosa, Archas and Tripoli. 5. Then the king of Tripoli sent to the tent of Count Baldwin food, wine, wild honey, that is sugar, and mutton to eat. He informed

Baldwin by a written message that Dulcath, king of Damascus, and Ginahadoles, king of Caliptum had united and were waiting in the way through which they knew we would pass. Although we did not entirely believe this to be true, later we realized that it was.

II.

Of the ambush formed by the Turks on the line of march and of Count Baldwin's remarkable military talent.

1. There was not far from the city of Berytus, on the highway and about five miles distant from the sea, a very narrow portion of the road which could not possibly be avoided by us or by any one crossing there. If the enemy was supplied with provisions and wished to prohibit us, in no way could one hundred thousand men cross, because a hundred or sixty armed men guarding the entrance strongly could hold it against us. Therefore our enemies planned to intercept us there on all sides and to kill us. Now we came right up to this place.

2. When our advance guard had approached this narrow portion they saw some of these Turks, who had separated from the rest, advancing towards us and awaiting our coming. When our spies had seen them they thought that a greater number lay behind them in ambush. Through a messenger they made known at once to Lord Baldwin what they had seen. 3. When he had heard this, he ordered his army divided properly into battle array. With

flags flying, gradually we marched against them. When we thought that the battle was about to begin, with contrite and pure hearts, we devoutly implored that aid would come from heaven; and we went against them. They were met by our first line and many of them were at once killed. Only four of our soldiers lost their lives. 4. And when both sides had given up the struggle, after a consultation, our camp was ordered moved and pitched in a place where we had approached closer to the enemy. This was done in order that they might not think us timid as they would if we should leave the place as if in flight. We pretended one thing; but we thought another. We feigned bravery; but we feared death. It was hard to retreat, but harder to proceed. On all sides, we were besieged by our enemies. On the one side those from their ships; on the other, those from the high mountains incessantly pressed upon us. That day we had no comfort, no rest; nor were our mules even watered, though they were very thirsty. Indeed I wished very much that I were in Chartres or in Orleans; many others did also. All that night, we languished outside our tents watching. 5. At dawn of day when Aurora had begun to dispel the darkness from the land, after talking it over together as to whether we should try to hold out, or just die, we decided to retreat in the way we had come, with our beasts of burden loaded with the luggage preceding us and driven by the footmen. The soldiers following were to defend these from the attacking Saracens. 6. For when these abominable people saw us thus

turn at early morn, they came down immediately to follow us as if we were fugitives. Some by sea in boats, others after us in the way in which we had come, others from the mountains and hills, as well horsemen as foot soldiers, drove us through a defile before them like sheep into a sheep fold. What they planned was to shut us off from a certain level land which is in the narrow passage between the sea and the mountain and thus easily to intercept and kill us. But it did not turn out as they hoped. 7. For our men stood firm, saying to each other: "If we can get those who are following us into the open plain, perchance, with the help of God, we can turn against them and fighting well, we may be extricated from them."

III.

A most severe battle with the Turks.

1. Moreover they had already come out from the boats; already they were decapitating the unwary wandering along the shore; already they descended into the aforesaid plain after us and shot many arrows. All around, yelling at us and howling like dogs or wolves and brandishing their shields, they railed at us. But what shall I say further? There was nowhere to flee and no hope of safety for those who did not flee. "Neither was Solomon wise nor Samson able to conquer." 2. But the God of great mercy and power, looking down from heaven upon the earth and seeing our humility and the great danger which we had come into for His love and service, was moved by

that pity with which, as is just, He always aids His own. He gave to our soldiers such bravery that, suddenly turning back, they routed them, fleeing by a three branched road, so that they never had a thought of defending themselves. But some betook themselves to a precipice in the high projections of rock; others fled swiftly to a place of safety; others too were overtaken and were killed with swords. Then, in fear, they speedily put their ships to sea just as if we could take them with our hands. Through the mountains and hills also, they quickly fled on foot. 3. And so, glorying in such a triumph and rejoicing, we went back to our camp servants who meanwhile were guarding the loaded animals in the road. Therefore, then we gave greatest thanks to God who had become our bountiful helper in a great and incalculable emergency. 4. Oh, how admirable are the works of God! Oh, how very miraculous and worthy to be stored up in the memory. We were almost conquered, and from conquered we became conquerors. But we ourselves did not conquer. How, therefore, did we not conquer? He conquered who alone is the omnipotent Creator of all, in pity for his creature aiding him. "For if God be for us who is against us?"¹ Truly for us, and with us, and in us, was fulfilled what He

1. Romans 8, 31.

said through the prophet to the Israelites: "If you shall have observed my laws, I shall grant you that five of you shall succeed against one hundred of the enemy and one hundred of you against ten thousand." And because we had borne much suffering day and night in the service of God and because we were trusting in Him only, He wonderfully had broken the power of the enemy. And because we served the Lord with devout hearts in tribulation, therefore He hath had regard for our humility. 5. Then our tents were ordered unfolded and stretched and there many rich Turks taken alive were led before Count Baldwin together with spoils of the slain and likewise armor. We had horses with saddles and golden bits. 6. When that coming night had been passed there, in the morning, just as had been carefully planned, we went back four miles of the way. When our prince had divided the aforesaid plunder, we rested that night in an abandoned castle under the olive trees in the thickets. 7. So early the next morning, Baldwin, with his accustomed bravery, took some of his men and rode up as far as the narrow pass already spoken of, to find out whether the Saracens who had before obstructed our way were there still. When he found none there, for all after hearing of the dispersion which had taken place, had fled, he gave praises to God and at once on the top of that mountain he caused a fire to be lighted as a signal to those who had remained in our camp, that, seeing the smoke, we very quickly might follow them who had thus gone ahead. When we saw it, praising God, we followed them swiftly and finding our path clear, we undertook the desired

journey. 8. That day, indeed, we camped before the city of Berytus. When the emir of this city found out that we were there, he daily sent to Lord Baldwin, more because of fear than of love, provisions in his ships. 9. Those of other cities through which we passed did likewise - such cities as Tyre, and Sidon, and Accon, that is Ptolemais. They feigned friendship, but had a malicious heart. 10. Tancred already held the city of Caypha, before mentioned, and which the Crusaders had already seized that year. But because Tancred was unfriendly to Baldwin, we did not enter the city. Tancred himself was not there then; but his men sold us food and wine outside, for they considered us brothers and wished to see us. 11. We passed through Caesarea in Palestine and the town of Arsuth, which we unknowingly thought was Azotus: - but it was not, for Azotus was the one of the five cities of the Philistines between Joppa and Ascalon and is now reduced to a hamlet. 12. And after passing Antipatrida, at length we came to the maritime city of Joppa which is in the territory of Dan, where our Franks received gladly Lord Baldwin as their king. Making no delay there, we hastened to Jerusalem. 13. When we approached the Holy City, all came out to meet Baldwin, the priests as well as laity, Greeks also and Syrians, with crosses and torches. With great rejoicing and honorable ceremony and giving thanks

with loud voices, they conducted him up to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. 14. Daimbert, the patriarch, was not present at this celebration because he was accused by the men before Baldwin and misunderstanding arose between them. The greater part of the clergy even held him in hatred. Wherefore, deprived of his seat, he lived on Mt. Sion, and was there until the crime of envy was expiated. 15. But when we had relaxed from our labors in needed rest at Jerusalem for six days, and the king had relieved himself of some of his business, we prepared ourselves to go on a new expedition. It is necessary that all who have have enemies (I speak after the fashion of men) ¹ should very incessantly and strenuously torment them until, tired of battle or overcome by force, they induce them to make peace.

IV.

The Expedition of Baldwin into Arabia.

1. Therefore Lord Baldwin, having collected his men, set out for Ascalon, traveling through Azotus, which city is between Joppa and Ascalon and which is one of the five cities of the Philistines. We had Accaron on our right near Jannia, which is on the sea. When we had come before Ascalon, those who came out against us were driven back even up to the walls and because it was useless for us to proceed farther, we returned to our tents already pitched, to lodge there.

1. Romans 3, 6.

2. The following day we went into the farther region where in rich places we found food for ourselves and for our beasts; and we even devastated the land of our enemy. Proceeding from there, we found villas where the Saracen inhabitants of this region had hidden themselves and their beasts and possessions from us in caverns. When we were unable to draw out any of them, we set fire near the entrances of the cavern and because of the intolerable smoke and heat, immediately one after another came out to us. 3. There were among these, robbers who, lurking between Ramla and Jerusalem, were wont habitually to kill our Christians. When we were told by some Syrian Christians who were kept in concealment among them, that these malefactors were of this type, they were beheaded as soon as they came out from the cave. We spared these Syrians and their wives. Indeed we killed about a hundred Saracens. 4. And after we had eaten and consumed everything found there grain as well as animals, and when we could find nothing more there of use to us and had advised with some of the veterans of the country, first with Saracens, but finally with the Christians who knew the cultivated and the barren places far and wide, it was decided to depart into Arabia. 5. And crossing the mountainous region near the sepulchres of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sara and Rebecca too, where their bodies were gloriously buried about fourteen miles from the city of Jerusalem, we came into a valley, where the wicked cities of Sodom and Gomorrah

were destroyed by the judgment of God.

V.

The Dead Sea.

There is there now a great lake which they call the Dead Sea, because in it nothing can live. The length of the lake from north to south is five hundred eighty stades, the width, one hundred fifty. This lake is so salty that no beast or bird can drink its water. I, Fulcher of Chartres, know by experience, for descending from my mule on the shore of this lake, I took a draught in my hands and I tested it by tasting and found that it was more bitter than hellebore.

2. From the north this sea receives the waters of the Jordan; but from the south it has no outlet. No river has its source in it. Beside this lake, the Dead Sea, is a great and high salt mountain which is like a natural salt rock, not, however, throughout but only in certain spots, exactly like ice. No one is able to submerge himself in the waters of this lake, even if he tries. 3. I conjecture that this lake is thus so salty from two causes: first, because it receives the salt of the mountain which the waves of the shore incessantly lave; and it receives the rains descending from this mountain. Or, it may be that the bed is so deep that by an invisible reflux a great sea which is salt flows into this same bed from under ground. 4. Going around the lake from the southern side, we found a little village most favorably situated and abounding in palm fruits which they call "dates" and which we

enjoyed all day for they were good to eat. We found there little else. The Saracen inhabitants of the place, when they had heard through spies of our advance, all fled with the exception of some blacker than soot. These we left there despising them as if they were no more than sea weeds.

6. There I saw some trees bearing pomes. I gathered some of them and, desiring to know what they were, I broke the shell and found a sort of black powder, and from the inside a thin smoke came forth. 7. Then we passed into the mountainous regions of Arabia. We spent that following night in the caverns there. The next morning when we had ascended the mountains, we found villages at once, but they were destitute of all provisions. The inhabitants, having heard of our coming, had hid themselves, together with their possessions, in the caverns of the earth. Wherefore we profited little there. 8. So we directed our journey in other directions with our guides always preceding us. There we found a valley very rich in the fruits of the earth, the very one in which Moses, instructed by God, twice struck with his rod the rock from which a fountain of living water flowed.¹ This fountain flows there now no less than then, so much so that from the quick motion of this river millers run their machinery for grinding. I watered my horses in this stream. 9. At the top of the

1. Numbers 20, 6-29.

mountain we found the monastery of Saint Aaron where Aaron and Moses were wont to talk with God. We rejoiced very much to behold a place so holy and to us unknown. Since the land outside this valley is desert and uncultivated, we would not go farther. 10. After resting for three days in this valley rich in all products, and after having refreshed our mules with food, we loaded on the beasts of burden the necessary provisions and about the second hour of the fourth day of the week at the signal of the royal trumpet, we were ordered to resume the return journey. 11. We returned therefore near Lake Asphaltite, as we had come, and past the graves of the patriarchs mentioned above, through Bethlehem and through the place where Rachel¹ is buried. 12. We arrived safe at Jerusalem on the day of the winter solstice. When the ornaments were prepared which are suitable for the coronation of a king, and Daimbert had made his peace with the Lord Baldwin and with several of the canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre - because sensible men labored to this end, their contention ceased.

VI.

Of the accession of Baldwin and of his little kingdom.

1. In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and one and on the anniversary of the Savior's birth, Baldwin was anointed with holy ointment and crowned king in the Church of the

1. Genesis 35, 19-20.

Most Blessed Virgin in Bethlehem by the patriarch Diambert and in presence of all the bishops, priests, and people. This had not been done for his brother and predecessor, because Godfrey himself did not wish it; and there were others who did not approve of it. Still, upon wiser consideration, they decided it should be done for Baldwin. 2. "Why should it be objected," they say, "that Christ our Lord was crowned with thorns in Jerusalem as if He were a criminal and dishonored by insults, since willingly He gave himself up even to death for us. Besides this crown was not, in the minds of the Jews, an emblem of honor and of kingly dignity, but of ignominy and disgrace. But what these murderers did as an insult to Him, by the grace of God, was turned to our salvation and our glory. 3. Moreover, a king is not made king against the order of God; but when he is elected rightly and according to God's will, he is sanctified and consecrated with a lawful blessing. Any one who receives the kingly power together with the golden crown takes upon himself at the same time the honorable duty of rendering justice. To him certainly as to the bishop in regard to the episcopate this can fitly be applied: "He desires a good thing who desires to rule;¹ but if he does not rule justly, he is not a king."

1. I Timothy 3,1.

4. In the beginning of his reign Baldwin was the possessor of very few cities and people; and through that same winter he protected his kingdom well against enemies on all sides. And because they found out that he was a very courageous fighter although he had few men, they did not dare to attack him. If he had more soldiers, he would have met the enemy gladly.

5. Still the land route was completely obstructed to our pilgrims who, meanwhile, Franks, English, Italians, and Venetians, with from one to four ships each came timidly by sea as far as Joppa, with the Lord leading them as they sailed through the midst of hostile pirates and past the cities of the Saracens. At first Joppa was our only port. 6. When

we saw that they had come from our western lands, immediately and joyfully we advanced to them as if to saints. From them each of us inquired anxiously concerning his own home and of his loved ones. The newcomers told us all that they knew.

When we heard good news, we rejoiced; when they told of misfortune we were saddened. They came on to Jerusalem; they visited the Holy of Holies, for which purpose they had come.

7. Then some remained here in the Holy Land; but others returned to their native country. For this reason, Jerusalem was depopulated and there were not enough people to defend the city from the Saracens if only they dared to attack us.

8. But why did they not dare? Why would so many people, such powerful kingdoms fear to attack our little kingdom and our people, so few in number? Why did they not gather

from Egypt, from Persia, from Mesopotamia, and from Syria at least a hundred times a hundred thousand fighters to advance courageously against us, their enemies? Why did they not, as swarms of locusts in the harvest field, so completely destroy and devour us that no further mention would be made of the Christians in the land which had been theirs from time immemorial?

9. For we did not have more than three hundred knights and about as many foot soldiers to guard Jerusalem, Joppa, Ramla, and the fort Caypha. We scarcely dared to assemble our knights when we wished to plan some schemes against our enemies. We feared lest in the meantime they would do some damage to our abandoned fortifications. 10. Truly, it was manifest to all that this was a prodigious miracle, that we were living in the midst of so many thousands of thousands and as their conquerors, were making some of them tributaries and others indeed we were ruining by pillage and plundering. But whence came this power? Whence this strength? Truly from Him whose name is the Almighty, who, not unmindful of His people laboring for the glory of His name, in His mercy aids in their distresses those who put their trust in Him alone. God promises to reward with everlasting glory in the life to come him whom He sometimes makes happy with very little temporal reward. 11. Oh, time so worthy to be remembered! Often, indeed, we were sad when we could get no aid from our friends across the seas. We feared lest our enemies, learning how few we were, would sometime rush down upon us from all sides in a sudden attack, when no

one but God would be able to aid us. 12. We were in need of nothing if only the men and the horses did not fail us. Those who came to Jerusalem by sea could not bring horses with them; and no one came to us by land. We were not able to aid the people of Antioch, nor were they to aid us.

VI.

The substitution of Tancred in Antioch.

Then it happened, in the month of March, that Tancred abandoned to Baldwin the city which he possessed, Caypha, and also Tiberias, and with his men he marched by land to Antioch. The people of Antioch had sent to him legates, saying, "Do not delay, but come to us and ruling over us all possess the city of Antioch and the land subject to it until Bohemond, our lord and yours, shall escape from captivity. For you are his relative, a prudent and brave soldier - more powerful than we. You are better able to hold this our land than are we. If sometime Lord Bohemond, by the will of God, shall return, what is right will then be done". This was asked, and it was so done.

VIII.

The siege of Arsuth and its capture.

Before Port Laodicea through that same wintry weather, a fleet of ships manned by Genoese and Italians had wintered. When they saw the spring time calm and favorable for navigation, they sailed, with the help of favoring wind, as far as Joppa.

When they had reached port they were gladly received by the king. Because it was near Easter, and because according to custom every one who could celebrated this solemnity, they landed their boats and advanced with the king to Jerusalem.

2. When the solemnity of Easter was over, all were much disturbed because we did not have the fire at the Sepulchre of the Lord on the Sabbath day. The king set out for Joppa. He made a compact with the chiefs of the fleet mentioned above to the effect that as long as they wished for the love of God to remain in the Holy Land during his reign, if, with the good pleasure and the assistance of God, they should be able to take any of the cities of the Saracens, they should have in common a third part of the money taken from the enemy and no injury being done to the Genoese, the king should have the first and second parts; furthermore, one quarter of each city thus captured the sailors should possess in perpetual right and with heredity title. 3. When this agreement had been sealed by both parties under oath, without delay they besieged by land and by sea the place called Arsuth. But the Saracen inhabitants thought that in no way could they defend themselves against the Christians; and, after having wisely made an agreement with Baldwin, they surrendered the city to the king. But surrendering the city walls, they took their money away with them. To these setting out sadly for Ascalon the king gave safe conduct. 4. For this we gave

thanks to God in that without the slaying of our men, we had seized this fortification so dangerous to us. 5. This fort, built by Salimon and very hostile to the Franks, Godfrey had besieged the year before, but he did not take it. Its inhabitants had often killed many of our men or had harmed them.

6. Already the Franks, in hand to hand conflict, had seized the bulwarks of the wall when, by accident, a wooden tower which was joined to the outside of the wall broke to pieces on account of the great multitude ascending upon it. Almost a hundred Franks falling from it were seriously wounded.

7. The Saracens then kept some Franks whom in the sight of all they nailed to a cross and pierced with arrows. Some they killed, those who were spared their lives were kept among the Saracens in durance vile.

IX.

How Caesarea was taken.

When the king, as was necessary, had fortified Arsuth with his garrison, he marched immediately against Caesarea in Palestine and surrounded it by siege; but because the wall was strong it could not be taken easily. 2. Therefore he ordered engines for hurling stones to be made and a high wooden machine constructed from the masts and the oars of ships. Our builders made this, I think, twenty cubits higher than the wall so that when it was drawn up to the wall our knights from it stoned the enemy within and shot at them, so that when they had emptied the town of Saracens

our men would have free ingress and would seize the city.

3. But when they had continued the seige for about fifteen days and had injured for some little while the high ramparts of the wall with the engines, and before our wooden tower was completely set up, because they scorned further delay, the energy of the Franks refused to wait longer. So, on a certain Friday, without the help of the aforesaid tower and other implements of war, with a wonderful boldness and using only lances and shields they attacked the city. 4. Indeed the Saracens, encouraging one another, defended themselves as well as they could. But the Franks, whose God was the Savior, erected quickly the ladders which had been prepared for the assault and ascended upon these to the summit of the wall. From there they slew with their swords every one whom they met coming against them. 5. But when the Saracens saw our troops so savage and their city already taken, they fled in haste to where they thought they would be safe. But they were not able to hide in any place where they were not killed as they deserved. 6. Few, indeed, of the men were left alive. Many women were spared ~~at~~ they could be used to turn the hand mills. When they had taken them, they bought and sold amongst themselves the ugly women as well as the beautiful, and the men also. 7. The king allowed the emir of this city and the bishop, whom they called Kadi, to live. These he spared for ransom rather than out of love. How much property was found there it is impossible to say; but many who had been

poor, then became rich. 8. I saw many of the Saracens who were killed there put in a pile and burned. We were very much troubled by the fetid odor of these bodies which were burned in order to find the byzants which these wretches had swallowed in order that the Franks might have nothing that belonged to them, or which some of them hid in their mouths against their gums. 9. Hence it sometimes happened that when one of the Franks struck with his fist the back of the neck of one of the Saracens, from ten to sixteen byzants were ejected from his mouth. The women also shamelessly hid byzants upon their persons, in a way that was wicked thus to conceal them and more shameful for me to repeat. 10. It was in the year eleven hundred, aye and one that we took the city of Caesarea with the help of ladders, when we took the tower of Strato, we took the city so-named.

X.

How the Archbishop was ordained in Caesarea.

1. After we had, together with the Genoese, taken away from Caesarea everything that we found there that was desirable, we installed an archbishop whom we had elected jointly; and leaving a small number to guard the city, we set out at once to go to the city of Ramla which is near Lydda. For twenty four days we expected war to be made against us by the Ascalonites and Egyptians collected there for that purpose.

2. But because we were so few in number, we did not dare to go against them lest, perchance, when we were attacking them at Ascalon, they would catch us between their walls and their camp by repeatedly retreating, and easily kill us. Wherefore, they refused to attack us thinking that it would happen in that way. 3. We found out their scheme, and for so long a time we thwarted it so cleverly that, struck to the heart by fear, they gave up entirely the idea of attacking us. Whence many of them impatient of delay and pressed by want, deserted the army. 4. When we had learned this, we returned to Joppa, giving thanks to God that He had thus delivered us from their attack.

XI.

A very bloody battle between the Christians and the Turks in which the Christians were victorious.

1. But after we had rested for seventy days, always expecting to hear from them, it was announced to the king that our enemies were moved with hostile intent and were prepared to attack us. 2. Hearing this, the king caused his army to be collected promptly from Jerusalem and Tiberias, from Caesarea and from Caipha. Because of the urgent necessity, for we had very few knights, the king ordered that every one of the squires who could, should be made a knight. And even so, we were only two hundred and sixty knights and nine hundred foot soldiers,

while there were against us eleven thousand knights and twenty-one thousand foot. 3. We knew this, but because we had God with us, we did not fear to go against them. We did not trust in arms nor in a multitude of men; but we placed our hope entirely in the Lord, our God. Our courage was great; but it was not presumption; rather it was faith and love. We were sincerely ready to die for love of Him who, in His mercy, had deigned to die for us. We went to battle or to death not caring which. 4. The king had the wood of the Holy Cross carried there, and it was to us a consolation and protection. On a certain day we set out from Joppa; on the very next we fought against them. 5. When we had come near to them and they likewise up to us, we did not realize it. When from our watch tower we had seen their spies, we understood at once that the rest of the army followed. And when the king with some companions went on farther, he saw from afar the pitched tents of the pagans whitening the plains. At this sight, he spurred his horse and returned to us behind to make known to all what he had seen. 6. We began to rejoice at this news hoping that the battle would take place for which we were longing. If they would not come to us, we would go to them. For it would be better for us to fight with them in the open plains, and then, when they had been overcome with the help of God, they would have farther to flee and they would suffer

more in their flight, than if we attacked them near their walls.

7. Then the king gave the order to take up arms and, all armed, our army was arranged in fitting order for battle. Committing ourselves then trustingly into the hands of God, we rode out against them. A certain abbot whom the king had chosen carried the Holy Cross which was visible to all. 8. Then the king piously addressed his soldiers in these words: "Come, soldiers of Jesus Christ, be comforted; fear nothing. Conduct yourselves manfully and be brave in this battle and fight, I beseech you, for your souls' salvation; exalt everywhere the name of Christ whom these degenerate ones always outrage and revile not believing in His incarnation and resurrection. If you are killed in this battle, without doubt you will be among the blessed. Already the gate of the kingdom of heaven is opened to you. But if, on the other hand, you should live and gain the victory, you will shine in glory among all Christians. However, should you wish to flee, France is far away from you." 9. When he had thus spoken, all agreed with him. They hastened to the combat; delay was insupportable to all; each one was planning which of the enemy he would kill or which fell to the earth. 10. And all at once the detestable infidels rushed in front of us, to the right and to the left. Our army, though very few in number, divided into six divisions and with a cry: "God help us", dashed into the innumerable cohorts of the enemy. Their

number was so great and they covered us so completely that one of us could scarcely see or recognize another. 11. Already they had repelled and overwhelmed two of our front lines; but the king seeing this, came up in haste from the rear to aid those who were in such difficulty. For when he saw and realized that the force of the enemy was stronger, at full speed he opposed himself and his squadron to the attack of the infidels. Brandishing in the face of the most valiant of them, his spear to which was appended a white flag, he struck with a blow of his lance a certain Arab coming before him. This white flag remained in his belly when he fell to the ground thrown from his steed. But Baldwin drew out the lance, as I, standing near, witnessed, and carried it ready to slay others. 12. On the one side and on the other, they fought bravely. In the short space of an hour, on both sides there were many horses without riders. We saw the ground covered with bucklers and shields, with daggers and quivers, with bows and arrows, with Saracens and Ethiopians, either dead or mortally wounded, with Franks too, but not so many. 13. There was present with us the cross of the Savior, very powerful against the enemies of Christ. Against this cross, by the grace of God, the pomp of the pagans was not able to prevail. But, as if confounded by the presence of the cross, not only did they desist from attacking us, but struck with terror,

all betook themselves to flight. He who had a swift horse by flight escaped death. 14. To pick up all the shields and missiles and bows and arrows which the fugitives cast upon the field, would be tiresome. It were impossible to count the number of lifeless bodies which lay there. It is said, though, that five thousand of their knights and foot soldiers were killed. Even the leader of the Babylonian army, who had himself led it to battle, was killed with the others. Eighty of our knights perished but more of the footmen. 15. On that day the king conducted himself very valiantly, and proved himself a most excellent comforter and a dauntless fighter. His soldiers, too, although they were few, were most brave. The battle was not long doubtful. For the infidels fled wildly, while the Christians at once pursued them.

XII.

Oh war, hateful to those who do no evil and horrible to those who witness it ! By a misnomer this is called glorious, for there is nothing glorious about it. I witnessed the combat; I wavered in my mind; I feared a blow. All rushed to arms as if they did not fear death. There is dire calamity where there is no love. The din arising from the mutual giving and taking of blows was excessive. One struck; his enemy fell. The one knew no pity; the other asked none. One lost

a hand; the other an eye. The human heart revolts to see such misery. 2. Wonderful to relate, our army conquered in the van, and in the rear we were conquered. In the rear the Christians are defeated in the front they overcome the Saracens. We forced the Saracens to flee to Ascalon; and they, having slain many of our men, rode at once to Joppa. So that day no one knew the outcome. 3. When the king and his men, by killing and by dispersing, had cleared the field of them, he ordered that we spend the night in the tents which the fugitives had left. The order was obeyed. On the seventh of the Ides of September we undertook this battle which is worthy to be reported and in which divine grace aided the Franks.

XIII.

The varying fortunes of this battle.

On the following day when in the tent of the king we had heard the Mass of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to which event that day was sacred, we loaded our beasts with the spoils taken from the enemy such things as bread, grain and flour as well as their tents. The signal to return to Joppa was given by the royal trumpet. 2. When we had turned around and gone past Azotus, one of the five cities of the Philistines and now deserted, which city is also called Iberius, we saw coming towards us about five hundred Arabs on their way from Joppa. On the very day

of the battle, these had rushed to Joppa where they stole all the booty which they found outside. For when they had made great carnage among our foot soldiers in the rear of our army and had utterly destroyed one line in the right wing, they thought that we were completely vanquished. So, taking up the shields and the lances and the shining helmets of the dead Christians, they decorated themselves proudly with these and hastening at once to Joppa, they showed the people there our arms saying that Baldwin and all his men were killed in battle. 3. When those who had remained as guards in Joppa had heard this, they were frightened and they gave credence to their words, for they seemed true. These Arabs had thought that perhaps these citizens in their fright, would return the city to them at once. But when their plans were spoiled, gaining nothing further, they began to retreat to Ascalon. 4. When they saw us coming back to Joppa they thought we were of their own people who having killed us all in battle wished to seek out the rest of the Christians living in Joppa. We wondered that they approached so near us without recognizing that we were Franks until they saw us attack them. 5. You should have seen them flee here and there so quickly that one did not wait for another. He who did not have a swift steed was beheaded at once. But because the Franks were very tired and many had been wounded in battle, they were unable to follow the infidels. The infidels thus went on and we came joyfully to Joppa.

XIV.

The message sent from the people of Joppa to
Tancred, Prince of Antioch.

1. Imagine the exultation and thanksgiving when they whom we had left in Joppa saw from the top of the wall, that we were returning with flags flying! Surely it would not be a slight task to tell it. 2. Two bearers of false news had hastened to Joppa, the one after the other, who deceived the people saying that king Baldwin and all his men were dead. Saddened by this news more than can be imagined and believing it to be true, they sent to Tancred, then Prince of Antioch, a message written on a piece of parchment, which by order of the wife of King Baldwin, a certain sailor just embarking took to Antioch. 3. The letter contained these words of greeting. "Tancred, illustrious man and most valiant soldier, receive this note which those who inhabit Joppa, namely the queen and the few citizens of the city, send to you in haste by me, their legate. 4. Oh great grief! the king of Jerusalem, who engaged in battle against the people of Babylon and Ascalon, in this encounter was conquered or perhaps was killed together with all those whom he led to battle with him. For those who, barely escaping this misery, fled to Joppa reported this to us. 5. For this reason I come as a legate to you, a prudent man, seeking help and begging that setting aside all else, without any delay you hasten to aid the people of God in great trouble

and, as I believe, already near the end of life." 6. He said this. Tancred, when he had heard it, was silent for a moment. But when he had made up his mind that what he had heard was true, from great sadness and grief he and all the rest who were present began to weep in pity. The prince gave an answer to the messenger and then ordered preparations to be made throughout the land to aid the people of Jerusalem. 7. And when they were all ready to undertake the journey, suddenly another letter carrier came bearing a message very different from this one, and he handed it to Tancred. For instead of the disaster reported in the first one, there was prosperity told in the second. It told that the king had returned safe to Joppa from the battle and that the Saracens had been marvelously vanquished. Those then who had grieved at our distress now rejoiced in our good fortune! 8. Oh, wondrous mercy of God! We did not conquer because of numbers of men; but aided by divine power, we dispersed the enemy. And so snatched from our enemies, we returned to Jerusalem giving thanks to God. Then during eight months we were free from war until the year in its course brought back the summer time.

XV.

The Army of Babylon collected against the Christians.

In the next year, eleven hundred and two, about the middle of May, the Babylonians congregated before Ascalon. Their king had sent there an order that they should try to destroy entirely us Christians. They had about twenty thousand knights

and ten thousand foot soldiers, not counting the drivers of the pack animals, camels and mules laden with food. These men carried in their hands their weapons to hurl and clubs with which to fight. 2. These pagans came on a certain day to the city of Ramla and pitched their tents before it. In a fortified citadel of the town were fifteen men whom Baldwin had there as guards. Before this citadel in a sort of a suburb some Syrians lived. These Saracens, tormenting and disturbing the Christians, had often attempted to destroy them altogether and to demolish the tower, the garrison of which kept the inhabitants from scouring the plain freely. 3. They even attempted to seize the bishop of this city who, with his staff, was stationed in the Church of St. George. One day with wicked intent they surrounded the monastery; but when they saw the great strength of the place, they returned to Ramla. 4. Moreover, that bishop when he had seen the flames and the smoke ascending from the fires already burning in ripe grain, feared lest they might return and he be besieged by them. Taking precautions against future danger, he despatched to the king who was in Joppa asking him to come at once to help him since the Babylonians were encamped near Ramla and since one cohort of them had already hastened to attack his monastery. 5. When the king had heard this, taking up his arms he mounted his horse quickly and his cavalry at his order and at the sound of the royal trumpet followed him speedily. 6. There were then in Joppa a great

number of soldiers, who, awaiting a favorable wind, wished to cross the sea to return to France. These had no horses, for in the preceding year when on a journey through Romania they came to Jerusalem, they had lost their horses and everything else which they had. Of this it is not inopportune to make mention here.

XVI.

The second pitiable pilgrimage of the Franks and
the death of Hugh the Great.

1. When the great army of the Franks, as has been said, marched to Jerusalem, William, Count of Poitiers, and Stephen, Count of Blois, went in the multitude. The latter, having left our army, had withdrawn from Antioch; but now he undertook to renew what he had then abandoned. With these also was Hugh the Great, who after the capture of Antioch returned to Gaul; Raymond, Count of Provence, who was delayed a long time in Constantinople on his return from Jerusalem; and Stephen, Count of Burgundy; there was an innumerable following both of knights and foot-soldiers, and the host was divided into two parts. 2. The Turk Soliman,¹ from whom long ago the Franks had taken Nicea, opposed these Crusaders

1. The Seljuk sultan Soliman I had received the western provinces of Asia Minor. In 1081, he took Nicea. His son Soliman II to whom Fulcher refers, ruled from 1086-1106. See above XI 4; XXIV 3.

in the regions of Romania. But not unmindful of his own defeat, at the head of an immense multitude of Turks he miserably dispersed and confounded the army of the Franks and almost entirely annihilated it. 3. But because, by permission of Divine Providence, many of the Franks advanced in troops by different ways, Soliman was not able to fight against them all, nor to destroy them. But because he knew that they were worn out and tormented by hunger and thirst and untrained in archers' warfare, he put to the sword more than one hundred thousand knights and foot soldiers. 4. He massacred some of the women, and others he took away with him. Many who fled across the mountains and in diverse directions died of thirst and need. Their horses and mules, beasts and all kinds of baggage fell a prey to the Turks. 5. In this encounter the Count of Poitiers lost everything that he had, his retinue and his money. Scarcely escaping with his life, on foot, and in a deplorable condition of misery and dismay, he arrived at Antioch. Tancred, compassionating his distress, received him mercifully and supplied him from his own goods. Him the Lord "chastening hath chastised, but hath not delivered over to death."¹ 6. It appeared to us that this evil had befallen him and the others because of their sins and their

1. Psalm 117, 18.

pride. 7. Those, however, who escaped did not fail to go to Jerusalem, with the exception of Hugh the Great whom they buried in Tarsus of Cilicia. When they had reached Antioch, they advanced, some by land and others by sea, to Jerusalem. They who were able to procure horses preferred to go by land.

XVII.

The capture of the City of Tortosa.

When they had arrived at Tortosa, which the Saracens then held, they did not delay but attacked it by land and by sea. Why do I dwell upon it? They took the city; they killed the Saracens; they confiscated their money and then continued their journey. 2. All were grieved at seeing Count Raymond remain there, for they all hoped that he would go on with them to Jerusalem. But because he refused, stayed there and kept the city for himself, his companions hurled curses upon him.¹ 3. Then advancing farther, they passed Archas and the city of Tripoli and Gibel, and then came to a narrow defile near the city of Berytus. There King Baldwin awaited them for eighteen days, guarding meanwhile this passage, lest perchance the Saracens would seize it and refuse passage to the pilgrims. The king had received an embassy from the

1. Raymond persistently showed a desire to rule in the conquered places. From Antioch, from Archas, from Jerusalem, from Ascalon he, though reluctant, was constrained to retire. Finally, he settled down in Tripoli.

army asking aid. 5. When they found the king there to meet them they earnestly thanked him and, having mutually embraced, they set out for Joppa, where those had already landed who had come by sea.

XVIII.

A disastrous battle between the Christians and the Turks in which the Christians were killed and the Turks were victorious.

Easter was approaching, and they went to Jerusalem which they had longed to visit. After they had celebrated the solemnity there according to the custom, they set out again for Joppa. 2. Then the Count of Poitiers, because he was needy and distressed by want of all kinds, embarking with a few followers, set out for France. Stephen of Blois, also as well as a great many others, desired to recross the sea; but because the winds on the sea were unfavorable, he could accomplish nothing. Stephen was in Joppa, having already returned from the sea, when the king, as has been related above, mounted his horse to go against the enemy who were camping before Ramla. 4. Geoffrey, Count of Vendome was there also and Stephen, Count of Burgundy, and Hugh of Lusignan, brother of Count Raymond. When they had asked and obtained horses from their friends and acquaintances, they mounted upon these and followed the king. 5. It was indeed very imprudent for the king to refuse to wait for his soldiers and not to proceed to battle in an orderly

way as he should have gone. But without his foot soldiers and hardly waiting for his knights, he hastened to seek the enemy and foolishly threw himself into the midst of the Arabs. And because he trusted more in his own bravery than he should have, he expected that there were not more than a thousand or seven hundred men. And so he hurried in order that he could meet them before they escaped. 6. But when suddenly he saw their army, he was struck with fear; he trembled within; then, all at once assuming the strength of consolation he turned to his men and spoke to them in these words: "Oh, soldiers of Christ, my friends, refuse not this battle, but armed with the strength of God, fight valiantly for your own salvation, for whether we live or whether we die we are the Lord's.¹ For if one is tempted to flee, still there is no escape. Fighting you shall conquer; fleeing you shall perish" 7. Then indeed, since there was occasion and need to show valor, in a brave assault they suddenly thrust themselves upon the Arabs. And because we had no more than two hundred knights, we were completely surrounded by the twenty thousand. Our men were so cruelly pressed by the Gentiles that in the brief space of an hour the majority of them were killed; and those who were left were unable to hold out

1. Romans 14, 8.

longer but turned to flee. 8. But, although this great misfortune had happened to our men, they were, before they left, most thoroughly revenged against the Saracens. They killed, indeed, a great number and drove them out upon the plains depriving them of their tents. At length, with God's permission, our men were overcome by superior numbers. 9. By the grace of God, the king and some of his nobles escaped. They betook themselves in rapid flight to the city of Ramla for they were unable to go farther.

XIX,

The flight of King Baldwin.

But the king, since he did not wish to be shut up there, preferred to die somewhere else than to be ignominiously seized there. Then, having taken counsel, and committing himself to the chances of death or life, he attempted to escape. He took with him only five companions, whom, however, he did not have long, for they were taken by the enemy, and he, fleeing on a swift horse, sought the mountains. And so the Lord snatched him from the hands of his enemies who were stronger than he. He would gladly have set out for Arsuth then if he could, but the enemies obstructed him and he could not go there. 2. As to those who remained in Ramla, they could not afterwards get outside the gate, for they were besieged on all sides by the pagan race and finally, oh, sorrowful to tell, they were seized by these Saracens. Some of them were killed and some

whom they led away with them, were allowed to live. The bishop when he in the Church of St. George had heard of this disaster, secretly fled to Joppa. 4. Alas, how many valiant knights and how many brave soldiers we lost in this catastrophe, in the battle first as well as later in the aforesaid tower. For Stephen of Blois, a prudent and noble man, and another Stephen, Count of Burgundy, were killed. 5. Three knights escaped, who though suffering from blows and wounds, swiftly rode on horseback the following night to Jerusalem. Having arrived at Jerusalem, they told the citizens of the defeat which they had met. But as to the king, whether he was alive or dead, they said truly that they knew nothing. This caused great grief to all.

XX.

The King, fleeing, entered Arsuth.

The King, however, after having passed the following night hidden in the mountains, on the third day by untraveled ways and accompanied by but one knight and his squire, arrived at Arsuth, suffering from hunger and thirst. 2. The one circumstance which saved Baldwin was this. The five hundred soldiers, who for sometime had been going about the walls of the town as spies had just a little before this withdrawn. The king could never have evaded them if he had been seen by them. 3. Entering into Arsuth, Baldwin was received by

his own men with great joy. He ate and drank and slept in safety. Of this he was in dire need being but human.

XXI.

Hugo of Tiberias and the Patriarch¹ of Jerusalem hasten to aid the king; the Battle fought in the presence of the Christians by the power and aid of the Holy Cross.

1. That day Hugo of Tiberias, one of the lords of the king, came to the city when he heard of his defeat hoping to offer some solace to those who had survived. Seeing this, the king rejoiced greatly. Hugo had with him eighty knights of whom in this great crisis there was great need. In response to an embassy which had come to him from Jerusalem, the king hastened to go to the aid of Joppa. 2. He did not dare to lead them by land because of the enemies hiding in the way; but embarking on a skiff, he went by sea. When he had reached port he was received with great joy, since, according to the text of the gospel, "He was dead, and came to life again; he was lost and is found." He whom they lamented as dead now they saw alive and safe. 3. On the following day the aforementioned Hugo set out from Arsuth and hastened in fear to

1." In the above caption the statement that the patriarch of Jerusalem brought aid to Baldwin is incorrect. Daimbert was at that time with Tancred in Antioch whither he had gone in the beginning of March 1102."Hagenmeyer. These captions were not written by Fulcher. See Book I -XXX. In the caption the title "king" is applied to Gadfrey, whereas Fulcher in the text gives that title first to Baldwin.

2. Luke 15, 24.

Joppa. The king had proceeded in order to help him in case he be attacked on the way by the enemy. 4. When he had arrived at Joppa, Baldwin, not taking time to deliberate, and responding to the necessity, ordered that they who were in Jerusalem and at Hebron should come to Joppa, there to begin again a battle with the Saracens who, camping near, were planning to seize Joppa. 5. While he was wondering whom he could send there as a messenger, he saw a certain Syrian, a humble man and meanly clothed, whom he earnestly besought, for the love of God, to undertake the accomplishment of this mission because no one could be found who could or dared to do it. No one dared to travel over that road because of the snares of the enemy. But this man, having received courage from God, in the darkness of night lest he be seen by the enemy, did not hesitate to advance by a secluded and very difficult way. He arrived at Jerusalem all tired out, on the third day. 6. When he had made known to all the citizens the desired news about the king and that he was alive, all rendered just praises to God for this. Nor was there longer delay. 7. Having read the message which the Syrian brought, the knights, as many as could be found there, got ready. About ninety, I think, knights as well as those who were able to obtain horses or mules. But, however willingly, still timidly enough they mounted and set out. Avoiding as far as possible the snares of the enemy lying in ambush and traveling an unused road, they advanced on one

side of Arsuth. 8. When they were marching in haste along the seashore, this pagan race met them hoping to intercept them there and to kill them. Some of our men, because it seemed necessary to them, left their beasts there and threw themselves into the sea to swim, so that one evil might be a remedy for another. By swimming they were indeed saved from the pagans; but they lost their beasts. Those soldiers indeed who had swift horses saved themselves and arrived at Joppa. They however escaped with difficulty. 9. The king, filled with joy and much comforted by their arrival, did not wish to delay longer the execution of his plan. But the following morning, arranging his knights and footmen, he went out to fight against his enemies. 10. They were not far from Joppa, perhaps about three miles, where they were already preparing machines of war that without delay they might besiege Joppa and seize it, after they had thus invested it. But when the pagans saw our men come against them to battle, taking up their arms at once, they boldly met us. They surrounded our army on all sides, for they were an innumerable multitude. Thus surrounded, nothing could avail us except divine assistance. But confiding absolutely in the omnipotence of God, our men did not hesitate to strike where they saw the crowd of Saracens was most dense and infuriated. When our men had broken down the strength of the enemy in one place by valiantly fighting, they had to go to another place at once, for where the Saracens

saw our footmen unprotected by knights, they rushed upon them and massacred those in the rear. 12. But our footmen on the other hand were not cowards, and they hurled such a shower of arrows upon the invaders that many of them were driven into the faces and the armor of the Saracens. And so, by the arrows of the footmen they were driven back, and by the lances of the knights many were covered with wounds; and, already deprived of their tents with the help that God gave us, they turned their backs upon the Franks and took to flight. But they were not driven long, for the pursuers were very few.

13. They left to the Franks their tents in the camp and all their provisions. But they took away with them almost all their horses, those excepted which were wounded or dead from thirst. We had many of their camels and asses. Many of the Saracens as they were fleeing, either injured or parched by thirst, died in the way. 14. It was right and just that those who were fortified by the wood of the cross of the Savior should triumph over the enemies of His Cross. If, indeed, in the previous battle this Holy Cross had been carried with the king, no doubt, God would have shown himself propitious to His people. 15. But there are some people who confide more in their own strength than in God and trusting too much in their own judgment, spurn the counsels of the wise. They presume to execute their designs hastily and inadvisedly. Therefore, it often happens that great harm comes not only to them but to many others innocent of the presumption. These

then are wont to blame the Lord rather than to recognize their own stupidity. 16. He begins a thing foolishly who does not take into account the end. "The horse is prepared for battle, but the Lord gives the victory."¹ If the prayer of the just is not always answered, how much less that of the wicked?² Or how can he blame God for not at once granting his desire? Why should he be heard who merits no good? Does he not know what should be done in all things? 17. Boethius on this point says: "Although you see the contrary of your expectation take place, still a just order presides over things and the perverse arrangement is only in your mind. But the foolish man regards not what is of true worth in these things but the event of fortune." Oftentimes, indeed, a man thinks that an evil to him which afterwards turns to his advantage; and on the contrary, it happens that what succeeded well with him, a little later thwarts him very much. 18. When the war was ended and the king, as has been said, was victor, the tents were folded and he went to Joppa. During the time of the following autumn and winter the country was free from war.

XXII.

The king besieges the city of Accon.

In the spring of eleven hundred three after we had, as was customary, celebrated Easter in the Holy City, the king

1. Prov. 21, 31.

2. Prov. 11, 31.

advancing with his little army attacked the city of Accon also called Ptolemais. But because it was well protected by a wall and outer defenses, he was unable to seize it, especially since the Saracens had always most bravely defended themselves within it. When he had devastated all their crops, the orchards, and the gardens, he returned to Joppa.

XXIII.

Lord Bohemond is freed from captivity.

Then the rumor, very welcome to all, spread concerning Lord Bohemond, to the effect that by the grace of God he had been freed from the Turks. He made known through a messenger how he had been ransomed from captivity, and the people of Antioch gladly received him who previously had been their prince and who now ruled and possessed the land. 2. Bohemond possessed, besides Antioch, the city of Laodicia which Tancred had taken and wrested from the men of the emperor of Constantinople during Bohemond's captivity. For this Bohemond gave to Tancred enough of his land so that he pacified him and gained his friendship.

XXIV.

The king is almost fatally wounded.

When Baldwin was as usual fighting with the Saracens, one day he came upon a few of them and, already sure of killing them, he was rejoicing at the prospect, when a certain

Ethiopian, hidden behind a rock, stealthily watched for him to kill him. He threw a missile very hard which wounded the king severly in the back in the vicinity of the heart. By the stroke he wounded the king almost fatally. But because he was very careful to have himself cared for, he recovered finally after the infliction of the troublesome wound.

XXV.

The capture of Accon which is commonly called Acre. In the year eleven hundred four, after the winter was past and when in Jerussalem we had celebrated the solemnity of Easter, King Baldwin gathered his troops together and set out for Accon and besieged it again. The Genoese came there with a fleet of seventy ships. After Baldwin had for twenty days invested the city all around with machines and by repeated attacks, the Saracens, whether they would or no, gave it to the king. 2. This city was very necessary to us, because in it was a port so commodious that it would safely receive within the walls many ships. 3. Already Phoebus had risen nine times in the sign of the Gemini when the city of Accon, also called Ptolemais, was taken. This was the year eleven hundred and four. This city is not Acharon, which some have thought it to be, but Accon. The former is a city of the Philistines; but Accon is known as Ptolemais.

When this city was thus taken, they killed many of the Saracens, and they allowed some to live. Our men took all their possessions.

XXVI.

Bohemond arranged to cross to Apulia.

When the summer was passed, Bohemond, constrained by great necessity, with a few ships, crossed into Apulia. He committed all his territory to Tancred. With him went Daimbert who had been patriarch of Jerusalem, a man prudent and powerful in counsel. 2. Bohemond went to recruit his troops from the country across the sea. But Daimbert went that he might make known to the pope at Rome his complaint and the injury done him by King Baldwin. He went and obtained his desire; but he did not return for he died on the way.

XXVII.

How the people of Antioch, fighting against the Parthians, were captured and some of them killed.

That year the Parthians and Medes and Chaldeans and the dwellers in Mesopotamia,¹ our neighbors, were aroused to hunt out us Christians and to molest us in every way.

When this rumor was brought to us, our princes, nevertheless, all made preparations to capture them. 2. Lord Bohemond and Tancred and Baldwin, Count of Edessa, and Joscelin and Daimbert of Jerusalem and the Archbishop of Edessa, Benedict

1. Acts Apost. 2, 9.

by name, were ready very soon, together with the crowd of soldiers and people. 3. Marching on past the Euphrates to the city of Charra near the celebrated river Chabor they met the phalanxes of the enemy, and commencing battle at once near Rachla, the Christians lost because of our sins and were given over to confusion and disorder. This battle was by far more disastrous than any former one, as the issue showed. 4. There the Lord Baldwin, Count of Edessa, the future and second king of Jerusalem, was captured and Lord Joscelin, his relative, was captured with him. With them, too, was taken the aforementioned archbishop. Many besides were overwhelmed and lost in the aforesaid river. Horses and mules and a great supply of wealth was lost. Lord Bohemond, indeed, and Tancred fleeing by unknown and diverse paths here and there, choosing neither the best route nor the best by-paths, though lost and confused, still escaped. 6. Many lay transfixed with arrows and daggers. And they who might have taken Charra without much difficulty if they had in the first place laid seige to it, could not secure it afterward either on the advance, or return journey. And as security sometimes by deception does harm, so fear and anxiety prove disadvantageous for the cautious and timid. "It is harmful," as is written, "to delay those who are ready." 7. Two enemies, discord and envy, greatly injured our people in this undertaking or misfortune. These enemies are accustomed to

bring men from the possessions they have acquired down to extreme need. We have often seen this. We have learned it by experience. I am not mistaken nor do I invent paltry things in a round about way urging deception. 8. Truly, in this journey so dangerous and so difficult, provoking each other with harsh words just before this great catastrophe, they wished to separate from one another and to break up the compact they had formed. Indeed, he is foolish who does evil and expects good. For nothing is acceptable to God which is done in strife and without mutual charity. It is, therefore, most cowardly and disgraceful to abandon His society for whom I ought to labor even unto death. 9. Moreover, God helped the Archbishop of Edessa who was then in chains. When the Turks had loaded the Archbishop with their goods and possessions as if he were a beast of burden, a certain knight, mighty in arms, by his devotion marvelously snatched him from their hands. This he did in charity and risking his life for the bishop, for he did not consider his mortal existence more precious than his body. 10. And thus many in this pilgrimage, burning with zeal for God and offering their lives were eager to meet a happy death and to enjoy rest with Christ. 11. For example a certain man, as some of our men heard and saw when we were at Antioch, when he heard the name of the Lord blasphemed with great irreverence by a certain pagan, animated by a fiery spirit contradicted him in word and deed. And immediately spurring his horse, he said with

eager question to those standing around, "If any one of you desires to sup in Paradise, let him now come with me and sup with me for presently I shall depart thither".

12. At once waving his lance he threw himself into the thousands of soldiers and killed the first one who opposed him. And slaying, he was himself slain. And so, supported by faith and hope, fortified by charity, he died happily. Was not this a marvelous thing? Still lying upon the ground, he was already glorified in heaven. 13. Wherefore the heavens rejoice and those that are in them. And we also rejoiced and gave thanks because the angels rejoiced at the addition of such a companion.¹ For He was near who heard him and requited the gift to Him² and prepared an everlasting abode for him.

XXVIII.

The liberation of Baldwin and the battle between himself and Tancred.

But after Lord Baldwin had been kept in prison almost five years, when select hostages had been given and faith had been pledged with solemn oath that he would ransom them, and when later these hostages killed the guards of the prison, Baldwin escaped from the prison. He had for a faithful ally in this, Joscelin. 2. But when he then returned to the city of Edessa, he could not go in because Tancred with his army

1. Luke 15, 7.

2. John 14, 2.

refused him entrance. 3. Finally because this was to their advantage and because of the agreement which Lord Bohemond had previously caused to be made that if by any chance Baldwin should escape from his captivity, his land would be returned to him without any question, without further delay the two, Baldwin and Joscelin, together fought a battle against the third party Tancred. 4. They were, by no means, appeased by Tancred's pleading and begging for peace. But Joscelin, having collected seven thousand Turks, provoked Tancred, unprepared to battle, and with the aid of these Turks he killed five hundred of the followers of Tancred. And although Tancred at first was almost overcome, yet with the help of God, whose countenance always looks upon justice, he remained the victor on the field, the victor with honor. 5. But when the chiefs of the land saw damage being done, they took mutual counsel and brought them to agreement.

XXIX.

Bohemond crossed in Gaul.

Then Bohemond discouraged in many ways, as has been said above, proceeded to Gaul. There among other things that he did, he married the daughter of King Philip, Constance by name, and brought her to Apulia. By her he had two sons. Of these the first-born died, the second, named for his father, was the heir.

XXX.

Tancred fighting with the Turks gains the victory.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and five, and on the twenty-eighth of February, Count Raymond, a worthy knight, died in his stronghold before the city of Tripoli. His nephew, William Jordan, succeeded him. At that time the accustomed impudence of the Turks was not abandoned for in the month of March the king of Aleppo, Rodoan by name, called together a large army from the territory round about and raised his head in pride to do battle with Tancred, the prince of Antioch.

3. But Tancred, placing the anchor of his hope not in a multitude of men but in the Lord, drew up his line of battle carefully and rode against the enemy without delay. Why should I tarry longer? He rushed boldly against them before Artasium and, with the help of God, the Turks were struck by fear and straightway took to flight. They fled and were pursued. Those of them who were not able to flee were killed.

4. The number of their dead was not great, but Tancred took many of their horses, together with the standard of the fugitive king. The king fled, his power thus crushed and his pride thus humbled. Therefore God was glorified who always comes to the aid of the faithful. 5. So much for the people of Antioch; now we shall speak of those of Jerusalem.

XXI.

The king of Babylon again sent all his army against king Baldwin against whom he prepared himself.

1. It should be related how that same year¹ the king of Babylon gathered a large army which under the leadership of one of his generals, he sent to Ascalon to fight against Christianity planning and undertaking to banish us all from the Holy Land. He had learned that we were few and without the recruits that the crusaders had been customarily receiving.² At Ascalon therefore were gathered together Arab horsemen and Ethiopian footmen with whom there were more than a thousand Turks from Damascus who were excellent archers. 2. When this had been made known to King Baldwin, he collected all his men together and awaited them at Joppa. And because necessity demanded it, all who lived in the cities and were able to carry arms went out to battle, those only excepted who were needed to protect the walls at night. 3. Fear and trembling then took possession of us. We were fearful lest they would seize one of our cities which was deprived of its garrison or that they would kill in battle the king together with his men. It was the month of August. Delaying fighting, they on both sides used strategy. They did not accost us, nor we them. 4. But finally, as I believe, at the time fixed by Providence this wicked race moved from Ascalon and began to draw near to us. When the king had heard this, he set out for Joppa and mounted on his horse, rode to the city of Ramla. 5. And because it is good for us in all things to cling to the Lord and to place our firm hope in Him,³ so Baldwin, inspired

1. 1105.

2. This reference is to Venetians who with their fleet had been assisting Baldwin since June 1100.

3. Psalm 72, 28.

by the Lord God, sent in all haste a messenger to the patriarch of Jerusalem and to the priests and the people beseeching that they earnestly implore the mercy of the Most High, that God would deign to send aid from on high to the Christians reduced to such difficult straits. 6. This messenger therefore, though much urged to do so, refused to accept any recompense, fearing that he might not be able to fulfill the mission or that, living, he might not claim the reward, but trusting that he would receive from God in some way the reward for this pious deed, he commended his soul and his body into the hands of his Creator and hastened to Jerusalem. He, with God as a leader, arrived there and, entering the city, at once made known his mission. 7. The patriarch¹ as soon as he understood the demand, ordered that the great bell be rung and all the people be assembled before him. "Oh, my brothers," he said "my friends, and the servants of God, behold the battle which you have heard was about to be, for the messenger is announcing it, without doubt, is about to come upon us. And because we can do nothing to resist such a great multitude without the help of God, implore ye the divine mercy that in this battle which is impending God will deign mercifully to aid our king Baldwin and all his men. 8. The king put

1. This patriarch was Evremer who had succeeded to the patriarchate in 1102 when Daimbert deserted Baldwin and fled to Tancred in Antioch.

off the battle today in order that , as he has just now informed us by this messenger, on tomorrow, which is the Lord's day, the day on which Christ rose from the dead, he might make battle with greater hope of success. He begs that you offer to God your prayers and alms that he may fight with greater confidence. 9. Wherefore tonight, according to the advice of the apostle, watch, be firm in faith and do in love all that you do. Go tomorrow through the places in this holy city, mortifying yourselves, humbling yourselves, bare-footed and praying piously to God that from the hands of His enemies He will deliver us. 10. I myself shall go to Baldwin now. Now I depart from you, advising that if among you there is anyone left who is able to bear arms, he come with me at once. For the king is in need of men." 11. What is there left to say? They mounted upon their horses and they were about one hundred and fifty knights and footmen. And so as night came on they marched quickly and arrived at daybreak at the city of Ramla. 12. Those who remained in Jerusalem gave themselves up zealously to prayers and alms and tears. Up to the noon hour, they did not cease to visit the churches. Singing they wept, and weeping they sang. The priests went in procession from church to church. I also with them prayed bare-footed. The old men fasted until nine, and mothers did not feed their babes until, tormented by hunger, they cried out. Generous alms were bestowed upon the poor. These are the

works by which the Savior is pleased, by which he is excited to save us, turned by which he does not fail to bring His benediction with Him.¹

XXXII.

The battle of the Crusaders with the Turks.

Victory is won through the power of the Holy Cross.

1. When the patriarch, as has been said, came to Ramla, and after Aurora had begun to dispel the twinkling stars, all of our men were rejoiced at his coming and they all ran to the priests to confess their sins to God and to them. Before the patriarch likewise the princes came desiring to hear from him the words of absolution and to be freed from their sins.

2. When this was finished, the patriarch vested himself in his sacred vestments and took in his hand the glorious cross of the Savior which he was wont to carry on such occasions, and, arranged in battle order, they went out, knights and foot-soldiers, against the enemy.

3. Our army consisted of about five hundred not counting those, who though they were on horses, were not considered knights. The footmen were estimated at not more than two thousand. The pagans were thought to be about fifteen thousand knights and foot soldiers. That night they were camped about four miles from Ramla.

4. In the morning when they saw the king coming against them with his forces, they at once prepared themselves for battle. However, their scheme was then somewhat spoiled for they had planned to send a part, but the lesser part, of their

1. Joel 2, 14.

army to Ramla to deceive our army. The greater number, though, they had determined to send to Joppa to attack and seize it unknown to us. But when they saw Baldwin thus riding against them and when they knew that their plan was thwarted, at once they reunited their forces. 5. There was no longer any delay. Each side fell upon the other. Then the bucklers resounded and the keen blades whirred. When both sides had made an attack, all of our men shouted at them. "Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands," just as it had been ordered them. 6. The infidels surrounding us on all sides thought that they could crush and confound us completely. Moreover, the Turkish archers encircling our rear, as was their custom, smiting us with a shower of arrows, had then given up the use of arrows, and had drawn their swords from the scabbards and with them they were slaying those of our men nearest to them. When the king saw this, fired with courage, he snatched a white flag from the hand of one of his soldiers and rushing to the spot with a few men, he aided the oppressed. 7. He immediately with the help of God, dispersed the Turks by his attack and slaughter; and then he returned to the place where there was a greater number of Saracens and Arabs and Ethiopians. 8. But I shall not dwell longer on the attacks and the fighting on either side because I wish to compress the narrative within a narrower compass. For God Almighty, who is never unmindful of His servants, did not wish

these infidels to destroy the Christians who for love of Him and to glorify His name had come to Jerusalem from most distant lands. This impious people suddenly took to flight and did not stop until they arrived at Ascalon. 9. Oh, if Semelmulc, the general of the army, might only have been captured, he would have paid many coins for his ransom to King Baldwin. But Semelmulc, the Emir of Ascalon, who was very rich, did not escape, and his death caused much dejection among all the pagans. 10. They captured alive another emir, formerly of Acconita, for whom our king demanded a ransom of twenty thousand coins besides horses and other things. 11. But the Ethiopians, unable to flee, were massacred in the fields. Four thousand of the enemy were reported killed, knights as well as foot soldiers, but of our men only about sixty. They surrendered to us their tents, many beasts of burden; camels, mules, and dromedaries. 12. Then we praised and glorified God in whom we found great strength and who destroyed the power of our enemies. Oh admirable decree of the judgment of God! Behold the state of those pagans who said, "We shall go and kill all the Christians and we shall possess their holy places." "But it did not happen thus, oh, infidels, not thus,¹ because God hath made ye "like a wheel, and as stubble before the face of the wind,² and he hath troubled

1. Psalm 82, 14.

2. Psalm 1, 4.

ye in His rage." ¹ By their law they had sworn never to flee before the Franks, but they found that their only salvation was in flight. They preferred to perjure themselves, rather than to perish by a wretched death. 13. The king finally returned to Joppa with rejoicing where, according to the customary procedure, he distributed to his knights and footmen the booty taken in the battle.

XXXIII.

The fleet of the Babylonians.

Before the city of Joppa there was still a Babylonian fleet which had delayed there for some time trying to find out how and when they could destroy us all completely by sea as well as by land together with our seaport towns. But when our king had the severed head of Gamelmuch, the emir who was killed in battle, thrown by the sailors into one of their ships, the pagans were greatly troubled and disturbed by the discovery, they did not care to remain there longer. But having found out about the defeat of their army, they withdrew, a gentle south wind then blowing, to the ports of Tyre and Sidon.

2. When this fleet was returning to Babylon in a wind storm, they, scattered in a disastrous ship-wreck, sailed into our ports, for the grace of God was in our favor. We had twenty-five ships filled with Saracens and the rest, sailing away,

1. Psalm 2, 5.

barely escaped. Thus was God an aid to us in our tribulation and He thus manifested His omnipotence. 3. Now I wish to make known to all the day of this battle. The sun had already risen for the tenth time in the sign of the Virgo; the full moon looked with its face towards the earth; the calendar marked the sixth day before the calends of September when the Most High rejoiced the Franks with victory. Then the Arabs fled, and the Turks, and the Ethiopians. Some sought the mountains; others lay dead upon the field.

XXXIV.

The earthquake.

And then lest, either through the negligence or the unskillfulness of writers or because perhaps writers are rare, or because they are weighed down by their own affairs, these deeds should be forgotten because they were not written, I Fulcher of Chartres, although untrained in knowledge and of meager ability have preferred to be branded with the stigma of presumption rather than that these deeds should not be made public just as I have seen them or as I on investigating carefully, have learned from true witnesses. 2. I, therefore, beseech my reader, that he grant me his indulgence and his charity in my ignorance, and that he correct, if he so desires, the style of this work in places where it has not as yet been corrected by some other writer.¹ However, I desire that

1. Manuscripts in circulation were apt to be copied, altered, or added to by those reading them who were also interested in the subject matter. This accounts for the striking similarity of whole passages in different manuscripts.

he will not, for the sake of greater pomp and beauty change the arrangement of the parts of the history, nor alter the truth of the deeds by misstatement. 3. After the events which have been related above, at the end of the same year, all of us who were in Jerusalem on the vigil of the birth of the Savior felt a great quaking of the earth which terrified us greatly.

XXXV.

The signs appearing in the sky.

In the year eleven hundred and six we saw a comet appearing in the heavens, and it frightened us who saw it. In the direction where the sun is wont to sink in winter time it produced a streak of white light like a linen web wonderfully long. 2. This phenomenon, beginning to redden in the month of February on the day of the new moon, presaged some future event. But not presuming to explain what it signified, we committed all to the Lord. 3. For fifty or more days this comet was seen every evening all over the world. It is remarkable that from the very beginning of its appearance this comet as well as its white splendor diminished day by day and little by little until in the last days, the strength of its light already lost, it ceased entirely to appear. 4. Soon after, in the same month on the twentieth day of the moon, we beheld in the sky from the third hour until noon what appeared to be two other suns, one on the right and one on the left of the real sun. They were not, however, as refulgent but in form and in brilliancy they shone rather

dimly. Around these suns furthermore a circular whiteness appeared which was in extent like to a city. Inside this circle shone a half circle resembling a rainbow. It was separated into four distinct colors and contained in the upper part of its curve the real sun and it reached even to the two suns already spoken of. 5. Then in the following month at the hour of midnight a shower of stars was seen falling from the sky.

XXXVI.

The battle of the Christians against the people
of Damascus.

Then Hugo, who held possession of the city of Tiberias, in the summer waged war against Damascus. After he had already been twice repulsed by them, in a third attack, with the help of God, he victoriously overcame these conquerors. He killed two hundred of them and kept as many of their horses. The rest took to flight. How wonderful to relate! Six scores of men dispersed forty times a hundred. 2. Then very soon after, the same Hugo, when he was on an expedition with King Baldwin in this same region, was struck by an arrow and killed.

XXXVII.

How the patriarch crossed the sea to Rome; the battle
of the people of Joppa with those of Ascalon.

In the year eleven hundred and seven, the patriarch of

Jerusalem, Ebremar by name, crossed the sea to go to Rome. He went there to inquire from the pope whether he should retain the patriarchate. For Daimbert, mentioned above, had recovered the office; but he died on his journey back.

2. Finally in the month of November of the same year, the people of Ascalon blazing forth with their wonted savagery, at the foot of our mountains between Ramla and Jerusalem put snares in order to seize by sudden attack one of our companies which they had learned was about to journey from Joppa to Jerusalem. 3. But when this was made known to the people of Joppa, they at once mounted their horses. When they had arrived at the place of the ambush, having been conducted thither by the reporter of the news, and when they saw for themselves what until then they had doubted, they were struck with very great alarm and fear. For they had almost five hundred knights and about a thousand footmen, while we had not more than seventy-five. 4. There was no time for them to stop to consider what they should do and there was no hope of salvation for them if they fled, and no escape from death if they fought. They bravely chose to die honorably if necessary, rather than to be made ignominious by the disgrace of flight. Therefore, they at once made a sudden attack upon the enemy and penetrated in marvelous wise into the line of the enemy dashing them to the ground and killing them. When the Saracens saw that they

were being so hard pressed in this battle, they lost their courage, for it was the will of God, and ceased to fight.

5. When our men noticed this, they pressed them still harder and those whom the Turks had expected to put to flight, made them flee. The Franks killed many of the enemy and took many of their horses. We lost not more than three men. The clients of the enemy led away some of our beasts of burden in their train but our men took a double toll from them.

XXXVIII.

Bohemond collected an army and devastated the territory of the emperor.

In that very year after Bohemond had returned from Gaul, he collected as large a number of men as he could and in the port of Brundisi in Apulia, he got his fleet ready and awaited a favorable time for crossing the sea. On the ninth of October, having embarked, they sailed to Bulgaria and landed at the port of Avalon. 2. This city was easily taken and, passing on, they besieged Durazzo on the thirteenth of October. But because this city was well provided with men and provisions, it wore out the besiegers for a long time. Lord Bohemond had indeed five thousand knights and sixty thousand foot soldiers. Then too, he allowed no women to cross the sea with him this time lest they be an impediment and burden to the army. 3. The emperor of Constantinople, Alexius by name, was at that time strongly opposed to our people and

by trickery or even by manifest violence he thwarted and tyrannized over the Christians journeying to Jerusalem by sea or by land. For this reason, Bohemond when he had collected his army, as has been said, invaded the emperor's territory and tried to seize the cities.

XXXIX.

The truce between the emperor and Bohemond.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and eight after Bohemond had besieged the city of Durazzo for a whole year, he had still accomplished nothing whatever. He had been making plots against the emperor, who also plotted against him. At length after an agreement had been broached through intermediaries they became mutual friends as the result of personal meeting. The Emperor swore to Bohemond upon the most precious relics that the pilgrims, of whom mention has been repeatedly made, as well by land as by sea through the whole extent of his dominions, should from that day forward be safe and unharmed and that no one of them should be seized or maltreated. Bohemond on his part swore to observe peace and loyalty in all things towards the emperor.¹ 3. Bohemond then when occasion offered, returned to Apulia taking with him the

1. Bohemond sailed again for the East with 5000 knights and 40,000 foot-soldiers. He again attacked Durazzo but was defeated through the bribes of Alexis and was constrained to be content with a treaty which made him a peer of the Byzantine sovereign.

lesser part of the army; the greater number though, as they had vowed, embarked upon the sea. 4. That same year Philip, King of France, died.

XL.

The siege of the city of Tripoli.

In the year eleven hundred and nine, eleven years after the capture of Jerusalem, Bertrand, the son of Count Raymond, came to Tripoli bringing with him the Genoese and their fleet of about seventy ships of war. They all landed at Tripoli. This city Bertrand intended to besiege and to take possession of by right of heredity through his father. 2. As soon as he began the siege, a quarrel arose between himself and William Jordan, his cousin, who had constantly attacked the city since Count Raymond died, and who lived in a stronghold called Mount Peregrina. He said, "The city ought to be mine by hereditary right because my father, who first undertook to assail it, built this city Mt. Peregrinus for the purpose of besieging Tripoli and while he was living, he gave it to me to hold after his death." 4. William, on the other hand, said, "But it rightly should be mine because since the death of Count Raymond I have held in check the hostile inhabitants of the land by my own forces and endeavored and labored to annex to the city the adjoining land."

5. And since, as the result of discord, greatness is wont to totter, but humbleness, as the result of harmony, to be exalted, William, because of envy, retired from the controversy; Bertrand, however, with his forces stoutly attacked the city. The former did not wish his rival to succeed; Bertrand, for his part, did not even wish William to live. They contended for uncertainties and made uncertain the sure. They contended for the things of a moment and were not laboring for eternity. They run, who, perchance, catch nothing; therefore the prize of victory remains in doubt.

"It is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."¹ They had not yet captured the city, but they were already quarreling about possessing the booty. But at the nod of God, the moments pass and the vain thoughts of men come to naught.

XLI.

The capture of Tripoli.

Without delay, King Baldwin came to this siege beseeching the Genoese that they would aid him the same year in capturing Ascalon, and Berytus, and Sidon. 2. And it happened while he was endeavoring to bring about peace between the two counts mentioned before that by some unfortunate accident, while William was riding one night he was killed instantly by a little arrow. All asked who had done it, but they

1. Romans 9, 16.

were not able to find out. On the one hand was weeping, on the other rejoicing. Here they lamented a friend; there they congratulated themselves that an enemy had been overthrown. Bertrand remained a faithful ally of King Baldwin. 3. Then the city was besieged on all sides. Those outside worked hard; those inside were hard pressed. But when the Saracens were hard pressed and no hope of escape was left them, by a sworn agreement confirmed by the king, to the effect that they would not be killed but might go in safety wherever they wished, the king and his men were allowed to go into one section of the city. 4. But while this was taking place, a great tumult for some reason or other suddenly arose amongst the Genoese sailors, who with ropes and ladders had scaled the wall and entered the city of Tripoli. Every Saracen found there was at once beheaded. Those about the king were, by the compact just made, defended. 5. Already the sun had shed its light thirty days less three upon the Tropic of Cancer, when our people took with great effort the city of Tripoli.

XLII.

How the city of Berytus was captured.

In the year eleven hundred and ten, when the month of February overwhelmed the land with the winter rains, King Baldwin set out for Berytus and besieged that city. Bertrand, Count of Tripoli, came to his aid and his army camped one

mile from the city. 2. After they had for seventy-five days, I think, pressed the city on all sides and after our ships had blockaded in the port those ships which had come there to aid the pagans, our Franks moved their wooden towers up to the wall and with great boldness sallied out from them upon the wall with their swords bared. Descending thus into the city at the same time that many others were entering through the gates the Franks pursued the enemy who were fleeing madly, and finally overcame them and took all their money. In the year eleven hundred and twelve the valor of our knights captured the city of Berytus. Twice ten times the sun had risen in the sign of the Taurus and three and four times more, when this event took place.

XLIII.

King Baldwin and Prince Tancred went out against the
Turks besieging Edessa.

When these things were done, the king returned to Jerusalem there to return thanks to God through whose help he had triumphed. Then he prepared to go against the Turks who were besieging Edessa, a city in Mesopotamia. 2. At that time, we saw for several nights a comet with its beams extending towards the south. 3. Tancred then assembled as many as he could of his army at Antioch and awaited the king for many days. They were united on the shores of

the Euphrates. 4. Having crossed the river they came immediately upon the Turks whom they sought. These Turks scouring the region in bands awaited the coming of the Frankish king. But knowing that our men were most brave fighters and wonderfully dexterous with their lances, the infidels did not dare to join battle with them, but avoiding them by an artful flight, they dared not fight and they wished not to retreat into their own lands. 5. And for many days by a tedious craftiness they had refused to fight and had tried to tire our men out; the king, consulting his best advantage and the exigency of the situation, provided the city of Edessa with food of which the inhabitants were much in need, because the Turks had devastated the surrounding region and had captured the camps and colonies by which the city of Edessa was supplied. 6. Without further delay, they returned to the aforementioned river. When, little by little, with few and small rafts, they had crossed over, the Turkish schemers and robbers came upon them from the rear and took a great number of our footmen and led them away into Persia, particularly from among the poor Armenians whom already the Turks had plundered wickedly. 7. And because it was a difficulty then to cross to them, very sorrowfully they kept on the way they had begun. Tancred was on his way to Antioch; but the king was returning to Jerusalem.

XLIV.

How Sidon, also called Sagitta, was besieged and captured by King Baldwin and the Norwegians.

Meanwhile a certain Norwegian people landed at Joppa whom God disposed to journey from the Western Sea to Jerusalem. In this fleet there were fifty-five ships. Their leader was a very handsome youth, a brother of the king of their country. 2. When the king had returned to Jerusalem he was filled with joy by the advent of these people; and he conversed with them in a very friendly manner, urging and even begging them to remain, for the love of God, some little time in the Holy Land and to aid in extending and glorifying the Christian name so that, having accomplished something for Christ, they could then return to their own land and render generous thanks to God. 3. They received the request favorably responding that they had come to the Holy Land for no other purpose. They said that wherever the king wished to go with his army, by sea they would go willingly, provided only that he supply the necessary sustenance for them. The suggestion was made on the one side; it was accepted by the other. 4. At first they were disposed to march against Ascalon, but at last having adopted a more glorious project they advanced upon and besieged Sidon. The king moved his army from Ptolemais frequently called Accon; the Norwegians proceeded by ship from Joppa.

5. Then the fleet of the emir of Babylon was lying hidden in the port of Tyre; and the Saracens in the manner of pirates often did harm to our Christian pilgrims, and stocked with provisions the maritime cities which till then the King of Babylon had possessed. But when the pagans had heard a report about the Norwegians, they did not dare to come out from the port of Tyre nor to engage in battle with them. 6. And when Sidon was reached, the king besieged it by land, the Norse by sea. And because of the military engines which our men made, the enemy inside the walls were struck with such terror that they who were mercenary soldiers begged of the King that he allow them to go out from the city safe and if it was desirable to him, that he keep the farmers because of their usefulness to him in the cultivation of the land. 7. This they sought: this they obtained. The hirelings went out thus without any pay; the farmers remained tranquilly in their former condition. Already the sun had nineteen times seen Apollo, when they took the city of Sidon in the month of December.

XLV.

The pernicious activity of the Turks and the expedition of Baldwin and Tancred against them.

In the year eleven hundred and eleven, an immense multitude of Turks came forth from Persia, who passing on through Mesopotamia, crossed the River Euphrates and besieged the

castle called Turbezel, and delayed there a month. 2. And when they could not seize it at once, because it was strongly situated, annoyed by the delay, they gave up the seige and withdrew into the region of the city of Aleppo. For cunningly they attempted to provoke Tancred to come out to fight against them, so that they with their great army might be able to intercept him and completely destroy him while he was so far away from Antioch. 3. But Tancred met cunning with cunning, and refused to compromise his fame by a foolish boldness, but he sent his legates to King Baldwin, through them humbly begging him to hasten to aid the Christian cause. Hearing this King Baldwin promised to give the aid which was requested. Committing his lands to guards, he hastened to war, taking with him Bertrand, the Count of Tripoli. 4. When the two had come to the town which they call Rugea, near Russa, there was Tancred who had for five days been awaiting the arrival of the king and who now received him with great joy. The king unpacked and pitched his tents near the River Fernus, the people of Jerusalem lodging with those of Antioch. 5. Not delaying there, they marched on to the city of Apamia which had already been subdued by Tancred and was ruled over by him. 6. Then they proceeded again against the Turks who were encamped before the city which they call Sisara. I do not know what its correct form is; but the

dwellers in this region commonly call it Chezar. It is six miles from Apamia. 7. The Turks, though, because they had heard that the Franks were coming against them, hid themselves in the bushes and in the retired portions of the aforementioned city, that they could more securely defend themselves in case they were coerced by an attack of the Franks. But, however, when they saw our men approaching towards them, they came out from the stronghold already spoken of and showed themselves to our men without, however, desiring or daring to fight and not wishing to flee. 8. But our soldiers drawn up into different corps, when they saw the enemy running here and there through the fields and not preparing themselves for battle, refused to attack them because they did not wish to take any risk. And so influenced on one hand by terror and on the other by craft, the Turks remained there. Our troops returned by the route by which we came. 9. And because provisions were lacking them and also beasts of burden they could not delay any longer there. The king returned to Jerusalem; I was there with him; Tancred went to Antioch.

XLVI.

The king besieged Tyre, also called Sur; but he accomplished nothing.

Without any delay, Baldwin hastened his preparations and advanced upon Tyre; which city is also called Soor in Hebrew, and he besieged it. After he had harassed it for four months

and more, he, as well as his men, was worn out with weariness and great labor, so he reluctantly withdrew from there. 2. For since he had caused two wooden towers, artfully built and higher than the wall, to be moved up beside the wall, by means of these he thought he would seize the city. But the Saracens, realizing that they were lost unless they, by their own skill, rendered ineffective the skill of the besiegers, opposed invention to invention and out-braved bravery. 3. When they saw that the height of our towers was far above their walls, hastily, because of their need of a remedy, by night operation they raised two towers upon the walls to such a height that from their battlements they could defend themselves valiantly and set fire to our lower towers and burn them up. Our soldiers were overcome by this misfortune and struck with grief and, with the last thread of hope broken, the king returned to Accon. 4. That homely proverb is most true, "Many a slip between cup and lip."¹ Already our people were distributing amongst themselves the booty which they expected to get; already some begrudged others their proportion of the prey; already they counted as certain the day of the capture of the city. "The horse is prepared for battle," says Solomon, "but the Lord giveth the victory".² Men confide in their own strength without considering the things which are deserving before God.

1. Literally: "At times the spoon disappoints the open mouth."

2. Prov. 21, 31.

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They invoke the Lord often with their lips; but they neglect works, and they, in accomplishing their designs, praise their own power more than they glorify the gift of the mercy of God.

XLVII.

The death of Lord Tancred.

In the year eleven hundred and twelve, Tancred, who ruled as chief over the people of Antioch, paid his debt to death. Already the sun had visited the sign of Apollo twenty-six times when Tancred entered upon the realm of the things that were to take himself his place therein. Roger, his cousin, succeeded him. That year we were entirely free from war.

XLVIII.

The signs that appeared.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred thirteen, in the month of March, and on the twenty-eighth day of the moon, we saw the sun from early morning to the first hour, and later that that, diminish by losing, as it were, a certain part of itself and the part which had begun to wane above, finally as if in circular form came down to the lower part. However, the sun did not lose its brilliancy, for it contracted, I think, not more than a fourth part of its surface and for some time was crescent-shaped. This was an eclipse, which thus caused the sun to fail us.

XLIX.

XLIX.

The battle against the Turks in which the king and the Christians were overcome and through which many evils came. Then in the summer time the Turks, having gathered together, crossed the Euphrates to advance upon Jerusalem and as they thought, to destroy us Christians. Leaving to their right the territory of Antioch, and traversing Syria not far from the city of Apamia, and leaving to their left the city of Damascus and traveling through the regions of Phoenicia between Tyre and Caesarea Philippi, which is called Paneas, they would be able to attack King Baldwin. But, when he had learned of their advent, moving his army, he came out from Ptolemais, that is Accon, against them. 2. Providing what they thought necessary for themselves and while we did not know what they were planning to do, they went around the sea of Galilee through the land of Nephtali and of Zabulon to the south extremity of the aforementioned sea and hedged themselves in between two rivers; namely Jor and Dan. 3. The island was so strongly situated between two bridges that those who were there could not be attacked because of the narrow bridge entrances. When the Turks had pitched their tents there, they sent out at once two thousand of their men across the bridge to prepare an ambush for our men who they did not doubt would come up there at once. 4. When, then, the king had advanced there for the purpose of pitching his camp near this bridge which leads to

Tiberias, he saw about five hundred Turks who were rushing forth from their hiding places to attack us. Some of our men unwisely rushed upon them and did not fear to follow them even as far as where the two thousand were in hiding. These rushed out and repulsed us with a strenuous attack and put us to flight with three times the loss. 5. O sorrow! Our great sins contributed a great disgrace on that day. For the king fled leaving behind his flag there, together with his fine tent with its many furnishings and silver dishes; the patriarch¹ who was present, likewise fled. We lost about thirty of our best knights and twelve hundred footmen. 6. For the twelfth time, the sun had risen in the sign of Cancer when this pagan race cruelly scattered the imprudent Franks. 7. All of the kings' troops were not present there. Rodger of Antioch, son of Richard, was not there yet, though at the request of the king and for the love of God he was coming from Antioch as rapidly as possible. A part only of the people of Tripoli had already joined the royal army. For this reason they were all dejected and they blamed very much the rashness of the king in that, without consulting them, he had rushed upon the enemy with troops too few and disorderly. 8. And

1. This patriarch was the same Arnulf who had held this office from August to December 1099 when he was replaced by Daimbert. On the death of Gibelin in April 1112, Arnulf was again chosen. The bishop of Orange deposed him in 1115, but he was reinstated.

because our men were then unable to harm the Turks in any way, they camped not far from them, so that all day they could each watch the other. 9. The chief of their army was Malduk, who had joined Tuldequin, the king of Damascus, to himself as an ally. This Tuldequin led a great number of troops; Malduk himself had gathered together an innumerable host of the Syrians subjected to him. 10. The Turks were in a valley and the Franks upon a height. The Turks did not dare to go out from their island nor were the Franks able to attack them. The ones were fearless; their enemy fearful; the former were cunning; the latter able. The heat of summer oppressed both, nor were they able to bring an end to such suffering. 11. Those not present in the expedition wondered why their colleagues delayed so long. The Saracens whom we had subjected to our selves abandoned us and constrained us on every side as if they were enemies. The Turks, besides, going out in bands from the camp, devastated our land, and the booty and supplies they sent by our subdued Saracens to their own army. Sichar, which city we call Neapolis, they not only took but destroyed with the help of the Saracens over whom we were ruling in the mountains. 12. But the people of Ascalon, Arabs and Saracens, altho a people few in number, marched upon Jerusalem. On a certain day they proceeded even to the outer defenses of the city and set on fire the harvests already gathered. They

wounded with their arrows some of our men on the battlements of the wall, but many of their own were mortally wounded. The soldiers were absent from the city, for they had gone against the enemy. The following night the people of Ascalon retired, to the great consolation of our men who feared being besieged by them.

L.

The great fear which then beset everyone.

At that time it was almost impossible for a messenger sent by any of us to get to the king or for one from him to come to us because of the snares of the enemy; and so those in the city did not know what those in the camp were doing, nor did those in the field know what was going on in the city. In many fields the ripe harvest withered and no harvesters went into the fields to gather it,¹ for they did not dare to do so. In that year the harvest was very abundant. But when the sea is rough, men fear to fish. Everything was in suspense as far as everyone was concerned, and all awaited to see to whom God would give the victory. Our Christians ceased their works and all labors except those which were necessary to repair the damage to the city or to the walls.

1. Math. 9, 37.

LI.

The earthquake. The marriage of Baldwin to the
Countess of Sicily.

Meanwhile, we twice felt an earthquake, on the eighteenth of July and then again on the ninth of August. The first happened in the middle of the night, the second at the third hour of the day. 2. Those wolfish Turks awaited for two months an opportune time for annihilating us, or, at least of conquering us; but they were unable to do it, for our army was continually recruited by the pilgrims who were wont to arrive from time to time. The army of Antioch did not leave us and the Turks retreated into the regions of Damascus. 3. King Baldwin with his army returned to Ptolemais where he found the countess of Sicily who had been the wife of Count Roger, brother of Robert Guiscard. Now she was to be the wife of Baldwin. 4. Very soon after, Malduk was killed in Damascus by a certain Saracen who with a dagger which he had concealed under his cloak, stabbed him thrice. He thereby caused a double homicide; for when he had thus killed Malduk, he himself was at once murdered by those who witnessed his deed. That is a cruel victory in which he who conquers is conquered. And so it turned out according to the saying of the philosopher: "Fortune is of glass; while it is shining, it breaks." 5. Malduk was very rich and powerful; among

the Turks very renowned, and in his actions, very skilful, but not strong enough to resist the will of God. The Lord permitted him to molest us for a while, but willed that he should later perish by a vile death and by a feeble hand.

LII.

The earthquake felt in many places.

In the year eleven hundred fourteen an infinite swarm of locusts came forth from a district of Arabia and proceeded to Jerusalem. They destroyed during many days in the months of April and May, much of our crops. 2. On the feast of St. Lawrence there was an earthquake. But sometime after, on the Ides of November, an earthquake near the city of Mamistra destroyed a part of the city. 3. Likewise a greater quake, the worst ever heard of, disturbed the cities of the region around Antioch, and destroyed many cities wholly or in part, the houses as well as the walls and a number of the people died, buried under the ruins. 4. This disturbance shook to such a degree the city of Marasch, a city, I judge, about sixty miles north of Antioch, that the houses and the fortifications were completely ruined and, oh great sorrow! all the inhabitants perished. 5. Another city called Trialetth near the River Euphrates was likewise completely destroyed.

LIII.

The army of the Turks and the siege of the people of Joppa and of Ascalon and of Babylon.

In the year eleven hundred and fifteen, the Turks, resuming their accustomed fierceness and courage, in the month of June, very stealthily crossing the Euphrates, invaded Syria and set up camp between Antioch and Damascus, before the city of Chezar where four years before they had likewise made a stand, as has already been stated. 2. Tuldequinus, the king of Damascus, knew and realized that he was no less hated by the Turks than were we Christians because he had deceitfully plotted the death of Malduk a few years before this, as we have recorded above. This Malduk had been the chief satrap of the army. So Tuldequinus made a truce with King Baldwin and Rebert, chief of Antioch in order that by the union of the three as it were a triple chain¹ would be made which would not be easily broken by the Turks. For he feared that if he remained alone, he, together with his kingdom, would be completely destroyed. 3. Urged indeed by necessity and advised by the embassy from Antioch, the king came to the battle which he thought was inevitable. But when the Turks had heard that the king had approached near to them, which approach the people of Antioch and of Damascus had awaited for almost three months, fearing the danger of losing their lives if they contended against such a great number, although in truth they were still more numerous, they withdrew quietly and hid themselves in caverns not very far from us. When they had done this, the king and the rest thought that they

1. Eccles 4, 12.

had departed entirely from the regions occupied by us, and so he returned to Tripoli. 4. But while these things were thus being accomplished, the people of Ascalon, knowing that the region of Jerusalem was without knights, rushed upon Joppa, our city, and besieged it by sea as well as by land. There was there the Babylonian fleet of almost seventy vessels, of which some were tririmes, others were provided with sharp prows and some were ordinary cargo ships. 5. The Turks, some advancing from the sea and some from the land, attacked the city. And when, by means of ladders which they had brought with them, they succeeded in ascending the wall, they were vigorously repulsed by the citizens who were, however, few and weakened by maladies. 6. But when they saw that they were not able to accomplish anything, as they had expected, except to set fire to the gates of the city, they feared that perchance the people of Jerusalem, who had already received the report, would bring aid to Joppa; so those who had come by land returned to Ascalon and those who had come by sea sailed to Tyre. 7. After about ten days the people from Ascalon returned to Joppa hoping that, well prepared, they might by a sudden attack destroy us whom they expected to find unprovided. Then the all powerful Lord who had done so once before, now a second time protected and saved us.

Besides while defending themselves, our men killed many of the enemy and took a number of their horses. They began to besiege the city by hurling stones and, as before, they tried to enter with ladders which they had brought with them in small boats. But when after six hours of the day they had worn themselves out, sadly they retired carrying away their dead.

LIV.

The combat of the Turks with the people of Antioch in which the latter gained the victory.

But the Turks spoken of above, when they had learned that our army had returned, retired to their former position and scoured the regions of Syria. They seized all the castles that they could and ravaged and destroyed villages and country and led off with them captive men and women.

2. But as soon as the news had reached the people of Antioch who had already left, they returned quickly against the Turks by the way they had departed. And when they had advanced towards the enemy and had seen that their tents were nearer than they had first thought, they ordered the line of battle to be drawn up at once and they descended into the plain with flags unfurled, and rode against the Turks. The battle was near the town of Sarmit. 3. As soon as the Turks had seen them, their division of archers immediately offered vigorous resistance; but the Franks, moved by a strong spirit

and choosing either to overcome them, if God so willed, or to be overcome with His permission, rather than to be thus molested by them every year, threw themselves with a wonderful courage into the place where they saw the densest crowd. 4. The Turks at first resisted for a little while, then finally they quickly turned their backs in flight upon those who smote and slew them. It is estimated that three thousand of them were killed and many were captured. Those who escaped death, saved themselves by flight. They lost their tents, in which were found much property and much money the value of which was estimated at three hundred thousand byzants.¹ They left our captives there, Franks as well as Syrians, their wives, and their maid-servants, and many camels. Thousands of mules and of horses were counted. 5. Indeed God is wonderful in all His ways. For while the people of Jerusalem together with those of Antioch and of Damascus were prepared for battle, they accomplished nothing at all. For when did the victory of the fighters ever depend upon the number of men? Remember the Machabees, Gedeon, and many others, who, confiding not in their own power but in God's, with a few men overcame many thousands. 6. So, by these descriptions,

1. A byzant was a gold coin used in the Byzantine empire.

the deed shall be known to those who are to come. Perfidious fortune deceived the Turks just three nights before the constellation Virgo went out. Their defeat demonstrated clearly to all that before the end one ought never to think the issue of anything certain. 7. In the same year again the city of Mamistra was overthrown by an earthquake. Other places around Antioch suffered not less. 8. That year the bishop of Orange who was sent to Jerusalem by the pope, deposed Arnulf the patriarch from his seat. Wherefore Arnulf afterwards went to Rome and recovered the patriarchate.

LV.

The stronghold built in Arabia.

That year King Baldwin went into Arabia and there built a stronghold upon a certain mountain strongly situated not more than about three days journey from the Red Sea and about four days from Jerusalem, and he placed in it a garrison to rule over this country and to look out for the interest of the Christians. This stronghold in his own honor, he determined to call Montreal¹ because in a short time and with a few men, but with great courage, he had built it.

LVI.

The King's expedition into Arabia and what he saw there.
In the year eleven hundred and sixteen when the king

1. Montreal or Shobek is beyond the Dead Sea on the caravan route between Egypt and Damascus.

wished to revisit his stronghold in Arabia, he with about two hundred knights left Jerusalem, and advanced as far as the Red Sea to see what he had not yet seen and perchance, to find on the way something of which he was in need.

2. Then they came to the city of Elim¹ on the shore of this sea, where, as we read in the Scriptures, the people of Israel camped after crossing the sea. When those who dwelt there had heard of the king's coming, they withdrew and, embarking on their little ships, betook themselves to sea in great fear.

3. But when the king and his followers had examined the country as long as they wished to, they returned to their stronghold at Montreal, thence to Jerusalem. 4. When they reported to us the things which they had seen, we were delighted, as well with their words as with the sea shells and certain very precious kinds of stones which they had brought and showed to us. I myself very eagerly questioned them to find out what the sea was like, for I until then had wondered whether the sea was salt or fresh, whether it was a pond or a lake, whether it had inlets and outlets like the sea of Galilee, or was confined by its own dimensions as the Dead Sea, which received the Jordan but has no outlet. For it is bounded on the south by Segor, a city of Lot.²

1. Exodus 15, 27. Numbers 33, 9.
2. Genesis 13, 19; 19, 20-22.

LVII.

The Red Sea.

This sea is called Red because the sand and the stones in its bed are red and so to those looking into it it appears red; but, however, in a vessel its water is as limpid and white as that of any other sea. They say this sea is derived from the Ocean protruding like a tongue at the south and extending northward as far as Elim already spoken of, where it ends not farther from Mt. Sinai than a horse can travel in one day.

2. From the Red Sea or from Elim mentioned above to the Mediterranean, which is the way one passes from Joppa to Ascalon or Gaza or Damietta, they estimate the distance to equal a four or five days' journey on horseback. In the region between these two seas lies the whole of Egypt, and Numidia, and Ethiopia which Gehon, the river of Paradise, which is the Nile, compasseth as we read in Scripture.

LVIII.

The River Gehon.

I am able to admire, but in no way to explain, how and why this river Gehon, which, according to the Scriptures,¹ went out with the three others from paradise seems to have found a second source, for on the East it has the Red Sea

1. Genesis 2, 13.

and on the west the Mediterranean into which it flows. There lies between itself and the Orient, in which we know Paradise is located, the Red Sea. So I greatly wonder how then it resumed its rise on the opposite side of the Red Sea, and how it crossed the sea, or whether it did cross it.

LIX.

The Euphrates.

We add the same thing about the Euphrates which takes its rise again in Armenia and afterwards flows for, I judge, about twenty-four miles through Mesopotamia to the city of Edessa.

2. Let him who wishes inquire what is the reason for this; let him who is able learn it. I have by inquiry often tried to learn this from many persons; but I have never been able to find one who could satisfy me. I abandon the explanation of this to Him who has most marvelously bound up the waters in His clouds; and who caused these waters to spring forth in mountain, and hill, and valley, and who has furnished them many-cleft ways for their rapid courses through hidden ways and finally wonderfully leads and restores to them the sea. 3. When the end of the year was approaching, the king was attacked by an abdominal malady and feared death. For this reason he dismissed his consort Adelaide, the above mentioned Countess of Sicily, whom he had unlawfully married, since she whom he had lawfully married in the city of Edessa still lived.

LX.

The great pestilence of the locusts.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred and seventeen, this queen departed from the port of Ptolemais on the day on which, in accordance with the rule of the church, the greater litany is chanted, and with seven ships in her retinue she crossed over to Sicily. 2. Then in the month of May an infinite number of locusts swarmed into the land of Jerusalem and devoured still more completely than usual the vines, and crops, and trees of all kinds. They seemed to advance in the way like an army of men in good order and just as if arranged beforehand in council, when they had executed their daily expedition, some on foot and some flying, they chose for themselves a common resting place. So when they had eaten up everything green and had gnawed into the bark of the trees the gnawing locusts as well as the ordinary kind departed in swarms. 3. Oh the wickedness of men, who persist in their wicked perversity! How often and how much our Creator touches us by His reproaches and admonishes us, terrifies us by His prodigies, arouses us by His threats, instructs us by His lessons, and compels us by His strokes, but persisting always in our iniquities, we scorn His admonitions and disdainfully violate His precepts. 4. What wonder that the Saracens or

other wicked lords should take from us our lands, since we ourselves reach out robbing hands towards the fields of our neighbors whom we cheat dishonestly either by the furrow of the plow share, or we surreptitiously cheat them by covetous deception and wickedly enrich ourselves from their possessions. 5. What wonder it, by divine permission, the field mice destroy our crops when they are just taking root in the earth or that later, already grown to ears, they are devoured by locusts, or even when in the granaries it is destroyed by vermin of some kind or damaged by rotting, since we sacrilegiously retain or fraudulently sell the tenth part which belongs to God?

LXI.

The sign of the moon.

But in the following month, which was June, the moon appeared to us who were looking at it in the sky towards dawn, first entirely red; very soon though the red color changed to very black, so that the force of its light was lost for almost two hours. This phenomenon happened on the thirteenth of the month. If it had taken place on the fourteenth we would have certainly thought that it was an eclipse. 2. Therefore we took it to be a portent. Some conjectured that the red signified blood which would flow in the battles; others that the black meant future

famine. But we committed ourselves to the disposition and providence of God, who foretold to His disciples that there would be signs in the sun and in the moon.¹ 3. He moreover as He wills, makes the earth tremble and then calms it, The same thing subsequently happened in the same month and in the dead of night on the twenty-sixth of June.

LXII.

The fort built near Tyre.

Then the king built a fort near the city of Tyre, within five miles from the city which he named Scandalion, interpreted the Field of the Lion; he repaired all the breaches in it, and placed in it a garrison to guard the aforesaid city.

LXIII.

The marvelous sign in the sun.

In the month of December of the same year on the fifth night after the eclipse of the moon which happened on the thirteenth day of June, we all saw the sky in the night specked in the north with brightness the color of fire or of blood. Seeing this sign reinforced by other wonderful prodigies, we greatly marveled. 2. For in the midst of this red, which at first had begun to increase little by little, we saw rays of white rise in a remarkable way

1 Luke 21, 25.

in great number from the bottom upwards, now in front, then behind, and then in the center. In the lower part the sky appeared white, as if it were just daybreak, as the sky is wont to brighten just before the sun rises. In front of this meteor and in the same part of the sky, we perceived a whiteness as if the moon were to rise then, whence the earth on all sides and all other things near to us shone with a clear whiteness.

3. If this event had taken place in the morning, we all would have said that the day was bright. We conjectured, therefore, that either much blood would be shed in war or that some thing else no less disastrous was presaged. But what was uncertain to us we humbly committed to the Lord, our God, to be disposed according to His pleasure. 4. But some, however, interpreted this prodigy as presaging the death of the great ones who would die that same year. And subsequently these did die; Pope Pascal in the month of January; Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, in the month of April; also his wife in Sicily whom he had left; Arnulf the patriarch of Jerusalem; the emperor Alexius of Constantinople and many others of the great ones of the world.

LXIV.

The death of Baldwin I.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred eighteen, and towards the end of the month of March, King Baldwin advanced upon, and devastating, captured the city which is called Pharamia.

On a certain day while walking with some of his men he, in good spirits, approached the river which the Greeks call the Nile and the Hebrews the Gehon and which is near this town. These knights speared very dexterously some fish found there and carried them to their camp near the city and they ate them. Then the king felt inwardly sickened from the pain of his old wound, which just then was renewed with great violence.

2. This news was at once told to his men and hearing of his illness, they were all sad and disturbed in kindly sympathy with him. It was decided that they return to Jerusalem, but since the king was unable to ride they prepared a litter for him with the aid of tent poles, and on this they bore him. And when the first signal of the herald was given, they were ordered to return to the Holy City.

3. But when they had come to the city which is called Laris, Baldwin, his sickness having grown worse and finally completely wasted him, died. They took his entrails out, washed them with salt water, laid them in a coffin, and hastened on to Jerusalem.

4. On the day of the customary carrying of palm branches, by the order of God and by an incredible coincidence, the funeral train carrying its mournful burden met the religious procession when it was descending from the Mount of Olives into the valley of Jehosophat.

5. At the sight and as if he were a relative,

instead of singing, all who were present offered grief; instead of joy, weeping. The Franks wept; the Syrians grieved, and even the Saracens who saw it. For who is there who is able to control himself and to keep from weeping at such a sight? Then returning to the city, the priest and people performed the ceremonies proper and customary in regard to the dead.

6. They buried him on Golgotha beside Duke Godfrey, his brother. 7. The Epitaph of King Baldwin:

When this king died, the race of the Franks wept in pity for him who was their defense, their strength, and their support. For like Joshua, he was the right arm of his own people, the terror of his enemies and their adversary, and the valiant leader of his own kingdom. He took from the cruel and shameful enemy the cities of Accon, Caesarea, Berytus, and Sidon. Later he annexed to his kingdom and subjected to his authority the lands of the Arabs or at least those which bordered on the Red Sea. He captured Tripoli and with no less violence, he took Arsuth. Besides he did many other honorable things. 8. He occupied the throne eighteen years, then he passed away to enter into life. The sun had sixteen times visited the sign of the Aries when the great King Baldwin died.

THE END
OF
THE SECOND BOOK.

Beginneth the Third Book on the deeds
of Baldwin II.

I.

On Easter Baldwin is crowned King.

Therefore, upon the death of Baldwin, the people of Jerusalem called a council at once, lest because they were without a king they might be judged weak; and they chose the Count of Edessa, Baldwin, the cousin of the deceased king. He fortunately had crossed the Euphrates and had come to Jerusalem to consult with his predecessor. He was elected unanimously and consecrated on the day of the Pasch.¹

II.

The gathering of the Babylonian army.

That same year when the summer had come, the Babylonians gathered together a very large army estimated at fifteen thousand knights and twenty thousand footmen, with which they expected to destroy entirely in battle the Christians of Jerusalem. When they had proceeded as far as Ascalon, the king of Damascus, Tuldequinus, having crossed the

1. April 14, 1118.

Jordan together with his army, advanced to aid them. And more than that, a fleet by no means small, and dangerous came at that time by sea. The ships manned for war as well as those loaded with provisions went to Tyre. The people who had arrived by land remained at Ascalon awaiting the combat. 2. Then king Baldwin with those people of Antioch and of Tripoli whom he had commanded by messengers to come to this struggle, hastened to make war against the army of the enemy. When they had passed by Azota, an ancient city of the Philistines, he ordered the tents to be taken off the beasts of burden and pitched not far from the Babylonians so that the two armies could daily be seen by each other. 3. But because the one greatly feared to attack the other, and because they preferred to live rather than to die, for about three months both sides for this reason managed to put off the combat until the Saracens, worn out by the delay, refused to fight; and the people of Antioch returned to their own, leaving three hundred of their men of arms to the king to strengthen him if need be, in the fight, in case the people of Egypt should attempt to renew the strife.

III.

The battle and slaughter of the
people of Antioch who were fighting with the Turks.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred nineteen, Pope Gelasius, the successor of Paschal, died on the twenty-ninth

day of January; and he was buried at Cluny. Calixtus, who had been the archbishop of the city of Vienna, was chosen as his successor. 2. We do not wish to encumber our history by enumerating all the unfortunate events which took place that year in Antioch - how Roger, lord of Antioch, together with his chiefs and people, went out to fight against the Turks, and was killed near the town of Arthasia; and how seven thousand of the people of Antioch were killed and, indeed, not more than twenty of the Turks. 3. Nor is it to be wondered at that God permitted Roger and his men to be confounded since, reveling in riches of all kinds, they in their sin did not fear Him nor respect men. 4. The prince himself shamefully committed adultery with many others while living with his own wife. He deprived of his inheritance his own lord, the son of Bohemond who was staying in Apulia with his mother. He and his leaders, living in pride and luxury, were guilty of many other sins. To them that verse of David may be appropriately applied, "Their iniquity has come forth as it were from fatness."¹ Scarcely indeed was moderation preserved in the midst of copious delights.

IV.

King Baldwin, bearing the Holy Cross, hastened to the aid of the people of Antioch.

1. Psalms 72, 7.

This massacre of the people of Antioch was followed by a second great victory, which, through the favor of God, very marvelously fell to the people of Jerusalem. 2. For when the aforementioned Roger had notified the king of Jerusalem through messengers that he should hasten to his aid since the Turks with a great army were attacking him, the king abandoned every other affair, and went with his men to fight the people of Damascus not far from the Jordan. When, accompanied by the patriarch who carried the Holy Cross, he had violently driven them from the lands of his own region he rushed on to aid the people of Antioch, taking with him the bishop of Caesarea¹ who afterwards bore most honorably the cross of the Lord in battle against the enemy. The king brought there with him the Count of Tripoli. Their united forces were two hundred fifty knights. 3. When the king arrived at Antioch, he sent an embassy to the people of Edessa, ordering them to hasten by forced march to the war which they were planning to make upon the Turks. After those who were with the king had joined the people of Antioch who had fled from the previous battle or who had escaped death by some chance, a battle was commenced near the city called Sardanium about fourteen miles distant from Antioch. Our troops were seven hundred men or arms; the Turks were twenty thousand.

1. Ebremar, former patriarch of Jerusalem.

Their leader was Gazi.¹ 4. I ought not omit to say that a certain Turk, noticing that one of our men knew the Persian language, addressed him in these words: "I say to you, Frank, Why do you make a fool of yourself, why do you labor in vain? You can in no wise prevail against us, indeed; you are few, we many. Besides, your God has abandoned you, seeing that you do not keep your law as you ought nor preserve amongst yourselves faith and truth. We know this; we have heard it; we see it ourselves. Tomorrow, without doubt, we shall conquer and overcome you." Oh, what great shame to the Christians, that the pagans reproach us about the strength of our faith! For this reason we ought to be exceedingly ashamed and, repenting, correct ourselves weeping for our sins.

V.

The battle, the victory attained by the power of the Holy Cross and the reception of it into Antioch.

Therefore a very severe battle, as has been said, was begun on the following day, the issue of which was for a long time dubious until the Most High compelled the Turks to flee and

1. The Prince of Maridin, which city is 170 Km east of Edessa. This prince was notorious for his wicked cruelty.

wonderfully animated the Christians against them. Attacking them in separate corps, the Christians dispersed the Turks so completely, not desisting until they reached Antioch, that they were not able to join their colleagues beyond in battle. However, God dispersed the Turks since some fugitives fled into Persia and some went for safety even to the city of Aleppo. 2. Moreover the king of Jerusalem and the Count of Tripoli with their men had shown themselves true followers of the glorious cross, and those who like servants had borne this holy sign to war, always fighting honorably about it and not deserting, stood valiantly on the field of battle. The Omnipotent God snatched them through the power of His most sacred and precious cross from the hands of a wicked race and preserved them for some future work for His sake. 3. When the king had guarded this plain for two days and none of the Turks had returned to fight, taking up the Holy Cross, he advanced to Antioch. 4. The patriarch of Antioch went out to meet the most Holy Cross and the king and the archbishop who was carrying it; and all rendered thanks to God and paid sweetest praises to the Most High who, through the virtue of His most glorious cross had given the victory to the Christians and who had caused this cross to be returned unharmed to Christianity. They wept from devotion; they

sang from joy; adoring, they inclined with repeated genuflections before the venerated cross and rising they, with uplifted faces, rendered thanks. 5. Twice the sun had shown her light in the sign of Virgo when that battle was fought by which the Parthians were thus overcome; at that time the crescent of the moon had been shining clear for ten days.

VI.

The reception of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

When the Franks had rested a short time in Antioch, they determined, as was proper, to return to Jerusalem with the blessed cross of the Savior. So the king, having supplied as many soldiers as was necessary, sent it to Jerusalem and on the day of the celebration of the feast of its exaltation,¹ with the Holy Cross they entered Jerusalem rejoicing, as did the Emperor Heraclius when as a victor he recovered it from the Persians. All who were in the city received the Cross with ineffable rejoicing.

1. Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14.

VII.

The King obtained the principality of Antioch.

Because necessity demanded it, the king remained in Antioch until he arranged to have the lands of the deceased chiefs bestowed under right conditions upon the living and had united their widows, for there were many widows there, to husbands with honest affection, and had reformed many other things needing reform. Up to this time, he had been simply King of Jerusalem, but by the death of Roger, the prince of Antioch, he was made king of Antioch by the addition of this other kingdom. 2. I, therefore, admonish the king and I beseech that he love God with his whole heart, and with all his understanding, and with all his strength¹ and that as a faithful servant, with thanksgiving he subject himself completely to God and that he who has found God such a friend to him confess himself to be His most humble servant. For what predecessor of his has the Lord so elevated? He made some the possessor of one kingdom but him He has made possessor of two. Without trickery, without the shedding of blood, without the trouble of litigation, but peacefully, by divine ordination, he acquired it. 3. The Lord gave over to him the land far and wide from Egypt to Mesopotamia.

1. Mark 12, 33.

God has shown a bountiful hand towards him; let him then take care not to have a grudging hand towards God, who gives abundantly and does not grudge.¹ If he desire to be a king, let him endeavor to rule justly. 4. When after having accomplished many undertakings, the king returned from Antioch to Jerusalem, he was, together with his wife, crowned in Bethlehem with a regal crown on the day of the Nativity of the Savior.²

VIII.

The remission of the tax.

One thousand and twenty years after the birth of the Savior, King Baldwin II absolved from all tax those who wished to bring in through the ports of Jerusalem grain; both barley and vegetables; and he said that whether Christian or Saracen they would have free passage in and out and the privilege of selling where and to whomsoever they wished, without danger of molestation. Besides he remitted the customary tax of the bushel.

1. Ep. St. James 1, 5.

2. Fulcher has mentioned that on Easter, April 14, 1118, Baldwin had been consecrated in Jerusalem. See I, 1. Evidently this was only provisional, for not until December 25, 1119 was the crown really placed upon his head.

IX.

The gathering of the Turks and the expedition of the king against them.

When then we had passed six months of that year in Jerusalem, messengers came from Antioch announcing to the king and to all of us who were present that the Turks had crossed the Euphrates and had entered Syria to molest the Christians as they had already done in the past. 2. Then having taken council as the occasion demanded, the king in all humility begged of the patriarch and clergy that the victorious cross of the Lord be entrusted to him, saying that by it he and his men ought to be fortified for battle, since he believed that the Turks would not be expelled from the country which they already were devastating without a hard battle. And because he did not trust in his own strength nor in the possession of great numbers, he preferred that cross together with the Lord's help and favor, to many thousands of men. For without this cross neither he himself nor the others would have dared to undertake the battle. 3. Because of this, there arose a difference of opinion, certainly admissible, between those going to war and those remaining in Jerusalem as to whether or not in such a crisis for Christianity the cross ought to be carried to

Antioch, and whether the Church at Jerusalem ought to be deprived of such a treasure. And we said, "Alas, what will we do if the Lord permits that we lose the Cross in battle as the Israelites once¹ lost the ark of the Covenant?" 4. But why record more? Necessity admonished us; reason led us. And when after many tears had been shed in devotion and canticles in praise of it had been sung and the king and patriarch and all the people besides had, barefooted, accompanied the cross outside the city, the King in tears departed with it while the people returned to the Holy City. This was the month of June. 5. Therefore they went to Antioch which the Turks already were pressing so hard that the inhabitants scarcely dared to walk a mile outside the city. But hearing of the approach of the King, the Turks at once retired from there and betook themselves to the city of Aleppo where they would be safer. There they were joined by three thousand soldiers of Damascus. 6. The king, by a bold march, approached the enemy for the purpose of giving battle and amidst the flight of arrows many fell on both sides, killed or wounded; but the Turks refused to engage in battle. After three days of this strife without any positive advantage on either side, our men returned

1. I Kings 4, 11.

to Antioch, and the greater part of the Turks withdrew into Persia, their country. 7. As for the rest, the King sent the Holy Cross in proper honor back to Jerusalem and he himself remained in the region of Antioch to protect the country. On the thirteenth day before the Kalends of November, we received with great joy this glorious Cross of the Savior into the Holy City.

X.

The expedition of the king against the people of
Damascus and the destruction of the fort.

In the year eleven hundred twenty-one, after the Incarnation of the Savior, the king collected his troops from Sidon as far as Joppa and on the third day before the Nones of July he crossed the Jordan and marched against the king of Damascus who with his Arab allies was, without any one restraining him, devastating those of our lands bordering closest on the Tiberiad. 2. But as soon as he perceived that Baldwin with his army was advancing towards him, this king straightway gathering up his tents and, avoiding a battle, betook himself as a fugitive into his own country. 3. Our king

pursued him for two days but this people did not dare to fight with him; so he returned to a certain fort which the previous year Tuldequinus, the king of Damascus, had caused to be constructed for the purpose of opposing us. This fort, we judge, is about sixteen miles distant from the Jordan; and this the king besieged, forced with machines, attacked with violence and took possession of when it surrendered. By the conditions determined upon, he allowed the guards and protectors of the city, about forty Turks, to depart alive and then he razed the fort to the ground. 4. The inhabitants of the region gave the name, Jarras, to that fort which was constructed of large square stones within a city gloriously built in ancient times in a strong and admirable situation. But when the king realized that it could not be occupied without great difficulty nor without great effort supplied with as many men and provisions as would be necessary, he ordered it to be destroyed and the inhabitants to return home. 5. This city, once celebrated in Arabia, was called Gerasa. It bordered on Mount Galaad in the territory of the tribe of Manasses. Thus this year passed, happy in almost every way, peaceful, and prosperous, and rich in all fruits of the earth.

XI.

Another expedition of the king against the Count of Tripoli; thence a second time against the Turks.

In the year of our Lord eleven hundred twenty-two the archbishop of Tyre, Odo by name, was appointed in Jerusalem. He was the first of the Latin race to hold the See of Tyre. Then the king departed to Etolemis, where collecting his people, foot and horse, he moved his army, and carrying with him the Holy Cross, marched upon Tripoli. This he did to avenge an injury and act of spite which the Count of this region, Pontius by name, had inflicted in refusing to obey the king, as his father, Bertrand, had done. But, by the will of God, and to the credit of both the leaders, the Count listened to reason; and he and the king were made mutual friends. 5. When these two were pacified, there arrived there a certain archbishop sent by the people of Antioch to exhort the king to hasten as soon as possible to aid them against the Turks who were already ravaging their land without any leader resisting them. 4. Hearing this, the king set out at once, having with him three hundred chosen knights and four hundred most brave foreign allies. The rest returned either to Jerusalem or to their homes. But when the king had arrived at the place where he had heard that the Turks were collected, namely around a certain town

called Sardanias which they were already besieging, they left the place, not wishing to meet the king. When he heard this, Baldwin withdrew to Antioch. 5. But the Turks returned to renew the siege. The king was informed of this; and he at once rode out against them. But this race, since it was truly Parthian in its preparation for battle as well as its equipment, never remaining long in one place, have not trained themselves to fight in a certain place but, avoiding entirely an encounter, withdrew as if completely conquered. Their method is as follows: quicker than can be imagined they turn now their face, now their back, to those attacking them, and they feign flight when one would not expect it; and then they attack on a sudden return. 6. Blessed, therefore, be the standard of the Most Holy Cross of the Savior, the help present everywhere to all Christians, which protects and consoles and fortifies the faithful! That we Christians returned without any loss to our own lands was wrought by the Cross. The number of the enemy was estimated at ten thousand soldiers; ours at twelve hundred, not counting the body of footmen. 7. And when the king had returned to Tripoli with the Cross of the Savior, trouble had arisen and he with some men returned to Antioch. The Holy Cross was borne into Jerusalem amidst great rejoicing and deposited

in its place with great honor on the twelfth day before the Kalends of October. This was the time in which Libra balances equal hours, equal in number as well as alike in length.

XII.

The capture of the count of Edessa.

Meanwhile Joscelin, Count of Edessa, was captured and Galeran, his cousin, with him; and not less than one hundred of his men were killed. These Balac, a certain emir, intercepted with the aid of cunning as well as ambuscade. 2. That year was as rich as the preceding one had been in fruits of all kinds which are reaped in the fields. One bushel of wheat was sold for one denar or forty bushels for the gold piece. Then neither the Parthians nor the Babylonians undertook any wars.

XIII.

The peace between the pope and the emperor.

In the year eleven hundred twenty-three after the coming of the Savior, in the first indiction, Henry, the king of the Germans, was reconciled to Pope Calixtus.¹ Thanks be to God that the throne and the priesthood were united by the bonds of love!

1. By the Concordat of Worms, 1122, the investiture struggle was ended. The emperor Henry V renounced the right of spiritual investiture with ring and crozier but received instead with the right of lay investiture with the sceptre, the sign of the temporal, but not of the spiritual authority. Calixtus II was the pope.

XIV.

The Venetians preparing to hasten to Jerusalem.

In the same year the Venetians were moved to sail to Syria with a great fleet in order to extend, with the help of God and for the sake and the exaltation of Dhristianity, Jerusalem and the adjacent territory. The preceding year these Venetians had left their own land, and, awaiting a favorable season for sailing, had spent the winter on an island called Cyprus. 2. Their fleet was composed of one hundred twenty ships, not counting the yawls and skiffs. Some of the vessels were beaked; some were merchant vessels; and some were tririmes. These last were constructed with three stories and in them a great quantity of long timber was placed and from this the engineers made machines with the help of which the high walls of the city could be scaled and seized.

XV.

When they set out.

So when in the springtime the waterways were open to their vessels, the Venetians did not hesitate to accomplish what they had long since vowed to God. After having made ample preparations for the sea voyage and having set on fire all the huts in which they had spent the winter, they invoked

the help of God and, amidst the sounding of many trumpets, gladly extended and hoisted the sails. 2. The ships painted in various colors delighted by their pleasing brightness those who beheld them from afar. On these vessels were thrice five thousand armed men, Venetians as well as pilgrims whom they had joined to themselves. Besides they took with them three hundred horses. 3. When a gentle breeze was blowing, they sailed in good order over the sea, directing their course towards Mothon and then to Rhodes. 4. And because it was necessary that they travel together and not apart, and because, should at any time the wind change, they would be inevitably separated one from another unless they carefully regulated their course, for these reasons I say during a few days, sailing by day and not by night, they frequently entered, for daily supplies, the ports which they came to lest, suffering from lack of fresh water, either the men themselves or their horses would be oppressed by thirst.

XVI.

King Baldwin is captured and one Eustachius is substituted in his place.

At that time it happened that Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was captured. Balac who some time before had taken prisoner Joscelin and Galeran, now seized Baldwin who had not expected and was not prepared for an attack. Nothing more joyful to

Nothing more joyful to the pagans and nothing more frightful for the Christians could have happened than this. 2. As soon as this news was brought to us in Jerusalem, all came to an assembly in the city of Ptolemais to take counsel as to what it was best to do. They chose and established as guardian and commander of the land a certain Eustachius, an upright man of honorable character who at the time ruled over Caesarea and Sidon. The patriarch of Jerusalem together with the princes of this land decided thus and decreed that this would continue until they received some definite information with regard to their captive king. 3. And so in the middle of the month of May, when we had heard that the Babylonians had arrived at Ascalon, after having divided their army into two parts the one coming by land and the other by sea, our men at once got ready a very swift ship and determined that an embassy be sent to the Venetian fleet to pray and exhort that, hastening their journey, they bring aid to us in the undertaking which we had already begun.

XVII.

The people of Joppa are again besieged by the

Babylonians and much afflicted.

The Babylonians, moreover, rushing down by sea upon Joppa and sallying forth from their ships with great pomp and with

the loud sound of golden trumpets invested the city . At once they set up the machines and engines which they had transported on their larger vessels and attacking the city on all sides they overcame it by hurling stones with extraordinary force. 2. These were, indeed, very terrible engines by means of which they hurled stones farther than the shot of an arrow. The footmen, Arabs and Ethiopians, whom the Babylonians had brought with them, made, together with a handful of armed men, a great assault upon the citizens. Men on both sides hurled javelins; some stones and others arrows. Those inside, however, fighting strenuously for their own safety, killed by oft repeated strokes many of those outside. 3. The Ethiopians covered and protected themselves with the shields which they held in their hands. The women, indeed, were always ready and eager to serve the citizens who were working hard. Some supplied stones; some furnished water to drink. 4. The Saracens in five days had done some little harm to the walls and had demolished many of the pinnacles by causing them to tumble down; but, hearing of our approach and that we were near them,

with trumpet sounding, they abandoned the struggle and taking them to pieces they brought back their military engines to their ships. 5. If they had dared to stay there longer, doubtless they would have taken the city for those who were defending it were few. All ready the pagans had undermined the wall here and there in order that they might penetrate it unexpectedly. Besides, their fleet consisted of eighty ships.

XVIII.

The battle with the Turks and the victory of the Christians through the help of the Holy Cross.

Therefore, when our people learned by report that danger was imminent, they from all sides, from the Tiberiad, from Ptolemais, from Caesarea, and from Jerusalem, gathered into one army before a certain castle which the inhabitants of the region called Chaco. Carrying the Holy Cross with them to this meeting, they hastened to Ramla near Diospolis, there to combat the enemy. 2. But we who remained in Jerusalem, Latins, Syrians, and Greeks alike, did not cease to pray for our brothers exposed to such tribulations, nor to bestow alms upon the needy, nor to visit in procession devoutly and barefooted all the churches of the Holy City. 3. Our leaders, arising at break of day, ordered our army,

arranged properly in cohorts, to proceed from Ramla. The patriarch gave the people absolution together with his benediction, and the battle was commenced before Azotus, one of the five cities of the Philistines now called Ibenius and which has been reduced to a small village.4. This battle was not of long duration, for as soon as they had seen our warriors advance against them, the horsemen of the enemy, as if bewitched by some charm turned in flight and fled with no thought but to flee. But the foot-soldiers were massacred. 5. All their tents, together with possessions of many kinds, remained upon the battle field. Three very rich flags which we call standards they abandoned. Our men carried away with them goods of many different kinds, mattresses, cushions, and also much baggage, together with the beasts of burden, namely four hundred camels and five hundred asses. 6. Of the sixteen thousand of the enemy who went to battle, six thousand were killed. Few, however, of ours were killed. Our army was estimated at only eight thousand, but they were brave and earnest and animated to fight well, sustained by the love of God and fortified by entire confidence in Him. 7. The sun had risen twelve times in the sign of the Gemini when this impious race was vanquished by the power of God. Their bodies lying upon the plains of the Philistines were the food of wolves and the feeding for hyenas.

XIX.

The reception of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

Thus, indeed, when the war, as has been narrated was ended through the power of God, for the glory of His name and the exaltation of Christianity, the patriarch returned with the Holy Cross to Jerusalem. It was received outside the Gate of David by a glorious procession and accompanied with respect to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Chanting the Te Deum laudamus, we together rendered praises to the Most High for His benefits.

XX.

The coming of the Venetians and their

naval battle with the Saracens.

On the very next day after this happy success was attained, favorable rumors followed. We rejoiced to hear that the fleet of the Venetians had entered many ports of Palestine. Report had for a long time foretold its arrival. As soon as the doge of the Venetians, who commanded this maritime expedition, had reached Ptolemais, he was informed at once of what had happened at Joppa by land and by sea; and how the Babylonians, having done as much as they could, had already departed from there; but that if he wished by forced march to follow them, with the help of God, doubtless he could overtake them. 2. The doge at once sought the advice

of all the seamen; the fleet was separated into two divisions. One division in which the doge himself was, he sent to Joppa and most prudently he sent the other out upon the high sea that by the unsuspecting Saracens they would be thought pilgrims coming to Jerusalem from a part of Cyprus. 3. And when the Saracens had seen eighteen vessels of the Venetians approaching them, they began to exult as over a prize already taken. They prepared themselves to set sail and to undertake boldly a combat against them. 4. But our men, pretending to be afraid to fight and designedly awaiting the greater and final division of the fleet, were not disposed to flee nor ready to fight with them until finally the Saracens saw this remaining division of the fleet loom up with sails and oars. 5. Then the spirit of the Venetians arose, and they rushed upon the enemy with unprecedented violence and hemmed them in so completely on all sides that they were not able to find anywhere an avenue of escape. The Saracens were then confined in such a way that neither the ships nor the sailors were able to escape in any direction; but the Venetians went aboard their ships and killed them all. 6. It is hard to believe, because it is worse than anything ever heard before, that the feet of the slayers were, in the ships, bathed in blood. Likewise ships laden with much riches were captured. The bodies thrown out from the ships reddened the sea for a distance of four miles. 7. Finally when the Venetians

were sailing beyond Ascalon looking for whatever would be of use, they met ten other ships laden with food of all kinds. In them there was wood of great length, straight, and suitable for constructing war machines. They took these ships together with much ammunition, besides many gold and silver coins, pepper, cumin, and many kinds of perfumes. 8. They burned on the shore some ships which had fled to the land; but many they carried away intact to Ptolemais. So the Lord rejoiced His servants and generously enriched them with plenteous gifts.

XXI.

The people of Jerusalem were not abandoned
though their king was captured.

Oh how good and glorious for men always to have God as their helper! "Oh how blessed is the nation whose lord is their God!"¹ The pagans said: "Let us go and destroy entirely the Christian people and wipe out all memory of them from the earth. For they have no king, the members are without a head. They spoke truly, for they did not believe that we had God for our king. 2. We had lost Baldwin; but we had adopted God the King of all. We called upon Him in our necessity and through Him we

1. Psalms 32, 12; 143, 15.

wonderfully triumphed. Perhaps he was no king whom we had lost by an accident; but He who has just conquered is the King not of Jerusalem only but of all the earth, Truly, we must confess that we have had in reality a King in battle; we have and shall have, since in our undertakings we prefer Him to all others. For He is present always, present always to those who call upon Him in truth.¹ 3. He saw us in our humility greatly afflicted, and regarding our humility, He mercifully liberated us.² He fought for us, and He reduced our enemies to nought. He it is who always conquers, is never conquered; overcomes, and is not overcome; neither deceives nor is deceived. He indeed is King, for He rules justly. 4. How, indeed, can one be king who is always conquered by his vices? How does one merit to be called king, who is always outside the law? Because he does not keep the law of God, he is not obeyed; and because he does not fear God, he fears the man who is his enemy. Whoever is an adulterer, or a perjurer, or a profane man, such an one has lost the name of king. A deceiver and a cheat, who will trust in him? If he is favorable to the impious, how will God listen to him? If he is a robber of the churches or an oppressor of the poor, then he does not rule, but destroys. Let us cleave to the King of heaven and place our hope in Him and we shall not be confounded forever.

1. Psalm 144, 18.

2. Psalms 114, 6.

XXII.

The death of Eustachius and the succession
of William.

At that time, Eustachius, whom we had chosen as regent over our country, died on seventeenth day before the Kalends of July. William of Buris, who then held the Tiberiad, was determined upon as his successor.

XXIII.

How King Baldwin escaped from prison.

Then in the middle of the month of August through the mercy of Divine Providence, Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, escaped from prison and from the fetters of Balac who had held him prisoner in a certain chateau, very strongly situated and, because of its height, very difficult to take. With him were also imprisoned Joscelin, the Count of Edessa, and some other captives. The story of this deliverance is rather long, but blessed with divine intervention and adorned with miracles. 2. For after they had languished, buried in that chateau a long time and despairing of any assistance, they began to plan and scheme in many ways how they could escape from there. Wherefore they, through loyal messengers, did not cease to implore aid in every place where they had friends. They

endeavored in every way to arrange skillfully with the Armenians, dwelling round about, that if the captives themselves were able to obtain help from their friends outside, these Armenians would not fail to be loyal assistants to them.

3. And after this agreement had been confirmed with many gifts and promises on both sides in pledge of fidelity, about fifty men were sent from the city of Edessa to the chateau to carry out the plan. These disguised as poor people carrying and selling merchandise, took advantage of a favorable occasion, and got themselves gradually even to the doors of the inner castle. 4. When the commander of the

guards was imprudently playing chess near the door with a certain man loyal to our prisoners, our clients approached him most craftily and very carefully as if to make complaint about an injury offered to them. Then, putting aside all

hesitation and all fear, they unsheathed their daggers and, quick as thought, killed him. Seizing the lances which they found there, they did not hesitate to strike and to kill.

5. A great cry arose and all, within and without, were confused. But those who very quickly rushed to the scene of the tumult were more quickly cut down. Indeed, there were almost one hundred Turks. Immediately the king and the other prisoners were freed from prison. 6. Some still were fettered when they mounted by means of ladders to the

summit of the wall and elevated to the top of the citadel the standard of the Christians; and the truth was made manifest. In this same citadel was the wife of Balac with others whom he held dear. 7. But the castle immediately was surrounded on all sides by the Turks. Ingress and egress were entirely prohibited to all those inside and outside. The doors were closed and the bolts shot into place.

XXIV.

How the Count of Edessa escaped from prison.

I think I ought not fail to say that through a vision a certain misfortune was revealed to Balac. For he saw (and he himself afterwards reported it) his eyes torn out by Joscelin. He told this at once to his priests, and he demanded from them an interpretation of his dream. "Truly" they said, "this will happen to you, or something equally unfortunate, if you should fall into his hands." Upon hearing this, he sent at once an order that Joscelin be killed, so that he could not, as had been presaged, kill him. But before the lictors had come to him, thanks be to God, he had already escaped from captivity in the manner to be hereafter related. 2. The king, therefore, and all his men taking wise counsel together that in some way they might save themselves, when they thought the time most

opportune for their purpose Joscelin exposed his life to the danger of death and, commending himself to the Creator of the Universe, stole away from the chateau followed by three of his servitors and, with no less fear than boldness, in the moonlight passed through the midst of the enemy. At once he sent his ring to the king thus to signify to him that he had torn himself away from the besieging enemy; for thus they had agreed between themselves should be done. 3. Then, advancing rather by night than by day, fleeing and hiding he arrived at the River Euphrates almost barefooted, his shoes worn out. And because there was no boat, he did not hesitate to do what fear commanded. And what was that? He inflated with wind two leather bottles which he carried with him, placed himself upon them, and thus launched out into the river. Because he did not know how to swim, his companions tried to assist him and with the Lord leading, they brought him safe to the shore. 4. He was greatly fatigued by the unusual journey and, famished and tormented by thirst, gasped for breath, but there was no one in pity to aid him. Under a certain walnut tree found there, he, overcome by sleep, gave his body worn out by labor, to rest. He covered himself with branches and brambles lest he should be recognized. Meanwhile, however, he commanded one of his servitors to seek out and to beg some native to give

or sell to him, at any price whatever, some bread; for he was greatly tormented by hunger. 5. The servitor soon found in the country a certain Armenian peasant carrying with him dried figs and raisins, and this man, after he had cautiously accosted him, he brought to his master. His appetite craved this food. 6. But the peasant, approaching nearer, recognized Joscelin and fell at his feet saying, "Hail, Joscelin." The latter, terrified at hearing what he did not wish to hear, answered, "I am not he whom you call me; but may God bless him whoever he be. Then the peasant added, "Do not, I beseech you, deny your identity, for certainly I know you well. But tell me what has befallen you in these regions and how, I beseech you, have no fear." 7. Then the Count replied, "Have pity on me, whoever you are. I beg of you do not make known my misfortune to my enemies, but conduct me to a place of safety and thereby deserve to receive this piece of money as a recompense. I am fleeing, with the help of God, having escaped from the captivity of Balac, from that chateau which they call Kartapet which is in Mesopotamia on this side of the Euphrates. 8. You will do a good work if you assist me in this extremity, that I fall not again into the hands of Balac and perish miserably. For if it please you to come with me to my chateau of Turbezel, all will be well with you all the days of your life.

Tell me what and how much property you possess in these parts that I may in true affection turn over even more to you in my domain." 9. The peasant answered "I do not ask anything of you, but I shall conduct you safely wherever you wish. For at one time, as I remember, you kindly made me eat with you and for this reason, I am ready to do the same for you. I have a wife, my lord, a little daughter, an ass, two brothers, and two oxen. I entrust myself entirely to you because you are a man prudent and most wise, and I even now go away with you together with all of mine. I have also a pig. This I shall cook immediately and bring it here to you. 10. "Nay, brother," he said, "you are not wont to eat a whole pig at one meal: do not let it happen that you move your neighbors to suspect something." 11. Then the Armenian departed and returned with all of his, as they had determined. The Count mounted the peasant's little ass, he who had once been accustomed to ride upon a tall mule. He carried in front of him the child, a girl, not a boy. And he was allowed to carry, as if he were its father, a child that he had not reared. He did not possess a daughter of his own blood but he thereby aroused in the minds of those who knew not the facts the idea that he was without doubt the founder of a line. 12. But when the child began to worry the count

by crying and weeping continually, he was not able to quiet her in any way. There was no nurse to feed her or to sooth her with lullabies, and so fearful lest that company might be harmful to him he thought to abandon them and to proceed more safely by himself. But when he saw that this was displeasing to the peasant, not wishing to offend him, he persevered in the task which he had undertaken. 13. And when he had arrived at Turbezel joyous was the reception of such guests. The wife rejoiced, the servants exulted. Nor can we doubt with what great joy all rejoiced and what tears flowed for very joy and what sighs were heaved. As to the peasant, without delay he received a worthy remuneration for his kindness, and in place of one yoke of oxen, at once he received two. 14. But because he could not remain longer among them, the count went at once to Antioch, and thence to Jerusalem. There he paid a just tribute of thanks to God; and the two chains which he had brought with him he suspended piously upon the Mount of Calvary and offered them in memory of his captivity and of the glory of his liberation. One of these was of iron, the other of silver. 15. After three days he departed from the Holy City and followed to Tripoli the Cross of the Savior which already had been carried there. For the army of Jerusalem was going with this Cross to Kartpert, the

chateau of Balac, where the king and many others were held not in chains, but in the security of the fort. 16. May the Savior of the world be blessed, who so regulates His will and His power that when He wishes, He casts down the mighty from on high and He raises up the lowly from the dust!¹ So in the morning Baldwin ruled as king; in the evening, however, he served as a slave. No less happened to Joscelin. It is quite clear that nothing in this world is sure, nothing stable, not for long propitious. Consequently it is not good to sigh after terrestrial goods but to keep the heart always turned towards God. 17. Now I have completed my thirteenth luster,² according to my count; and I have never seen a king confined in prison as this Baldwin. If this presages anything I, indeed, know not; this God knows.

XXV.

The expedition of the people of Jerusalem and
that King Baldwin is again captured.

However, the crusaders going out whither had been determined they were to go, were joined at Antioch by the people of that city and those of Tripoli. But when they had arrived at Turbezel, it was made known to them that the king and the chateau in which had been invested, Carra, by name, had again

1. I Kings 2-7,8.
2. A luster is a period of five years. The censors made a purificatory sacrifice for the whole people every five years.

been captured. At this news, however, the plan was changed, and a command was given for immediate return. 2. And desiring to gain something for themselves, at the sound of the horn, they turned towards the city of Aleppo and devastated and destroyed everything which they found outside the walls after having first savagely driven within the walls all who were outside. But when they had delayed there four days and were able to accomplish nothing further, they determined to return home, for they were already suffering the need of food. Count Joscelin, however, then remained in the territory of Antioch. 3. And when our army had returned as far as Ptolemais, before the neighboring Saracens noticed it, they suddenly crossed the Jordan. And when they had hurried through that region which is bordered by Mt. Galaad and Arabia and had seized numbers of the Saracens of both sexes and animals of many kinds, they returned to the part of the Tiberiad nearest to them, with a great encumbrance of camels and sheep and also of women and children. They divided the booty amongst them, according to the custom, and then, from all sides, united at Jerusalem and deposited in its place the Holy Cross which they had brought. 4. But now I must return to that subject which I have for some time abandoned.

XXVI.

How Balac besieged the king and
again captured him.

When Balac had heard what had taken place at Kartpert, how Count Joscelin had escaped from captivity, he hastened to go there as soon as he could. He, speaking then flatteringly to the king, demanded that he return to him his chateau on this condition that, having given select hostages, Balac permit him to depart peacefully and have him conducted safely as far as Edessa or Antioch. Otherwise it would be worse for one or for both of them. 2. But when the king refused to agree to this, Balac, wild with rage, swore to seize the king and the chateau by force and most assuredly to take vengeance upon his enemies. He ordered the rock upon which the chateau was situated to be undermined and through the mine, props to be placed to hold up the works. Then he had wood carried in and fire introduced. When the props were burned, suddenly the excavation fell in and a certain tower nearest to the fire with a great crash fell. 3. At first the smoke arose together with dust while the ruin covered up the fire. But when the material upon the fire was consumed, the flame began to appear clearer and because of

the sudden happening, a stupor seized the king, who was dismayed at the undertaking and so, when hope had fled from him, his ardor was cooled for such a misfortune had greatly terrified him. And so losing their courage together with their reason, the king and his men presented themselves as suppliants to the clemency of Balac expecting nothing except a penalty according to their deserts. 4. However, he spared the king and granted him his life, also one of his nephews and Waleran as well. But of the Armenians who had given aid to the king against Balac some he hung; some he flayed alive some he had cut in two. The king, however, with three of his men he cast out from the chateau and had them taken to the city of Carra. 5. Because these things happened far from us, we were with difficulty able to learn with any certainty of the affair. Nevertheless, as exactly as I was able, I have consigned to writing what was reported to me. 6. Then ended the year during which the lack of rain caused drought of which the people of Jerusalem frequently complained. Thus far these events had run through four times six years, since this celebrated journey undertaken¹ by the pilgrims from all lands.

1. That is since the end of the first Crusade twenty-four years have elapsed. Hagenmeyer.

XXVII.

The arrangement for the siege of Tyre.

In the year eleven hundred twenty-four after the birth of the Lord Jesus, we celebrated the birthday of the Savior as well in Bethlehem as in Jerusalem, as was proper. At this celebration the doge of Venice with his men piously assisted. It was determined there, by unanimous and voluntary consent and under oath, to carry on a siege of either Tyre or Ascalon after Epiphany. 2. But because lack of money then hindered us all, much was collected, man by man, to be distributed among the knights and the mercenary soldiers.¹ For it was impossible to carry out such an undertaking without giving largesses. For this reason, we were constrained to pawn with our creditors even the most precious ornaments of the Church of Jerusalem in order to collect money. 3. Therefore, all convened from all sides just as had been ordered and in the place named. When Aquarius had been three times refreshed by the heat, the people departed together from Jerusalem to combat the enemy; this was in the first day of the new moon.

1. From the Assizes of Jerusalem we learn that the term of military service to satisfy feudal obligation in the East was one year. This meant practically perpetual service since the kingdom was in a condition to constant warfare. Service was required throughout the kingdom.

XXVIII.

How Tyre was besieged by the patriarch and
by the Venetians.

And so arrived at Acre, our men arranged with the Venetians to advance upon Tyre and to besiege it. Therefore, the patriarch with all those subject to him and the doge with his sailors and his ships surrounded the city of Tyre exactly on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of March when the sun was entering Pisces. 2. But when they had learned this, the people of Ascalon, who could never tame their innate perversities did as much harm to us as they were able. On a certain day, having divided their army into three parts, they led the greater portion of their cohorts against Jerusalem and these at once massacred savagely eight men who were trimming the vines outside the city. 3. As soon as their approach was discovered, the trumpet sounded above the Tower of David to make it known to us; and our Franks and Syrians went against them and resisted valiantly. And after they had worn themselves out, each party for three hours of the day in the presence of the other, the pagans sadly withdrew taking with them many of the wounded. 4. Our men followed them a little way; but because they had no soldiers and because they feared the snares of the enemy, they did not dare to follow them farther. Nevertheless, in the end seventeen

of their severed heads were brought back and as many horses. Three knights were taken alive; others of them were killed. Had we had soldiers, few of the enemy would have escaped. But our knights were with the army. Then God was praised to whom praise is always due.

XXIX.

Tyre and its renown.

Meanwhile the people of Tyre, hemmed in and pressed closely into their city, did not ask peace nor yield to capture. For abounding in wealth and supported by aid from the sea, they were always insolent. 2. This city is of all those in the Promised Land the richest and most renowned, except Axor, which Jabin, king of the Chaldeans, possessed in very ancient times and which Josue afterwards destroyed together with many other cities.¹ Axor, so we read,² was illustrious, provided with nine hundred triumphal cars. Moreover, Josephus³ tells that it had three thousand chariots set with scythes. Indeed, it had three hundred thousand men at arms and ten thousand knights, of which army Sisara was the leader.⁴

3. Both of these cities, Tyre and Axor, were built in the

1. Josua 11, 10.
2. Judges 4, 3.
3. Ant. V 199.
4. Judges 4, 2.

land of the Phoenicians. The former was renowned for its merchants and traders; the other for its very great population. Tyre was situated on the seashore; Azor was located in the interior. 4. When Gedeon was judge in Israel, Tyre was built by the Phoenicians a little before the time of Hercules. For this city to which Isaias referred, reproaching it because of its pride. It is furnished with the best purple. For this reason regal purple is called Tyrian.¹ The word Tyre is interpreted "strait" which in Hebrew is Soor. 5. The king of the Assyrians, Salmanassor,² besieged this city during the reign of King Helusaeus. The inhabitants of Tyre refused to be subject to the king of Assyria. This siege lasted for five whole years. Menander writes about it and Josephus also more at length. 6. Then the fleet of Tyre crossing the sea under the leadership of Dido, daughter of Belus, founded Carthage in Africa. By the historian Orosius the site of this city has been described as being enclosed by three hundred thousand paces of wall and almost entirely encompassed by the sea, except at the entrance which is three miles wide. This place has a wall three hundred feet wide made of square rock, and forty cubits high. The citadel to which was given the name Birse,

1. The Tyrian dye (which was properly a crimson) was anciently the most celebrated of the various colors which have at any time been called purple.

2. IV Kings 17, 1-6.

occupies a little more than two thousand paces. This city, which was founded by Elisus seventy years before the city of Rome was built, was destroyed and all the stones of the wall were dashed down in the seven hundredth year of its existence. Publius Scipio, the Consul of the preceding year, brought upon this city its final doom and it burned wretchedly for seventeen whole days.

XXX.

The ancient captivity of Tyre and by whom
in olden times it was besieged.

Moreover, Tyre, spoken of above, languished, depopulated, according to Isaias,¹ for seven hundred years. When the Cyrenians had revolted from Tyre, King Helusaeus brought them back, and against them Salmanassar, king of the Assyrians, again arose. Then the city of Sidon and Acre, which is called Actipus, and ancient Tyre, and many other cities withdrew from Tyre and gave themselves over to the king of the Assyrians.

2. Because the people of Tyre were not subjected, the Assyrian again went out against them with sixty ships and nine hundred oarsmen furnished by the Phoenicians.

1. Isaias 23, 15-17.

The Tyreneans sailing in twelve ships against them dispersed the ships of the enemy and took five hundred captives. From this the glory of the people of Tyre was exceedingly enhanced.

3. But the king of the Assyrians, returning, placed guards above the river and the aqueduct of the city in order to deprive the people of water to drink. And though this was carried on for five years, they suffered it, drinking water from wells which they sank. Those facts about Salmanassar, king of the Assyrians, are written in the archives of Tyre.

4. He it was who besieged Samaria and took it in the sixth year of the reign of Ezechias¹ and led the Israelites into Assyria. Before him came Phal,² king of the Assyrians and after him Teglaphalassar, king of Assur, who took Cedes and Azor, in the territory of the tribe of Nephtalia near Paneas, and Janoe and Galaad and all of Galilee and led the people into Assyria. Sargon, king of the Assyrians, followed, who sent Tarchau to attack Azotus, and who took it. And thus, because of the sins of the people, the land of Promise was defastated and reduced to captivity first by the Assyrians, then by the Chaldeans.

1. IV Kings 18, 9-10.

2. IV Kings 15, 19.

5. Nabuchodonosar,¹ however, king of Chaldea, as well as of Babylonia, besieged and took Jerusalem. When Sedechias the king, was fleeing he was overtaken near Jericho and led to the king of Babylon in the region which is called Reblata in the land of Emath. Jerome says that the greater Emath is Antioch, the lesser is Epiphania. There Nabuchodonosor caused the eyes of Sedecias to be put out and his sons to be murdered before his eyes. Then Nabuzardan,² the general of his army came and burned the temple of God and the palace of the king and destroyed the whole wall of Jerusalem throughout its circuit. 6. But after an interval of time King Alexander appeared, who, after having first subjugated Damascus and Sidon, besieged and took Tyre. He also captured Gaza in the space of two months; but he spent seven months outside Tyre. Then he hastened to the city of Jerusalem. Being received honorably, he adorned with great honors the high priest, Jaddoa³ by name, who wore upon his head the turban and the robe of hyacinth worked in gold and besides a plate of gold on which the name of the Lord was written. Alexander, approaching alone, worshipped him, arranged what pertained to

1. IV Kings 25.
2. IV Kings 25, 8-10.
3. Nehemias 12, 22.

Jerusalem and turned his army against the other cities.

7. After the space of many years, because the sins of the Jews called for it, Antiochus Ephiphanes attacked their law and harshly constrained the Machabees.¹ Next came Pompey who pitilessly devastated Jerusalem. Finally, indeed, Vespasian came with his son Titus and completely destroyed it. And so through a varying succession of events even to our own days, the Holy City and the territory tributary to it has been always severely harassed. 8. Very often Palestine, and sometimes Phoenicia, which took its name from Phoenix, brother of Cadmus, were devastated, then Samaria, then Galilee, which, however, divided into two parts is distinguished by name, for the upper part is called Upper Galilee; the lower part Lower Galilee; and both of them border on Phoenicia and Syria. 9. That part which is beyond the Jordan extends in length from Macheron to Pella, and in width from Philadelphia to the Jordan. Its Northern region is Pella; on the west is the Jordan; on the south it is bounded by the land of Moab and on the east by Arabia and Philadelphia and Gerosa. 10. The land of Samaria lies between Judea and Galilee. In width Judea extends from the Jordan as far as Joppa; and its central city, the navel of the land

as it were, is Jerusalem. 11. Then lower Galilee which extends from the Tiberiad to Zabulon and as far as Ptolemais, to Carmel, the mountain of Tyre, contains within its borders Nazareth and Sephorim, a very powerful city, besides Thabor, and Cana, and many other cities. This reaches even to Libanus and the sources of the Jordan, where now Paneas or Dan exists, which city is also called Caesarea Philippi and is surrounded by the region of Trachonitis and Nabatanea. On the south Samaria and Scythopolis, that is Bethsan. 12. Moreover the city of Bersabee limits Judea, which contains Jamma, Lydda, Joppe, Jammia, Thecus, Hebron, Astoat, Sara, and many other villeges. 13. Not I return to the main subject, for I have long wandered through diverse by-paths.

XXXI.

The battle with the Turks and the victory of the people of Antioch; the death of Balac.

While, therefore, we were laboring outside Tyre, preparing war engines for the siege, Balac, nevertheless, did not hesitate to raise up against us his army together with his own following. Setting out from the city of Aleppo, which is commonly called Caliphta, in the beginning of the month of May, Balac reached Hierapolis with five thousand knights and seven thousand foot soldiers. This city is commonly called Manbij. When the possessor of this city refused to turn it

over to him, Balac called him out from the city to him and perfidiously he cut off his head. 2. Then the city was at once besieged. When the siege had been made known to Joscelin by an embassy sent from there to him where he was then delaying at Antioch, he hastened to go there with the people of Antioch. But although the number of Christians was very small, Joscelin did not fear to go out against the multitude of pagans. There was no further delay and a fierce battle ensued. 11. Three times with the help of God the Turks were repulsed; and three times they boldly returned to the fight. Balac, mortally wounded in this melee, turned aside as well as he was able, in a dying condition. When his men perceived this, those who were able to flee did not hesitate. Indeed many who were able to flee were not however able to escape. 4. It is reported that three thousand of them were killed, all knights. The number of foot soldiers, though, is unknown. Thirty of our knights lay there dead and about sixty of those of our footmen who were driving the pack animals. 5. Joscelin wished, however, to know for a certainty whether Balac was dead or had escaped alive, and when those who sought among the dead had with great care examined all, he was recognized by the signs on his armor by those who knew him. He who cut off Balac's head bore it with great joy to Joscelin, who gave him as a reward forty pieces of silver, as he had promised.

6. Joscelin, indeed, ordered that head to be carried at once to Antioch as a token of the success. The very one who carried it in his sack to Tyre and to Jerusalem and who, moreover, was present with the combatants in this memorable battle reported and narrated it to all of us. 7. Indeed he was himself squire to Joscelin. And because he had brought this most welcome news to our army camped before Tyre, having received arms, instead of a squire he was made knight. The Count of Tripoli raised him to this rank. 8. And we all praised and blessed the Lord who has strangled this most cruel dragon, which for a long time tormented and injured Christianity. 9. Nine times had the sun shone from the light of Taurus when Balac fell, or ill fortune befell him. 10. Behold how the interpretation of the dream mentioned before is made manifest, the dream which, like a prophet of his own fate, Balac himself had reported at the time when Joscelin escaped miraculously from captivity. For in a dream he saw his eyes put out by Joscelin. Truly, he completely overthrew him since he took away his head and his members. Balac neither saw, nor heard nor spoke, nor sat, nor walked; nor was there a place for him in the sky, in the earth, or in the waters.

XXXII.

Of those things which happened in the siege
of Tyre.

On a certain day when those who were besieging the city of Tyre were resting quietly, those from inside the city, thinking the time opportune, opened the gates and went out, Turks as well as Saracens. And rushing upon one of the strongest of our machines of war they charged with one accord with drawn swords. 2. And before our men whom they found guarding the machine could take up their arms, they wounded and drove them out and set fire to the machine which was used to crush the towers of the enemy by hurling rocks and to make great breaches in them. 3. In this encounter, we lost thirty men; but the enemy sustained a double loss. The citizens injured and wounded our men greatly by often throwing javelins and arrows and rocks through the openings in the wall. 4. But, meanwhile, our Venetians enjoying very favorable fortune, boarded their little boat - they were not more than five, - and seized a house near the walls of the city and there beheaded two Turks, and then at once returned joyfully with their booty. This happened on the ninth day before the Kalends of June. 5. But it availed somewhat, though a little before, the people of Tyre in the night had stolen a Venetian boat and dragged it inside the city through the port. In conflicts of this kind, such

things often happen. One falls, one rises; one rejoices, and another weeps.

XXXIII.

The most unfortunate disturbance of
the Ascalonites.

But the people of Ascalon, knowing how few men were in our army, did not hesitate to molest us where they thought we were weakest and to do us injury. They devastated and burned a certain little village near Jerusalem, Birrum by name. Carrying away all that they found there, with some dead and many wounded, they departed. 2. The women and children betook themselves to a certain tower built there in our time, and thus they were saved. The Ascalonites thus scouring the country stole, killed, captured, did whatever evil they could; and there was no one to resist them. 3. For we were all engaged in the siege, awaiting mercy from on high that we would with the help and assistance of God be able to accomplish our labor. For it was unendurable to toil by night, and work by day.

XXXIV.

The surrender of the city of Tyre.

But the king of Damascus, seeing that his Turks and Saracens who were surrounded in the city, were in no way able to escape

from our hands, preferred to redeem, although with some dishonor, the living, than to lament the dead. Therefore, through interpreters of good counsel, he asked that his men with all their goods be allowed to go out and to leave the deserted city to us. 2. When for a long time both parties had contended about this matter, hostages were given by both sides and the Turks withdrew from the city and the Christians entered peaceably. However, those of the Saracens who wished to remain in the duty did so in peace, according to the terms of the agreement. 3. The sun had risen thrice seven times in the sign of Cancer when Tyre was taken and surrendered and overcome. This happened on the Nones of July. 4. Therefore we ought not to cease nor indeed to hesitate to have recourse to our Lord, our loyal and kind aid in our tribulations and to urge Him by our prayers, to turn to our supplications a favorable ear. This we did indeed do in Jerusalem, by often visiting the churches, shedding tears, distributing alms, and mortifying our body by fasts. God, seeing this from on high, as I believe, did not turn to us without His benediction, and he heard our prayer. 5. But when we with open ears were awaiting any news, behold messengers came in great haste announcing to us and bearing to us letters from the patriarch making

known to us that the city was taken. 6. When this was heard a most joyful shout arose. The "Te Deum laudamus" was at once chanted with high voices; bells were rung; a procession marched to the temple of God; flags were raised above the walls and the towers. Through all the streets many-colored ornaments were extended; thanks were offered; the messengers were worthily remunerated according to their merits; the humble and the great alike congratulated themselves and the young girls joined in chorus were delighting by their sweet songs.

7. Justly Jerusalem as a mother rejoices over her daughter Tyre, at whose right hand she sits crowned next in rank. Babylon, though, laments the loss of her pride, by whose aid she had so long been powerful and whose fleet hostile to us each year she called out. 8. And if indeed the splendor of Tyre is humbled, still is it augmented by the grace of God. For the city which under the Gentiles had in its government a priest or high priest will have, according to the regulation of the Fathers of the Church, either an archbishop or a patriarch in the Christian law. For where there were high priests, Christian archbishops have been appointed to preside over the different provinces. 9. Where there was a metropolis, that is a "mother city", there were metropolitans who presided over the mother and greater of the other three or four cities within each province. 10. But where the smaller states had only priests or

magistrates, now bishops were appointed. Again, it is not absurd to compare the tribunes of the plebs to the priests or other clergy of minor rank.11. Thus every secular power by these degrees of dignity is separated from every other. That is, as the first is Augustus or emperor; then come the Caesars, then kings, then dukes and counts. So Pope Clement, Anacletus, Anicius and many others said. 12. But praises be to the most High God because, not by strength of men, but according to His own good pleasure without effusion of blood, He has restored to us Tyre, a city much renowned, a city most difficult to take had not God laid upon it His right hand. 13. The people of Antioch, indeed, failed us in this affair, for they furnished us no aid nor wished to assist in this labor. May God bless Pontius of Tripoli for he was our most faithful ally. 14. May God reconcile the church of Antioch to that of Jerusalem, divided as the two are concerning Tyre, the third in rank! The former holds that Tyre has been subject to it in the time of the Greek emperors; the latter says that she has received from the Roman pontiff these privileges. 15. For in the council of Auvergne, so authoritative and so justly renowned, it was decreed by unanimous consent that whatever cities across the Great Sea, could be wrested from the yoke of the pagans should always and without

contradiction be held. Moreover this was again repeated and conceded by all in the Council of Antioch, over which the Bishop of Puy presided. 16. Besides, it was in Jerusalem that for the love of God, Duke Godfrey and Lord Bohemond received their land from the patriarch Diambert. 17. From time to time Pope Paschal confirmed these privileges and transmitted them to the Church of Jerusalem which, under the authority of the Roman Church, she should enjoy in perpetual right. In the charter of these privileges these statements are contained.

XXXV.

The Ordinance of Pope Paschal.

"I, Paschal, servant of the servants of God, send to my most revered brother, Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem, and to his successors, blessing. 2. The rule of lands is transferred according as times change. For this reason it is expedient that the boundaries of ecclesiastical dioceses be changed and transferred from one province to another. The territories of the church of Asia were in ancient times divided by fixed demarcations. These divisions the invasions of different races with different faiths disturbed. But thanks be to God that in our times the city of Antioch and of Jerusalem, together with the provinces

subject and adjacent to them, have been brought under the authority of the Christian princes. 3. Hence it is necessary that we put our hand to this change and transference ordained by God and dispose all arrangement to fit the present time; so we concede those cities and provinces to the church of Jerusalem, which were acquired through the sagacity of the glorious king Bladwin and, through the grace of God, by the blood of the soldiers following him. 4. Therefore we ordain by the conditions of this decree that to you, our most dear brother and co-bishop, Gibelin, and to your successors and through you to the holy church of Jerusalem, by virtue of the patriarchal or metropolitan right, all the cities and provinces which Divine Providence has already restored to the rule of this king, or shall in future deign to restore, be given to rule and govern. 5. It is only just and it is in accord with the wish of the faithful that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre receive honor due, and freed from the yoke of Turks and the Saracens, in Christian hands be greatly exalted."

XXXVI.

The distribution of the portions about Tyre.

But as to Tyre, all was arranged, as was necessary, and all divided into three parts of which two, by a just distribution, were given to the control of the king and

the third was given to the Venetians with the hereditary title to it; then all returned home. 2. The patriarch of Jerusalem returned to the Holy City with all the inhabitants, and the people and the clergy received the Most Holy Cross with due veneration .

XXXVII.

The sign that then appeared.

At that time the sun appeared to us for almost an hour of most dazzling color changed into an unwonted and hyacinthine beauty and transformed in appearance with two points like an eclipse of the moon . This took place three days before the Ides of August when the ninth hour of the day was already passing. 2. Therefore do not marvel when signs appear in the heavens because there God accomplishes great things as also on earth. For just as in the heavens, so also on earth He transforms and arranges all things as He wills. For if those things which He has made are wonderful, more wonderful is He who made them. Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transferred the West into the East. 3. For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilaean or an inhabitant of Palestine. One who was a citizen of Rheims or of Chartres, now has been made a citizen of Tyre or of Antioch. We have already forgotten the places

of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us or at least are unmentioned. 4. Some already possess here homes and servants which they have received through inheritance. Some have taken wives not merely of their own people, but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. One has with him his father-in-law, or his daughter-in-law, or his son-in-law, or his step-son, or his step-father. There are here, too, grand children and great grand children. One cultivates vines, another the fields. 5. The one and other use mutually the speech and the idioms of the different languages. Different languages, now made common, become known to one and to the other races, and confidence unites them to those to whom their race is a stranger. As it is written: "The lion and the ox shall eat straw." Those who were strangers are now natives; and he who was a sojourner now has become a resident. 6. Our parents and relatives from day to day come to join us, abandoning, even though reluctantly, all that they possessed. For those who were poor there, here God makes rich. Those who had a few coins, here possess countless byzants; and those who had not had a villa, here, by the gift of God, already possess a city. 7. Therefore, why should one return to the West, who had found the East so favorable? God does not wish those to suffer want who, carrying their crosses, have devoted themselves to follow Him, nay even unto the end. 8. You

see, therefore, that this is a great miracle and one which the whole world ought to admire. Who has ever heard anything like it? Therefore God wishes to enrich us all and to draw us to Himself as His most dear friends. And because He wishes it, we also freely desire the same, and what is pleasing to Him we do with a loving and submissive heart that with Him we may reign happily throughout eternity.

XXXVIII.

The escape of the King from his chains

and the siege of the city of Aleppo.

By the favor of Almighty God, the King of Jerusalem escaped from the captivity of the Turks on the fourth day before the Kalends of September, after he had been kept in prison a little more than sixteen months. But because he was first obliged to give for his release chosen hostages, he did not depart altogether free, since in his anxiety he bound himself and them with an uncertain and doubtful hope. 2. After taking counsel of necessity, he hastened to besiege the city of Aleppo, that by blockading it he might extort from the citizens his hostages or perhaps he might be able to close the city when it would be harrassed by famine. For he had learned that the city was already suffering greatly for lack of food. 3. This city was about forty miles from Greater Antioch. It was here that Abraham, when he was

journeying from Carrha in the land of Chanaan,¹ made his shepherds tend their flocks, the male as well as the female, in these very rich pastures; it was there that he had the milk milked into pails, and then curdled and put into moulds and made into cheese. For Abraham was rich in possessions of all kinds.³ 4. Pope Calixtus died on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of January.

XXXIX.

The gathering of the army of the

Turks to disperse the siege.

In the year eleven hundred and twenty-five since the Savior of the world was born, in the third indiction, the king of Jerusalem with his men had been besieging the city of Aleppo for five months and had accomplished nothing. The Turks, alert as usual, crossed the great river of paradise,⁴ the Euphrates, and hastened by rapid march to the aforementioned city to raise the siege which our people had now for a long time laid about it. For they feared that unless they came very quickly the city would be soon taken. 2. They had seven thousand knights besides almost four thousand camels loaded with grain and food. But since we were unable to prevail against them, of necessity our men desisted and

1. Gen. 11, 31.
2. Job 10, 10.

3. Gen. 13, 2 ; 12, 16.
4. Genes. 2, 14.

withdrew on the following day to the town nearest to them, called Careph. For that town was ours. 3. While one part of the Turks followed us for a little while they lost two of their bravest men who were thrown from their horses and killed. We lost one servant and six tents. 4. This attack of the Turks took place on the fourth day before the Kalends of February. They came suddenly by night because they would be more apt to find us then unprepared and more easily confound us. 5. This is indeed most vile to say, dishonorable to know, tedious to report, and shameful to listen to! But I who relate this, do not depart from the truth. What then? Who can resist the will of God? Moreover, that proverb is true which a certain wise man has said: "Future events do not fight, nor allow themselves to be overcome". That truly was to happen, but no one knew it beforehand. For if it had been known, it would never have happened because, even though thought of, it would have come to naught without the wish. He who had foreseen it would have taken measures to prevent its taking place. 6. Finally the king retired to Antioch and Joscelin with him. But the hostages which the king gave for himself when he left the prison were neither returned nor redeemed. And the people of Jerusalem as well as those of Tripoli returned each to his own city. 7. Divine Wisdom, however, checks him whom human worth makes prosperous in order not to allow him to whom this happens to be puffed up. It also

deservedly torments the evilly disposed that they may not wax insolent with excess of prosperity.

8. For who gives every good and repels all evil but God the director and solace of the spirit, who from his watch tower in the heavens sees and understands all things?¹ A little while before, in His bounty, He had given to us, the Christians, the strong and glorious city of Tyre, and he had taken it away from its possessors; now He wished to withdraw His hand. 9. Perhaps He reserved it to give the vineyard to more faithful tillers who would be able and willing to return to Him rich fruit from it in due season. Indeed, certain people, when they have more, do less and do not render the thanks which they owe to the giver of all good things. Moreover in respect to those things which they have in prayer promised Him, they fail God, by repeatedly lying unto Him and thereby deceive themselves.

XL.

The king is received in Jerusalem with
great joy.

When the king had been cruelly held confined in prison by the pagans for almost two years he returned again to his own realm at Jerusalem. On the third day before the Nones of April we all received him in solemn procession. He remained among us for a little time and then, having been called, he returned hastily to Antioch, which territory the Turks had already devastated. The most powerful of them was

1. Psalms 101, 20. 13, 20. 52, 3.

Borsequinus who was accompanied by six thousand soldiers,

XLI.

The Venetians who, on their return, devastated
the islands of the Emperor.

At that time, it was made known to us that the Venetians on their homeward journey after the capture of the city of Tyre had seized violently the islands of the emperor among which they passed, namely Rhodes, Mothon, Samon and Chios. They destroyed completely the walls; they carried off the young boys and girls into a miserable captivity and they carried away money of all kinds with them. But since we were not able to amend this, hearing it, we in pity were pained in the depth of our hearts. 2. For the Venetians raged against the emperor and he also against them, then most cruelly, the one against the other. They were mutual enemies. But "woe to the world because of scandals! But woe to them through whom scandals come!"¹ If the fault is the emperors, indeed he has not governed well. If it is the Venetians, they have acquired for themselves damnation. 3. Indeed from pride all sins proceed. Is not man proud when he does what God forbids? The Venetians have the object of revenging themselves; the

1. Math. 18, 7.

emperor that of defending himself which, he says, is the juster object. But the innocent, stationed in the midst, suffer because of the injustice for which they are not to blame, and they perish unjustly. 4. But what is to be said of those who, by the piratical plundering, do not desist from causing all the harm which they can to the pilgrims of God going upon the sea to Jerusalem with such difficulty and suffering, for love of the Creator? If, according to the word of the Lord,¹ the merciful shall deserve to be blessed, what shall the unmerciful enemies of goodness receive for their impiety. They are accursed, excommunicated and shall die in impenitence and perfidy. Such go down alive into hell by their own acts.² They have not obeyed the apostle; they have scorned the patriarch; they have despised the words of the Holy Fathers. 5. I know, I know what to say of these; and I so not fear to say it. The time will come when they will hear from the Lord, a very severe judge: "I know not whence you are,³ you who cry that the door be opened to you. You have come too late, bringing no good with you. For the door is already shut.⁴ Once you have refused to listen to me, nor do I deign to listen to you longer. I who once have called "Come,"⁵ now say "Depart."⁶ I say, I say, Amen I say,

1. Mathew 5, 6.
 2. Psalms 54, 16.
 3. Luke 13, 25. 27.

4. Mathew 25, 10.
 5. Mathew 11, 28.
 6. Mathew 25, 41.

I change in no way the sentence given. The rest is horrible and insupportable; but perpetual woe for those who have merited it! 6. Moreover, for the sake of continuing the events in order and that the narrative be not broken, I shall take care to mention briefly each single event.

XLII.

The evils perpetrated by Borsequinus and
the battle waged against him.

Therefore, Borsequinus whose bravery and unscrupulousness we have already undertaken to report, had been increasing his army little by little, day by day, and he surrounded by siege a town called Capharda and after it had been surrounded he took it. It was surrendered to him by those who were its defenders, for they were not able to hold it longer and they had no hope of aid from any source. Not yet had our king arrived there, not the Count of Tripoli, whom he had taken there with him. 2. He had with him only a small number from Jerusalem for in the present and the preceding year they had been greatly fatigued. 3. For how could they bear continually such labors, they who were allowed to remain in their homes scarcely a month. Certainly, he would have a hard heart who would not be touched by pity for those who dwelt around Jerusalem, who day and night suffered greatly in the service of the Savior, who departing

from their houses in fear doubted whether they would afterwards be able to return. If they went far, of necessity they marched loaded with their food and utensils. 4. If they were poor, farmers or carpenters, on the seas or in the woods, they were either taken by the snares of the Ethiopians or killed. On one side, the Babylonians by land and sea, from the north the Turks rushed suddenly upon them. Their ears were indeed prompt and attentive to hear the horn if perchance the war tumult sounded. For had we not at times fallen away from God we would in sooth ever be God's friends.

5. Borsequinus, overrunning Lower Syria and seeking with avidity all that which would be advantageous to himself besieged the stronghold of Sardinus. But, accomplishing nothing there, he turned his army towards a little town called Hassar which he besieged immediately and violently by means of machines and engines. 6. The king of Damascus, having been asked, hurried aid to Borsequinus who, when he heard of the approach of our king, had already craftily collected his tents and had sent them out with his baggage because he was in fear. 7. And when the chateau was pressed even to the point of being taken and just as the time had come for our men to fight, behold the king comes with thirteen battallions in good order. On the right the men of Antioch

were drawn up; on the left those of the two Counts, namely, of Tripoli, and of Edessa. Between these two divisions and stationed a little farther back was the third and largest division with which was the king himself. 8. The Turks were divided into twenty-one phalanxes, certainly a very numerous host. Already they shifted from their hands their strung bows and let them rest upon their arms; and, hand to hand, they fought with drawn swords. 9. When the king had seen this, he delayed no longer; but armed with the protection of prayers and with the sign of the cross, he exclaimed, "Adjuva Deus", and amidst the loud blast of trumpets he made an attack upon them and ordered the others to follow; for they did not dare to commence the battle before the king had ordered it. 10. The Turks, indeed, at first resisted bravely, but finally by the aid of the Creator of the universe they were weakened by despair and confounded under great carnage and those who could turned and scattered in flight. 11. Five times five had arisen the Gemini when this battle ended in which the Lord gave us the victory. To the memorable honor of the Savior it was fought when June was glowing in the third day of the Ides.

XLIII.

The number killed in this battle.

As to the number of dead or of wounded in this or in any other battle, it is not possible to determine the truth, for such great numbers cannot by anyone be computed except approximately.¹ Often when different writers deceive, the reason for the deception is to be attributed to adulation; for they try to exaggerate the superiority of the victors and to extol the valor of their land before the present and future people. From this it is very clear why they augment with such imprudent falsifying the number of the dead among the enemy and minimize or are entirely silent about their own loss.

2. However, those who were present in this battle have reported to us that there perished two thousand Turks; and the Turks who escaped testified to these numbers. But on both sides a very great number of horses perished from the torment of fatigue or thirst. 3. It was hot, and great labor caused heat. A violent battle was carried on. One went mad; another fled; another pursued. He who fell was unable to arise. The ways and the plains were reddened with the blood of the slain. The cuirasses glistened; the helmets and lances shone brilliantly. The metal armor, lying on all sides on the plains,

1. cf. Book I chap. X 4-6.

glistened. One flung his shield; another threw his quiver or his bow. 4. Borsequinus did not wish then to be without a whip at this time;¹ and Tuldequinus preferred to be bare-footed in the city of Damascus and to guard carefully his own government. In the conflict, the Turks lost forty satraps; we, however, did not lose more than twenty men of whom five were armed. We had eleven hundred soldiers when the battle began; the Turks had fifteen thousand. Two thousand of ours were foot soldiers.

XLIV.

The redemption of the king's daughter.

But when he had delayed before us for only a few days longer, Borsequinus, recrossing the Euphrates River returned to his own country, bringing back to his friends in Parthia not any glory but only grief and regrets. And he who had come threatening and in pride, by the grace of God, returned mutilated and bereft of consolation. 2. Then, after our king had redeemed with money his daughter, aged five years who was held as a hostage, together with some others of his servitors likewise held in captivity, and when he had made peace on all sides, he marched on to Jerusalem to give thanks to God and to render him praise for the magnificent victory in the battle against Borsequinus. 3. It was with reason

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1. Borsequinus had need of a whip at this time with which to drive together again his scattered forces. Hagenmeyer.

that he would praise and give thanks to God, since for a long time crushed and placed beneath the wheel, most vilely and miserably he had almost given up and now, by the help of God, he is re-established in his first condition. 4. Six times ten years - twice thirty years had passed then since I was born. May the Lord rule and direct likewise what remains of my life!

XLV.

The fortress built by the king.

In the month of October of the same year the king built a fortress in the mountain of Berytus in a land very rich in products. This mountain they call Mt. Galvian from "digladio," because those who are condemned in Berytus are beheaded there. It is about six miles from the city itself. The Saracen laborers at first refused to pay the taxes on property and effects; but afterwards they were constrained by force to do so.

XLVI.

The expedition of the king and the
battle with the Turks.

When the king prepared an expedition into Syria in the direction of Damascus for the truce was broken between himself and Tuldequin; and after having seized, plundered, and destroyed three of the richest villages, he returned home

with as much booty as he could carry. 2. When, indeed, he had divided this booty equally amongst his knights and those who had participated in the expedition, or had distributed it according to the customary rule the next day, he directed his march into the land of the Philistines. 3. At that time, new and fresh troops went there from Babylon assembled before Ascalon. The troop of soldiers, desiring to show their bravery in our land thought that they would be immediately victorious. Seeing them approach the aforesaid village, with flags flying, the people went out against them with great boldness and shouting. 4. Although the king had not yet arrived at the first rank of his men, for he had remained in the rear purposely that in case necessity urged some to flee, he skillfully might be a support to them. Our scouts, not wanting in courage, thrust themselves upon the enemy with an extraordinary attack exclaiming, "God help us." They were pressed upon and crushed with such strength and animosity, and were, by striking and overthrowing and killing, forced within the walls of the city, so that one might conjecture that if we had had there more people ready, without doubt, those who followed them up would have been able to enter with them. 5. So the people of Ascalon remained, weeping and lamenting the death of forty of their best men, very much surprised at this unexpected

misfortune. 6. The king, as the trumpets gave the signal, that night rested in the tents outside and near the city. But if, by the grace of God, our men had rest the enemy spent the night sleepless and sad. For as Josephus says, "He who has too much confidence will be incautious, but fear teaches prudence." 7. It ought to be known that that day our scouts found no booty around the city, for hearing of the arrival of the king, the enemy had with foresight already hidden all their herds.

XLVII.

The Saracens send letters by pigeons.

It was customary for the Saracens living in Palestine to send from city to city by doves, skillfully trained for this purpose, messages which the carriers bear to their home already very well and long known to them. These messages written on paper and tied to the feet of the doves, instruct those who read them as to what ought to be done. Manifestly in this case, such must have been done.

XLVIII.

The diversity of customs.

Customs differ according to the divisions of the land. France has certain customs; England others; Egypt and India still others. 2. They differ as to their birds, their

fishes, their trees. In Palestine I have never seen a whale nor a lamprey; amongst the birds neither a magpie nor a warbler. They have the wild asses, hedgehogs, and hyenas which dig up the corpses of the dead. Of the trees I have not seen the poplar, nor the yew, nor the hazel, nor the sambuca, nor the butcher's broom, nor any maples.

XLIX.

The different species of beasts and serpents
in the land of the Saracens.

Recently, we have all seen near Neapolis¹ a certain beast the name of which no man has ever known or heard. It has a face like a buck, a hairy neck like that of the ass, cleft hoofs, calf's tail, and it is larger than a ram.

2. In Babylonia there is also another beast, which they call the chimera which is tall not behind but in front. Upon it on great days they lay the richest mantle, together with other magnificence to serve their prince. 3. And there is an ugly quadruped, the crocodile, which lives as well on land as in the water. It has no tongue; it moves its upper jaw, and its teeth meet together with a horrible tenacity. Many grow to a length of twenty fathoms. Like the geese, it lays eggs and hatches them only in places where the

1. Neapolis is the Shechem or Sichern of Palestine, mentioned in the Bible.

rising waters of the Nile are not able to reach. It is provided with terrible nails. It lives in the water at night and lies on the ground during the day. It is covered with a very tough skin. 4. In a certain river of Caesarea in Palestine these quadrupeds live in like fashion; but it is said that they have not been there long, but were brought there from the Nile by an unfortunate circumstance, for they often do great damage in this territory and devour the animals. 5. The Hippopotamus is found only in this Nile river and especially in India. It resembles the horse in its back and mane, its neighing, its turned back nose, its cleft hoofs, its teeth, similar to those of a wild boar, its twisted tail. At night it devours the crops, to which it advances backwards, through deceitful cunning, in order that because its tracks thus mislead, no snares can be prepared for it as it returns. Indeed they are larger in body than elephants. This and everything else, great and small, God created. And what it pleased Him to create ought to please; and for it we ought to praise Him. 6. Real dragons have small mouths and do not bite. They have narrow passages through which they breathe and thrust out their tongues. They have their poison not in their teeth but in their tails, and they injure by striking rather than by biting. There is

a stone cut from their brain. The dragon is the greatest of all the serpents or of living things which are upon the earth. It is often drawn out from its cave into the air, and the air around it is disturbed. Moreover it is crested. If it fastens upon anyone, he dies. Even the elephant is not by the immensity of his body safe from it. 7. It is born in India and in Ethiopia in the heat of perennial summer. It hides about the ways through which the elephant usually passes, it coils its tail about the leg of the elephant and suffocates it. It has no feet. 8. In Asiatic Scythia are griffins, most fierce birds, savage beyond all expression. And the land of the Hyrcanians has abundant forests, plenty^{of} savage beasts, and teems with tigers. This kind of beast is remarkable for its spots of brilliant yellow. I do not know whether swiftness or persistence helps most the motion of its feet. Nothing is so far away that they do not soon reach; nothing so far ahead that they do not soon come up to it. 9. There are in Hyrcania panthers marked with small spots. They say that herds are affected in a marvelous way by the smell and the sight of them; and when they detect them, they quickly gather round them and are frightened only by their savage looking jaws. These animals, of such great swiftness, are more often killed by poison than by weapons. Gentle is their mode of life. 10. The elk is like the mule. Its upper lip hangs to

such an extent that it is able to eat only as it moves backward. 11. Asia abounds in camelions, four footed animals like in form to lizards except that their legs, straight and longer than those of the lizard, are attached to the belly. It has a long tail which is also twisted, hooked nails delicately curved, a slow pace, a rough body, and a skin such as we see on the crocodile. Its mouth is always open and it is good for nothing. 2. It can be attacked by the raven. Its death causes its conqueror, whatever kind of bird kills it, to die. For if a bird eats ever so little of this cameleon it dies. But the raven has a remedy to save it; for it recuperates as soon as it eats laurel foliage. The body of the cameleon is without flesh; its entrails without spleen. It becomes the color of whatever object it comes into contact with. 13. In Greek it is called salamander, in Latin, stellio. The flaming stellion, the salamander, the horrible cameleon has a triple name but a single body. 14. There is a bird called the pegasus which has nothing of the horse about him except the ears. There are there people so tall that they can mount elephants as easily as horses. This race is white in youth and in old age they get black. 15. There is a beast called the leucocrotta which surpasses all other beasts in swiftness, of the size of a wild ass, with haunches

of the deer, the breast and the legs of a lion, the head of a dog, cleft hoofs, a mouth extending from ear to ear, and in place of teeth continuous bone. Such is its shape; its voice mimics that of a man. 16. In this place also is found the mantichora, provided with three rows of teeth, which it uses in turn. It has the countenance of a man and greenish eyes; it is the color of blood, has a lion's body and tail tipped as with a scorpion's sting, a whistling voice that may be compared to the modulations of a flute. It eats voraciously human flesh. It is so swift of foot and so bounding that no extent of space is able to hold it or the broadest obstacles. 17. But who is able to know or to find so many and such magnificent works of God in this vast and spacious sea in which so many animals and reptiles live that the number is infinite? But, moreover, the little that I have said, I have drawn, as I have been able from the wise investigations and expert writing of Solinus. But of what Alexander the Great also found in India and saw I shall tell in the rest of this work, in part at least if not fully. 18. Now this year is ending. May God in the course of the coming time be director again. Just now the year is passing into the succeeding one.

L.

The expedition of the king of Jerusalem
against the king of Damascus.

In the year eleven hundred twenty-six after the birth of the Savior, after the festal days of the Nativity had been celebrated in Jerusalem, the king assembled his army to march against the king of Damascus. After he had announced an assembly by the herald's report in all the regions of Jerusalem, knights and foot-soldiers were moved to go to it. The people of Joppa, of Ramla, and those who were in Lydda passing through Neapolis, chose the route through Scythopolis, that is Bethsan. 2. On the north the people of Accon and of Tyre with the king as leader, leaving to their right the city of Sepphorin and Mount Tabor, came to the Tiberiad. The people of Jerusalem joined them; they crossed the Jordan and under their tents they all rested peacefully. The night was clear and serene, without cloud and the horns of the sixteenth moon were shining. 3. Before dawn, however, the trumpet gave the signal that they must set out from the camp. Then they collected their tents and made all preparations for the departure. They loaded the mules and beasts of burden and camels with the baggage, and this occasioned much tumult. The asses brayed; the camels bleated; the horses neighed. The scouts had commenced to

explore the way; at the same time the trumpets sounded; and they kept closely to the way which they knew to be most advantageous to them. 4. And when they had penetrated farther into the land of the enemy, they were careful to march wisely with flags down and protecting themselves with their armor, lest they be disturbed by unexpected danger. Then they crossed the defile of Roob, entered the land of Damascus and rested two nights beyond Meda, where arises a certain river which descends from the Sea of Galilee towards Scythopolis and flows into the Jordan. 5. Then they destroyed one tower which they found before them. So they came to the stronghold called Salome. The Syrian inhabitants of the place went out in procession to meet the king. 6. Afterwards they came to a valley which they called Marcisophar which means "Sophar in the Meadows;" and they delayed two days in the place in which the Apostle Paul received from the Lord a stroke which deprived him of his sight for three days.¹ There they beheld the tents of the people of Damascus who were there awaiting our army. 7. The son of King Tuldequinus at the head of about three thousand knights, which he had assembled from whatever source he could returned to his father to fight, and he joined his people the day before the

1. Acts IX - 9.

battle. 8. There was no delay. On our side twelve battallions were arranged of knights and men on foot in order that, if necessity required it, each troop might be an aid to the others, and when, after having heard Mass, all had partaken of the Holy Bread,² the battalion was arranged on both sides and beginning to fight they exclaimed in a loud voice, "God help us". 9. The Turks too, exclaimed and fought ardently. And they wondered at the marvelous bravery of those whom they had scorned as if already conquered. Their courage failed them and, struck by fear and shame, they resolved to flee. Tuldequinus fled; his son followed him. And although our men were pressed beyond all measure by the enemy, their courage increased more and more and they remained constant and composed. 10. But, however, a shower of arrows from the Turks assailed the Christians, so that no part of the body was safe from strokes and wounds. Indeed never had our men engaged in a battle more violent and more terrible. The running about of the excited men and the noise and likewise the impetuosity were excessive. Trumpets and horns sounded loudly. 11. Already many of our men, surrounded by the Turks, were wounded. And after they had endured a flight of about four miles they wheeled about against their foe

1. It was customary among the Crusaders to receive the Blessed Sacrament before going into battle.

as needs they must and filled with martial spirit they began to fight. The sacred day of the battle was that which was memorable because of the conversion of St. Paul, who was chosen by God. The battle began in the third hour of the day, and the evening brought an end, giving us the victory.

12. Battle is dangerous, flight is disgraceful; but it is preferable to live weak, than dead to mourn forever. And so the Turks chose to flee in order to save their lives. A few more than two thousand Turks lay slain upon the battle field. Of the footmen the number is not known. We lost fourteen knights and eighty foot soldiers.

13. Our king conducted himself well that day as also did all his knights and followers; and the God All-powerful was present with them. The king of the Syrians fled with those who could. But our king returned to Jerusalem joyous and triumphant.

14. And when it had been decided that they return, our men surrounded a tower and took it together with ninety-six men. Having killed them, the king seized another twenty Turks who had taken refuge in it. When they saw the tower being undermined by our men and great stones being removed, they in fear surrendered themselves and the tower to our king who allowed them to depart on this condition; but he had the tower destroyed. It seemed very necessary that this be demolished, lest by its protection it invite many to revolt, for it would afford certain hope of safety to its occupants and doubt and fear to

the besiegers. 15. Perhaps this history will tire the readers if all things are reported which happened in the war or for the sake of it, either by force or by strategy. The people of Damascus took youths chosen for their agility, and who with their arms sat behind the knights and who when they had come up to the enemy dismounted from the horses; and at once these men on foot harassed the enemy on the side opposite where the knights who had been brought them were fighting .

LI.

The siege of the city of Raphania, and
the River Sabbaticus.

It is written: "Nothing is perfect in every way." We were not blessed in this sense, that we had lost fourteen of our bravest knights, besides a number of our foot-soldiers, likewise brave. But this was nothing compared with the carnage made among our enemy. 2. Damascus is interpreted "the kiss of blood" or "drinking blood". We read that it was in Damascus that the blood of Abel was shed. Indeed the people of Damascus could bathe in the blood of the slain and would even be able to drink greedily their own. 3. The king finally returned with his army to Jerusalem and we all passed the whole day as a holiday and as a day of joy. 4. And after a little while the king, moved by the prayer of the Count of Tripoli, departed to aid him in besieging a town

which we call Raphania, and which is situated at the foot of Mt. Libanus. In this very country, as Josephus reports "midway between the cities of Archas and Raphania there flows a river which has something peculiarly remarkable about it. For when much water flows, its current is not sluggish. However, after an interval of six days, its springs fail and leave the place appearing dry. Then as if no change had taken place, on the seventh day it arises again, and it has been found to keep this order perpetually and exactly. From this they call it the Sabbatic River, being named from the day sacred to the Jews, which is the seventh. 5. Indeed Titus Caesar delayed some time at Berytus and then removed from there exhibiting magnificent spectacles in all the cities of Syria through which he passed. He viewed this river of such a nature as to deserve attention, and he marveled at it greatly."

LII.

About another river.

The same historian reports another marvel, saying that near the city of Ptolemais is a river, about two furlongs distant. This river, which they call Belus, is very small, and near it is the sepulchre of Memmon most worthy of admiration. 2. It has the shape of circular valley and it affords transparent sand. And when many ships approaching together

have taken all this sand, the place is again filled up. The winds indeed, as if on purpose, bring sand in its ordinary state from neighboring hills and this place presently turns what metals of the sand it receives into glass. 3. What seems still more wonderful to me is that of the sand already changed into glass, all that is thrown outside the borders of this place is again converted into common sand.

LIII.

The capture of the city of Raphania.

The downfall of the city of Raphania, of which I began to say something, was in this wise. When the king and the count had for eighteen days strenuously besieged the Saracens within, by hurling stones with the engines the city was surrendered; and the inhabitants went out unharmed. This happened on the last day of March. And thus the aforesaid Count came to take possession of the city and he fortified it. But the king returned to Jerusalem.

LIV.

The death of the Roman Emperor.

And when we were celebrating the Easter time in Jerusalem, through pilgrims who had arrived, the news reached us that

the Roman emperor was dead; and that the Saxon duke, Lothaire, had been elevated to the kingly and imperial thrones. Henry died when the constellation Gemini was rising. After him, Lothaire, son of a Duke, ruled as king.

IV.

The expedition of the king against the Babylonians.

It was not long after that that the king, setting out from Tyre, went down into Lower Syria, leaving part of his knights and taking part with him. He did this although he had heard by report that the Babylonians were prepared for battle and were coming against us. 2. He proposed to hasten to the place where he had heard the enemy would attack first. For like wild boars surrounded by dogs and injured by their biting, our men had to defend themselves strenuously on the right and on the left. As we say proverbially, "The hand moves to where the pain is." 3. But before the king had arrived there, the Turks had already besieged and taken by force a sort of chateau. This place, indeed, was to them troublesome, but very useful to us. The knights escaped by a very clever egress during the night, leaving their wives and their children, preferring to save part than to lose all. 4. Then in the summer time, in the middle of the month of July, there

began to appear between the east and the north, a comet which, rising before dawn and emitting its rays until the ninth hour, shone with a feeble light. We eagerly watched this for thrice six days; and what it signified we committed to the Creator of all. 5. But the Turks, of whom Borsequinus was the bravest, besieged the town of Carepe; but hearing of the approach of the king, who already was following them, their hope was frustrated and they retired to a safer defense. There were not more than six thousand soldiers. Therefore the king returned to Antioch.

LVI.

The Babylonian fleet.

That year the Babylonians, having repaired and collected their ships, sailing with the south wind, entered into the land of the Philistines, and passed Tharasia, Laris, Gaza, Ascalon, Joppe, Casarsas, and Ptolemais, Tyre and Sidon. Exploring and watching along the sea shore as far as Serptus they were spying and waiting from port to port to see if they could find an occasion to do some harm to the Christians. 2. But since, they were greatly suffering from the lack of fresh water, they were obliged to come to land in order to fill their water buckets from the rivers and springs, and to slake their thirst. 3. But the citizens of this afore-

mentioned city were annoyed at this and boldly came out against them at once. Joining to themselves the voyagers who had by chance gathered in that spot, they began the combat. One hundred and thirty of these pirates were laid low, killed or mortally wounded. The number of those who went out to fight was five thousand, without counting those who during that time guarded the ships of which there were twenty-two triremes¹ or "cattos" and there were fifty-three others. 4. And so this people, devoid of pity and without mercy towards those whom they were able to get into their power, gloried in their cruelty towards our nation. 5. But, thanks be to God, they gained no advantage; for our knights with their lances and our archers with their arrows forced upon them and drove them unexpectedly to sea. Then they at once hoisted their sails and directed their course through the sea to Tripoli, thence to Cyprus.

LVII.

The sea voyage of Young Bohemond.

How many times in that year messengers of pilgrims announced and related to us the coming of this youth! But these many rumors were false. For Bohemond was afraid of the fleet of

1. The trireme was the man-of-war intended for fighting. It had bulwarks of great strength running the whole length of the ship and was propelled by three banks or tiers of oars

of the Babylonians or pirates who, he had heard, were scattered abroad upon the sea. Besides he was very anxious about his land which would have been fraudently taken from him, if he did not place it in the hands of his faithful friends, for he was surrounded by evil-minded neighbors. It is written in peasants' proverbs "Whoever has a bad neighbor has a bad morning." 2. Finally, after having often before made preparations for his journey, he collected at Otrentum, a village in Apulia, as many ships as he could, which were twenty-eight, ten of which were galleys and provided with oars; and he began his sea voyage. He had first confided his land to the duke of Apulia whom he named and chose as the heir of his land if he should depart this life first. The duke voluntarily conceded the same to him, in case he be the first to die; and this was done in the presence of and with the consent of the leaders on both sides. 3. So Bohemond, in the middle of the month of September sailing past the Cyclades scattered on the surface of the sea came to Mothone, then passed to Rhodes, Pamphylia, Lycia. The gulfs of Attalia often frightened the sailors. Passing from thence he came to little Antioch, then to greater Antioch, and, crossing Isurea, to the city of Seleugia. Having left Cyprus to the right he left Tarsus

on the left and the renowned city Melot already long since devastated. 4. At that time, many jesters and braggarts recently arrived from the sea announced to us in Jerusalem that he without doubt had landed in Antioch; and they were lying. Nevertheless, they thought that they spoke the truth because they had come as far as Patara together with some of his soldiers and falcons and with the hawks, the fowlers, and dogs which he had sent on ahead.

LVIII.

The dangers happening on the sea.

Often either by the will or the permission of God many troubles meet those sailing upon the sea. Now the anchor breaks loose; again the yard-arm is broken, or the figure-head, or the cables. 2. When the winds change, the weather cocks are watched to ascertain with certainty and skill whether they are proceeding prosperously. There is need of caution, lest the way be lost at night. For when the stars are hidden by clouds, if the ship is dashed upon the hard rocks, there imminent danger threatens death or shipwreck. As there are upon the land, so are there perils upon the sea. 3. Why do we wonder about ourselves when we read of the shipwreck of the Apostle St. Paul?¹ His pilots, to sound the depth of the sea.

1. Acts Apost. 27, 29.

let down a plummet; and had St. Paul not had the vision of an angel to console him in his extremity, he would have despaired of life.

LIX.

The Great Sea.

The vessels ordinarily suffer many dangers around the Gulf of Attalia. The winds blowing from every direction and percipitating themselves from the mountains into the valleys are wont to whirl in their subterranean passages, and marvelously to be rolled into the giddiness of the whirlpool. But if sometimes the sailors meet a pirate-ship, they are robbed and are pitilessly confounded. But those who suffer this for the love of God, will they ever be disappointed in His rewards? 2. Let us say a few words about our sea. We must not omit saying whence the Mediterranean springs. Certain ones think that it has its sources in the Gulf of Cadiz and that there is no other origin than the overflow of the invading Ocean. Those who hold a contrary opinion say that all the waters flow down from the Gulf of Pontus and they support this by solid argument that the tide flowing out from the Black Sea never ebbs. 3. Therefore praise and honor be to the Creator of all, who has assigned boundaries to the sea,¹

1. Job 38, 11.

opposing to it gales and bars. For He said to it, "Thus far you shall come, and your billows shall fall back upon you." For when its impetuous lash of the wave strikes upon the shore, it is resolved into foam and thrown back repulsed by the frail barriers of sand. 4. Furthermore, unless the power of a heavenly law inhibited, what would prevent that through the plains of Egypt, situated in very low valleys, the Red Sea should mingle with the sea of Egypt? Finally they teach this who wished to connect and unite these two seas into one, namely the Egyptian Sesostris who was the first and Darius the Mede who, at the sight of his great power wished to accomplish that which had before been attempted by his countryman. 5. This fact proves that the Indian Sea, in which is the Red Sea, is higher than the Egyptian Sea, which lies lower. And perhaps it is for this reason, that the sea might not spread itself, flowing down from the higher to lower levels, that the two kings gave up their undertaking. This is found in the Hexameron of St. Ambrose. It is otherwise in Solon. 6. The works of God are admirable, but more admirable still is He who made and disposed them. Even if things should appear deformed in our sight, nevertheless they are to be praised, because the Creator of all made them, besides, perhaps, they are not less useful. 7. Moreover, in one

bug God gives a medicine. He has given slyness to the pölyp and sea-urchin. To serpents he has also given wisdom. Sometimes these animals provide a remedy; sometimes they cause disease and even death. Sometimes indeed they are useful; sometimes they do harm. It is said that the Tyrian antidote is procured from the body of a serpent, then, though the poison and the body of the serpent when taken alone are harmful still when mixed with other substances they are safe and healthful.

LX.

Kinds of serpents.

The basilisk is half a foot long, as white as a mitre;¹ its head is marked with lines. It effects the destruction not only of men and other animals, but of the land also which it pollutes and consumes. Wherever it has been, its lurking place becomes deadly; it destroys the grass and causes the trees to die. It pollutes the very air, so that a bird cannot safely fly through air infected by its pestilential breath. 2. When it moves, half of its body crawls, the other half is erect and high. Even the serpents tremble at its hissing. And when they hear it they hasten to flee in

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1. All the old known mitres still in existence have a white ground. Rock, Church of our Fathers, II 109, note.

whatever direction they can. A wild beast will not devour nor a bird touch anything that has been killed by its bite. Nevertheless, it is conquered by the weasels which men put into the caves where these basilisks are hiding. 3. Indeed the people of Pergamus provided at a large sesterce the remains of a basilisk in order that the spiders would not cover with webs nor the birds fly into a temple of Apollo, remarkable for its hand work. 4. The amphisboena has two heads, the second of them being in the place of the tail. The cerastes have four little horns. By showing these which resemble food, they entice birds and then kill them, for they prudently bury the rest of their body in the sand. 5. The haemorrhoids draws out blood by its bite, bursts the veins and draws forth through the blood whatever life there is. The prester causes whom it strikes to swell up and die by inflation of the body; putrefaction frequently follows the swelling. 6. There are also the amodytae, and the cenchis, the elephantia, chersydros, the ground serpent; finally there is a peculiar form of death caused by each of these different serpents. 7. The scorpions, the crocodiles, and lizards are classed with vermin, not with serpents. If these monsters hiss, their bite is less deadly. They

rarely have strong passions except that they wander in pairs. There are the jaculi which pierce whatever animal fortune puts in their way. 8. The scytale on its back has such a variety of brilliant colors that the beauty of these spots arrests the attention of those who see it. The dipsas causes a thirst which kills. The hypnale, which kills by sleep, is employed to produce death as the experience of Cleopatra proves. The poison of the others, since it admits remedies, deserves less notice 9. The marvels which Alexander the Great saw in India are no less amazing. Of these writing to his master Aristotle and to his mother Olympia, he speaks in the following words "I would not have believed that there were so many wonders, had I not beheld them myself with my own eyes." That king was really and thoroughly grand, wise and prudent in his undertakings, powerful in power, and vigorous in vigor, and not like a flying feather or floating chaff.

LXI.

The coming of the youth Bohemond,
son of Duke Bohemond, and his reception
in Antioch.

Since Bohemond had set out later than expected that year we did not think that he would still arrive according to

report. But since according to the declaration of the prophet,¹ the ways of men are not in their own hands, and not by man but by the Lord is his going ordained, our preconceived ideas destroyed our hope for the most part. Now that does not happen which human desire suggests, but what God justly judges proper for the human merits. 2. But when the king had advised us through his letters to Jerusalem that Bohemond had already arrived at Antioch, this was most pleasing to all. We all praised God who had brought him safe. The sun had already set, when he by night entered the port. 3. On his coming to Antioch, he was gladly received by all. The king went out to meet him with a great procession and amidst the oft repeated praises of the people received him with joy. After having a conference, the king at once transferred to him all his land and gave him one of his daughters in marriage. The father-in-law and the bridegroom, the father and the son, may they cherish each other, and thus each will give precedence to the other. 4. Then when the nuptials had been arranged, they were carried out properly. But when Bohemond, after he had become prince, was seated upon his throne, vested in

1. Jer. 10, 23. Psalm 36, 23.

becoming mantle, he called together all his lords and they swore submission to him as his men, in the presence and with the favor of the king; and they promised to serve from that day forward. 5. When this was accomplished, the king returned to Jerusalem. The constellation Scorpion had begun to shine amidst the stars of the sky when Bohemond was received as prince in Antioch. Now the circle of the year had retrograded and was recommencing.

LXII.

The pestilence of rats.

In the year eleven hundred twenty-seven after the birth of our Lord, in the fifth indiction, such an enormous host of rats swarmed into the region of Palestine that, seizing a beef by the haunches they ate it and suffocating it, they devoured it, together with seven sheep. Finally after having for a long time ravaged the territory of Accon, seeking water, they clambered up the mountains of Tyre. Then those were driven back into the neighboring valleys in numberless thousands by a pestilential

wind and torrents of rain. That region remained infected by the odor of their dead bodies.

THE HISTORY
OF
JERUSALEM OF
FULCHER OF CHARTRES

IS
ENDED.